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THE
AMERICAN
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
REVIEW

Under the Direction of
MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN, D. D.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS, RT. REV. MGR. J. F. LOUGHLIN, D. D., AND VERY REV.
JAMES P. TURNER, V. G.

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas
vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.
S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI DIVINA PROVIDENTIA

PII PAPAE X.

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA.

AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS,
ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM
CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus, Patriarchis, Primatibus, Archiepiscopis,
Episcopis Aliisque Locorum Ordinariis Pacem et Communionem cum
Apostolica Sede Habentibus.*

PIUS PP. X.

VENERABILES FRATRES

Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

E SUPREMI apostolatus cathedra, ad quam, consilio Dei in-
scrutabili, evecti fuimus, vobis primum eloquuturos, nihil
attinet commemorare quibus Nos lacrymis magnisque preci-
bus formidolosum hoc Pontificatus onus depellere a Nobis conati
simus. Videmur equidem Nobis, etsi omnino meritis impares, con-
vertere in rem Nostram posse quae Anselmus, vir sanctissimus,

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querebatur quum, adversarius et repugnans, coactus est honorem episcopatus suscipere. Etenim quae ille moeroris indicia pro se afferebat, eadem et Nobis proferre licet, ut ostendamus quo animo, qua voluntate Christi gregis pascendi gravissimum officii munus exceperimus. "Testantur," sic ille (Epp. i., 3, ep. i.), "lacrymae meae et voces et rugitus a gemitu cordis mei, quales nunquam de me, illo dolore, memini exiisse ante diem illam, in qua sors illa gravis archiepiscopatus Cantuariæ visa est super me cedissee. Quod ignorare nequiverunt illi qui, ea die, vultum meum inspexerunt. . . . Ego magis mortuo quam viventi colore similis, stupore et dolore pallebam. Huic autem de me electioni, imo violentiae, hactenus, quantum potui, servata veritate, reluctatus sum. Sed iam, velim nolim, cogor fateri quia quotidie iudicia Dei magis ac magis conatui meo resistunt, ut nullo modo videam me ea posse fugere. Unde iam, non tam hominum quam Dei, contra quam non est prudentia, victus violentiâ, hoc solo intelligo me uti debere consilio, ut, postquam oravi quantum potui, et conatus sum ut, si possibile esset, calix iste transiret a me ne biberem illum . . . meum sensum et voluntatem postponens, me sensui et voluntati Dei penitus committam."

Nec plane repugnandi causae, multae, et maximae, defuerunt Nobis. Praeterquam enim quod honore pontificatus, ob tenuitatem Nostram, nullo pacto Nos dignaremur; quem non moveret ei se successorem designari, qui, cum ecclesiam sex fere ac viginti annos sapientissime rexisset, tanta valuit alacritate ingenii, tanto virtutum omnium splendore, ut vel adversarios in sui admirationem traduxerit et memoriam sui nominis factis praeclarissimis consecrarit?—Dein, ut praetereamus cetera, terrebat Nos, quam quod maxime, ea quae modo est humani generis conditio afflictissima. Quem enim lateat, consociationem hominum gravissimo nunc, supra praeteritas aetates, atque intimo urgeri morbo; qui in dies ingravescent eamque penitus exedens ad exitium rapit? Morbus qui sit, intelligitis, Venerabiles Fratres; defectio abscessioque a Deo: quo nihil profecto cum perniciæ coniunctius, secundum Prophetæ dictum: "Quia ecce, qui elongant se a te, peribunt." (Ps. lxxii., 27.) Tanto igitur malo, pro pontificali munere quod demandabatur, occurrendum esse Nobis videbamus; arbitrabamur enim Dei iussum ad Nos pertinere: "Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna, ut evellas et destruas, et aedifices et plantes" (Ierem. i., 10); verum conscii Nobis infirmitatis Nostrae, negotium, quod nihil simul haberet morae et difficultatis plurimum, suscipere verebamus.

Attamen, quoniam numini divino placuit humilitatem Nostram ad hanc amplitudinem potestatis provehere; erigimus animum in eo qui Nos confortat, Deique virtute freti manum operi admoventes,

in gerendo pontificatu hoc unum declaramus propositum esse Nobis “instaurare omnia in Christo” (Ephes. i., 10), ut videlicet sit “omnia et in omnibus Christus” (Coloss. iii., 11).—Erunt profecto qui, divina humanis metientes, quae Nostra sit animi mens rimari nitantur atque ad terrenos usus partiumque studia detorquere. His ut inanem spem praecidamus, omni asseveratione affirmamus nihil velle Nos esse, nihil, opitulante Deo, apud consociationem hominum futuros, nisi Dei, cuius utimur auctoritate, administros. Rationes Dei rationes Nostrae sunt; pro quibus vires omnes vitamque ipsam devovere decretum est. Unde si qui symbolum a Nobis expetant, quod voluntatem animi patefaciat; hoc unum dabimus semper: “Instaurare omnia in Christo!”

Quo quidem in praeclaro opere suscipiendo urgendoque illud Nobis, Venerabiles Fratres, alacritatem affert summam, quod certum habemus fore vos omnes strenuos ad perficiendam rem adiutores. Id enim si dubitemus, ignaros vos, non sane iure, aut negligentes putaverimus nefarii illius belli, quod nunc, ferme ubique, commotum est atque alitur adversus Deum. Vere namque in Auctorem suum “fremuerunt gentes et populi meditati sunt inania” (Ps. ii., 1); ut communis fere ea vox sit adversantium Deo: “Recede a nobis” (Iob xxi., 14). Hinc extincta omnino in plerisque aeterni Dei reverentia, nullaue habita in consuetudine vitae, publice ac privatim, supremi eius numinis ratio; quin totis nervis contenditur omnique artificio, ut vel ipsa recordatio Dei atque notio intreat penitus.

Haec profecto qui reputet, is plane metuat necesse est ne malorum, quae supremo tempore sunt expectanda, sit perversitas haec animorum libamentum quoddam ac veluti exordium; neve filius perditionis, de quo Apostolus loquitur (II. Thess. ii., 3), iam in hisce terris versetur. Tanta scilicet audacia, eo furore religionis pietas ubique impetitur, revelatae fidei documenta oppugnantur, quaeque homini cum Deo officia intercedunt tollere delere prorsus praeefracte contenditur! E contra, quae, secundum Apostolum eundem, propria est Antichristi nota, homo ipse, temeritate summa, in Dei locum invasit, extollens se supra omne quod dicitur Deus; usque adeo ut, quamvis Dei notitiam extinguere penitus in se nequeat, Eius tamen maiestatem reiecta, aspectabilem hunc mundum sibi ipse veluti templum dedicaverit a ceteris adorandus. “In templo Dei sedeat, ostendens se tamquam sit Deus.” (II. Thess. ii., 2.)

Enimvero hoc adversus Deum mortalium certamen qua sorte pugnetur nullus est sanae mentis qui ambigat. Datur quidem homini, libertate sua abutenti, rerum omnium Conditoris ius atque numen violare; verumtamen victoria a Deo semper stat: quin etiam tum propior clades imminet, quum homo, in spe triumphi, insurgit

audentior. Haec ipse Deus nos admonet in Scripturis sanctis. Dissimulat scilicet peccata hominum (Sap. xi., 24), suae veluti potentiae ac maiestatis immemor; mox vero, post adumbratos recessus, “excitatus tamquam potens crapulatus a vino (Ps. lxxvii., 65), confringet capita inimicorum suorum (Ps. lxxvii., 22); ut norint omnes “quoniam rex omnis terrae Deus” (Ib. xlv., 8), “et sciant gentes quoniam homines sunt” (Ib. ix., 20).

Haec quidem, Venerabiles Fratres, fide certa tenemus et expectamus. Attamen non ea impediunt quominus, pro nostra quisque parte, Dei opus maturandum nos etiam curemus: idque, non solum efflagitando assidue: “Exsurge, Domine, non confortetur homo” (Ps. ix., 19); verum, quod plus interest, re et verbo, luce palam, supremum in homines ac naturas ceteras Dei dominatum adserendo vindicandoque, ut Eius imperandi ius ac potestas sancte colatur ab omnibus et observetur.—Quod plane non modo officium postulat a natura profectum, verum etiam communis utilitas nostri generis. Quorumnam etenim, Venerabiles Fratres, animos non conficiat trepidatio ac moeror, quum homines videant, partem maximam, dum quidem humanitatis progressus haud immerito extolluntur, ita digladiari atrociter inter se, ut fere sit omnium in omnes pugna? Cupiditas pacis omnium profecto pectora attingit, eamque nemo est qui non invocet vehementer. Pax tamen, reiecto Numine, absurde quaeritur; unde namque abest Deus, iustitiae exsultat; sublataque iustitia, frustra in spem pacis venit. “Opus iustitiae pax” (Is. xxxii., 17).—Novimus equidem non paucos esse, qui studio pacis ducti, tranquillitatis nempe ordinis, in coetus factionesque coalescunt, quae ab ordine nominant. Proh tamen spes curasque inanes! Partes ordinis, quae pacem afferre turbatis rebus reapse queant, unae sunt: partes faventium Deo. Has igitur promovere necesse est, ad easque quo licebit plures adducere, si securitatis amore incitamus.

Verum haec ipsa, Venerabiles Fratres, humanarum gentium ad maiestatem Dei imperiumque revocatio, quantumvis licet conemur, numquam nisi per Iesum Christum eveniet. Monet enim Apostolus: “Fundamentum aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, quod est Christus Iesus” (I. Cor. iii., 11). Scilicet unus ipse est, “quem Pater sanctificavit et misit in mundum (Io. x., 36); “splendor Patris et figura substantiae eius” (Hebr. i., 3), Deus verus verusque homo: sine quo, Deum, ut oportet, agnoscere nemo possit; nam “neque Patrem quis novit nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare” (Matth. xi., 27).—Ex quo consequitur, ut idem omnino sit “instaurare omnia in Christo” atque homines ad Dei obtemperacionem reducere. Huc igitur curas intendamus oportet, ut genus hominum in Christi ditionem redigamus: eo praestito, iam ad ipsum

Deum remigraverit. Ad Deum inquimus, non socordem illum atque humana negligentem, quem materialistarum deliramenta effinxerunt; sed Deum vivum ac verum, unum natura personis trinum, auctorem mundi, omnia sapientissime providentem, iustissimum denique legislatorem, qui sontes plectat, praemia proposita virtutibus habeat.

Porro qua iter nobis ad Christum pateat, ante oculos est: per Ecclesiam videlicet. Quamobrem iure Chrysostomus: "Spes tua Ecclesia, salus tua Ecclesia, refugium tuum Ecclesia" (Hom. de capto Eutropio, n. 6). In id namque illam condidit Christus, quaesitam sui sanguinis pretio; eique doctrinam suam ac suarum praecepta legum commendavit, amplissima simul impertiens divinae gratiae munera ad sanctitatem ac salutem hominum.

Videtur igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, quale demum Nobis vobisque pariter officium sit demandatum: ut consociationem hominum, a Christi sapientia aberrantem, ad Ecclesiae disciplinam revocemus; Ecclesia vero Christo subdet, Christus autem Deo. Quod si, Deo ipso favente, perficiemus, iniquitatem cessisse aequitati gratulabimur, audiemusque feliciter "vocem magnam de coelo dicentem: Nunc facta est salus et virtus et regnum Dei nostri et potestas Christi eius" (Apoc. xii., 10).—Hic tamen ut optatis respondeat exitus, omni ope et opera eniti opus est ut scelus illud immane ac detestabile, aetatis huius proprium, penitus eradamus, quo se nempe homo pro Deo substituit: tum vero leges Evangelii sanctissimae ac consilia in veterem dignitatem vindicanda; adserendae altius veritates ab Ecclesia traditae, quaeque eiusdem sunt documenta de sanctitate coniugii, de educatione doctrinaque puerili, de bonorum possessione atque usu, de officiis in eos qui publicam rem administrant; aequilibrata demum inter varios civitatis ordines christiano instituto ac more restituenda.—Nos profecto haec Nobis, Dei nutui obsequentes, in pontificatu prosequenda proponimus, ac pro virili parte prosequemur. Vestrum autem erit, Venerabiles Fratres, sanctitate, scientia, agendorum usu, studio cum primis divinae gloriae, industriis Nostris obsecundare; nihil aliud spectantes praeterquam ut in omnibus formetur Christus.

Iam quibus ad rem tantam utamur adiumentis, vix dicere oportet; sunt enim de medio sumpta.—Curarum haec prima sunt, ut Christum formemus in iis, qui formando in ceteris Christo officio muneris destinantur. Ad sacerdotes mens spectat, Venerabiles Fratres. Sacris namque quotquot initiati sunt, eam in populis, quibuscum versantur, provinciam sibi datam norint, quam Paulus suscepisse testatus est amantissimis iis verbis: "Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Christus in vobis" (Gal. iv.). Qui tamen explere munus queant, nisi priores ipsi Christum induerint?

atque ita induerint, ut illud Apostoli eiusdem usurpare possint: "Vivo ego, iam non ego, vivit vero in me Christus" (Gal. ii., 20). "Mihi vivere Christus est" (Philipp. i., 21). Quamobrem, etsi ad fideles omnes pertinet hortatio "ut occurramus in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi" (Ephes. iv., 3); praecipue tamen ad illum spectat qui sacerdotio fungitur; qui idcirco dicitur alter Christus, non una sane potestatis communicatione sed etiam imitatione factorum, qua expressam in se Christi imaginem praeferat.

Quae cum ita sint, quae vobis quantaque, Venerabiles Fratres, ponenda cura est in clero ad sanctitatem omnem formando! huic, quaecumque obveniant, negotia cedere necesse est. Quamobrem pars potior diligentiarum vestrarum sit de seminariis sacris rite ordinandis moderandisque, ut pariter integritate doctrinae et morum sanctitate floeant. Seminarium cordis quisque vestri delicias habetote, nihil plane ad eius utilitatem omittentes, quod est a Tridentina Synodo providentissime constitutum.—Quum vero ad hoc ventum erit ut candidati sacris initiari debeant, ne quaeso excidat animo quod Paulus Timotheo perscripsit: "Nemini cito manus imposueris" (I. Tim. v., 22); illud attentissime reputando, tales plerumque fideles futuros, quales fuerint quos sacerdotio destinabitis. Quare ad privatam quancumque utilitatem respectum ne habetote; sed unice spectetis Deum et Ecclesiam et sempiterna animorum commoda, ne videlicet uti Apostolus praecavet, "communicetis peccatis alienis" (Ibid).—Porro sacerdotes initiati recens atque e seminario digressi industrias vestras ne desiderent. Eos, ex animo hortamur, pectori vestro, quod coelesti igne calere oportet, admove vete saepius, incendite, inflammate ut uni Deo et lucris animorum inhiant. Nos equidem, Venerabiles Fratres, diligentissime providebimus ne homines sacri cleri ex insidiis capiantur novae cuiusdam ac fallacis scientiae, quae Christum non redole, quaeque, fucatis astutisque argumentis, rationalismi aut semirationalismi errores invehere nititur; quos ut caveret iam Apostolus Timotheum monebat, scribens: "Depositum custodi, devitans profanas vocum novitates et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae, quam quidam promittentes, circa fidem exciderunt" (I. Tim. vi., 20 s.). Hoc tamen non impedimur quo minus laude dignos existimemus illos e sacerdotibus iunioribus, qui utilium doctrinarum studia, in omni sapientiae genere, persequuntur, ut inde ad veritatem tuendam atque osorum fidei calumnias refellendas instructiores fiant. Verumtamen celare haud possumus, quin etiam apertissime profiteamur, primas Nos semper delaturos iis qui, quamvis sacras humanasque disciplinas minime praetereunt, proxime nihilosecius animorum utilitatibus se dedant, eorum procuracione munerum, quae sacerdotem

deceant divinae gloriae studiosum. "Tristitia Nobis magna est et continuus dolor cordi Nostro" (Rom. ix., 2), quum cadere etiam in aetatem nostram conspicimus Ieremiae lamentationem: "Parvuli petierunt panem, et non erat qui frangeret eis" (Thren. iv., 4). Non enim de clero desunt, qui, pro cuiusque ingenio, operam forte navent rebus adumbratae potius quam solidae utilitatis: at verum non adeo multi numerentur qui, ad Christi exemplum, sibi sumant Prophetæ dictum: "Spiritus Domini unxit me, evangelizare pauperibus misit me, sanare contritos corde, prædicare captivis remissionem et coecis visum" (Luc. iv., 18-19).—Quem tamen fugiat, Venerabiles Fratres, quum homines ratione maxime ac libertate ducantur, religionis disciplinam potissimam esse viam ad Dei imperium in humanis animis restituendum? Quot plane sunt qui Christum oderunt, qui Ecclesiam, qui Evangelium horrent ignoratione magis quam pravitate animi! de quibus iure dixeris: "quaecumque ignorant blasphemant" (Iud. ii., 10). Idque non in plebe solum reperire est aut in infima multitudine, quæ ideo in errorem facile trahitur; sed in excultis etiam ordinibus atque adeo in iis, qui haud mediocri eruditione ceteroqui polleant. Hinc porro in plerisque defectus fidei. Non enim dandum est, scientiæ progressibus extinguere fidem, sed verius inscitia; ut idcirco ubi maior sit ignorantia, ibi etiam latius pateat fidei defectio. Quapropter Apostolis a Christo mandatum est: "Euntes, docete omnes gentes" (Matth. xxviii., 19).

Nunc autem, ut exdocendi munere ac studio fructus pro spe edantur atque in omnibus formetur Christus, id penitus in memoria insideat, Venerabiles Fratres, nihil omnino esse caritate efficacius. "Non enim in commotione Dominus" (III. Reg. xix., 11). Allici animos ad Deum amariore quodam conatu, speratur perperam: quin etiam errores acerbius increpare, vitia vehementius reprehendere damno magis quam utilitati aliquando est. Timotheum quidem Apostolus hortabatur: "Argue, obsecra, increpa;" attamen addebat: "in omni patientia" (II. Tim. iv., 2). Certe eiusmodi nobis exempla prodidit Christus "Venite," sic ipsum alloquutum legimus, "venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos" (Matth. xi., 28). Laborantes autem oneratosque non alios intelligebat, nisi qui peccato vel errore tenerentur. Quanta enimvero in divino illo magistro mansuetudo! quæ suavitas, quæ in aerumnosos quoslibet miseratio! Cor eius plane pinxit Isaias iis verbis: "Ponam spiritum meum super eum; non contendet neque clamabit; arundinem quessatam non confringet et linum fumigans non extinguet" (Is. xlii., 1 s.). Quæ porro caritas, "patiens et benigna" (I. Cor. xiii., 4) ad illos etiam porrigatur necesse est, qui sunt nobis infesti vel nos inimice insectantur. "Maledicimur et benedicimus," ita de se Paulus profitebatur, "persecutionem patimur et sustinemus,

blasphemamur et obsecramus" (Ibid. iv., 12 s.). Peiores forte quam sunt videntur. Consuetudine enim aliorum, praeiudicatis opinionibus, alienis consiliis et exemplis malesuada demum verecundia in impiorum partem translati sunt: attamen eorum voluntas non adeoest depravata, sicut et ipsi putari gestiunt. Quidni speremus christianae caritatis flammam ab animis caliginem dispulsuram atque allaturam simul Dei lumen et pacem? Tardabitur quandoque forsitan laboris nostri fructus; sed caritas sustentatione nunquam defatigatur, memor non esse praemia a Deo proposita laborum fructibus sed voluntati.

Attamen, Venerabiles Fratres, non ea Nobis mens est ut, in toto hoc opere tam arduo restitutionis humanarum gentium in Christo, nullos vos clerusque vester adiutores habeatis. Scimus mandasse Deum unicuique de proximo suo (Eccli. xvii., 12). Non igitur eos tantum, qui sacris se addixerunt, sed universos prorsus fideles rationibus Dei et animorum adlaborare oportet: non marte utique quemque suo atque ingenio, verum semper Episcoporum ductu atque nutu; praeesse namque, docere, moderari nemini in Ecclesia datur praeter quam vobis, "quos Spiritus Sanctus posuit regere Ecclesiam Dei" (Act. xx., 28). Catholicos homines, vario quidem consilio at semper religionis bono, coire inter se societatem, Decessores Nostri probavere iamdiu bonaque precatione sanxerunt. Institutum porro egregium Nos etiam laudatione Nostra ornare non dubitamus, optamusque vehementer ut urbibus agrisque late inferatur ac floreat. Verumenimvero consociationes eiusmodi eo primo ac potissimum spectare volumus, ut quotquot in illas cooptantur christiano more constanter vivant. Parum profecto interest quaestiones multas subtiliter agitari, deque iuribus et officiis eloquenter disseri, ubi haec ab actione fuerint seiugata. Postulant enim actionem tempora; sed eam quae tota sit in divinis legibus atque Ecclesiae praescriptis sancte integreque servandis, in religione libere aperteque profitenda, in omnigenae demum caritatis operibus exercendis, nullo sui aut terrenarum utilitatum respectu. Illustria eiusmodi tot Christi militum exempla longe magis valitura sunt ad commovendos animos rapiendosque quam verba exquisitaeque disceptationes; fietque facile ut, abiecto metu, depulsis praeiudiciis ac dubitationibus, quamplurimi ad Christum traducantur provehantque ubique notitiam eius et amorem; quae ad germanam solidamque beatitatem sunt via. Profecto si in urbibus, si in pagis quibusvis praecepta Dei tenebuntur fideliter, si sacris erit honos, si frequens sacramentorum usus, si cetera custodientur quae ad christianae vitae rationem pertinent; nihil admodum, Venerabiles Fratres, elaborandum erit ulterius ut omnia in Christo instaurentur. Neque haec solum coelestium bonorum prosecutionem spectare existimentur:

iuuabunt etiam, quam quae maxime, ad huius aevi publicasque civitatum utilitates. His namque obtentis, optimates ac locupletes aequitate simul et caritate tenuioribus aderunt, hi vero afflictioris fortunae angustias sedate ac patienter ferent; cives non cupiditati sed legibus parebunt; principes et quotquot rempublicam gerunt, quorum “non est potestas nisi a Deo” (Rom. xiii., 1), vereri ac diligere sanctum erit. Quid plura? Tunc demum omnibus persuasum fuerit debere Ecclesiam, prouti ab auctore Christo est condita, plena integraque libertate frui nec alienae dominationi subiici; Nosque, in hac ipsa libertate vindicanda, non religionis modo sanctissima tueri iura, verum etiam communi populorum bono ac securitati prospicere. Scilicet “pietas ad omnia utilis est” (I. Tim. iv., 8): eaque incolumi ac vigente, “sedebit reapse populus in plenitudine pacis” (Is. xxxii., 18).

Deus, “qui dives est in misericordia” (Ephes. ii., 4), hanc humanarum gentium in Christo Iesu instaurationem benignus, festinet; “non enim volentis opus neque currentis sed miserentis est Dei” (Rom. ix., 16). Nos vero, Venerabiles Fratres, “in spiritu humilitatis” (Dan. iii., 39), quotidiana et instanti prece id ab Eo contendamus ob Iesu Christi merita. Utamur praeterea praesentissima Deiparae impetratione: cui conciliandae Nobis, quoniam has litteras die ipsa damus, quae recolendo Mariali Rosario est instituta; quidquid Decessor Noster de Octobri mense Virgini augustae dicendo edixit, publica per templa omnia eiusdem Rosarii recitatione, Nos pariter edicimus et confirmamus; monentes insuper ut deprecatores etiam adhibeantur castissimus Dei Matris Sponsus catholicae Ecclesiae patronus sanctique Petrus et Paulus apostolorum principes.

Quae omnia ut rite eveniant et cuncta vobis pro desiderio fortunentur, divinarum gratiarum subsidia uberrime exoramus. Testem vero suavissimae caritatis, qua vos et universos fideles, quos Dei providentia Nobis commendatos voluit, complectimur, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, clero populoque vestro apostolicam benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die iv Octobris MCMIII., Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIUS PP. X.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER PIUS X.

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE POPE.

TO THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS AND
OTHER ORDINARIES IN PEACE AND COMMUNION
WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE.

PIUS X., POPE.

Venerable Brethren, Health and the Apostolic Benediction:

I N addressing you for the first time from the chair of the supreme apostolate to which we have, by the inscrutable disposition of God, been elevated, it is not necessary to remind you with what tears and earnest prayers we exerted ourselves to evade this formidable burden of the Pontificate. Unequal in merit though we be, with St. Anselm, it seems to us that we may with truth make our own the words in which he lamented when he was constrained against his will and in spite of his struggles to receive the honor of the episcopate. For to show with what dispositions of mind and will we subjected ourselves to the most serious charge of feeding the flock of Christ, we can well adduce those same proofs of grief which he invokes in his own behalf. "My tears are witnesses," he wrote, "and the sounds and moanings issuing from the anguish of my heart, such as I never remember before to have come from me for any sorrow, before that day on which there seemed to fall upon me that great misfortune of the archbishopric of Canterbury. And those who fixed their gaze on my face that day could not fail to see it. . . . I, in color more like a dead than a living man, was pale for amazement and alarm. Hitherto I have resisted as far as I could, speaking the truth, my election or rather the violence done me. But now I am constrained to confess, whether I will or no, that the judgments of God oppose greater and greater resistance to my efforts, so that I see no way of escaping them. Wherefore vanquished as I am by the violence not so much of men as of God, against which there is no providing, I realize that nothing is left for me, after having prayed as much as I could and striven that this chalice should if possible pass from me without my drinking it, but to set aside my feeling and my will and resign myself entirely to the design and the will of God."

In truth, reasons both numerous and most weighty were not lacking to justify this resistance of ours. For beside the fact that we deemed ourselves altogether unworthy through our insignificance of seeing himself designated to succeed him who, ruling the Church

the honor of the Pontificate, who would not have been disturbed at with supreme wisdom for nearly twenty-six years, showed himself adorned with such sublimity of mind, such lustre of every virtue, as to attract to himself the admiration even of adversaries and to leave his memory consecrated by glorious achievements?

Then, again, to omit other motives, we were terrified beyond all else by the disastrous state of human society to-day. For who can fail to see that society is at the present time, more than in any past age, suffering from a terrible and deep-rooted malady which, developing every day and eating into its inmost being, is dragging it to destruction? You understand, Venerable Brethren, what this disease is—apostasy from God than which in truth nothing is more allied with ruin, according to the word of the prophet: “For behold they that go far from Thee shall perish” (Ps. lxxii., 17). We saw, therefore, that in virtue of the ministry of the Pontificate which was to be entrusted to us, we must hasten to find a remedy for this great evil, considering as addressed to us that Divine command: “Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations and over kingdoms, to root up, and to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build and to plant” (Jerem. i., 10). But, cognizant of our weakness, we recoiled in terror from a task as urgent as it is arduous.

THE POPE'S PROGRAMME.

Since, however, it has been pleasing to the Divine Will to raise our lowliness to such sublimity of power, we take courage in Him who strengthens us, and setting ourselves to work, relying on the power of God, we proclaim that we have no other programme in the Supreme Pontificate but that “of restoring all things in Christ” (Ephes. i., 10), so that “Christ may be all and in all” (Coloss. iii., 2). Some will certainly be found who, measuring Divine things by human standards, will seek to discover secret aims of ours, distorting them to an earthly purpose and to political designs. To eliminate all vain delusions for such, we say to them with emphasis that we do not wish to be and with the Divine assistance never shall be aught before human society but the minister of God, of whose authority we are the depository. The interests of God shall be our interests, and for these we are resolved to spend all our strength and our very life. Hence, should any one ask us for a symbol as the expression of our will, we will give this and no other: “To renew all things in Christ.”

In undertaking this glorious task we are greatly quickened by the certainty that we shall have all of you, Venerable Brethren, as generous coöperators. Did we doubt it, we should have to regard you, unjustly, as either unconscious or heedless of that sacrilegious

war which is now almost everywhere stirred up and fomented against God. For in truth "the nations have raged and the peoples imagined vain things" (Ps. ii., 1) against their Creator; so frequent is the cry of the enemies of God: "Depart from us" (Job xxi., 14). And as might be expected, we find extinguished among the majority of men all respect for the Eternal God and no regard paid in the manifestations of public and private life to the Supreme Will—nay, every effort and every artifice is used to destroy utterly the memory and the knowledge of God.

When all this is considered, there is good reason to fear lest this great perversity may be, as it were, a foretaste and perhaps the beginning of those evils which are reserved for the last days, and that there may be already in the world the "Son of Perdition" of whom the Apostle speaks (II. Thess. ii., 4). Such, in truth, is the audacity and the wrath employed everywhere in persecuting religion, in combating the dogmas of the faith, in resolute effort to uproot and destroy all relations between man and the Divinity. While, on the other hand, and this according to the same apostle is the distinguishing mark of Antichrist, man has with infinite temerity put himself in the place of God, raising himself above all that is called God; in such wise that although he cannot utterly extinguish in himself all knowledge of God, he has contemned God's majesty and, as it were, made of the universe a temple wherein he himself is to be adored. "He sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God" (II. Thess. ii., 2).

Verily, no one of sound mind can doubt the issue of this contest between man and the Most High. Man, abusing his liberty, can violate the right and the majesty of the Creator of the Universe; but the victory will ever be with God—nay, defeat is at hand at the moment when man, under the delusion of his triumph, rises up with most audacity. Of this we are assured in the holy books by God Himself. Unmindful, as it were, of His strength and greatness, He "overlooks the sins of men" (Wisd. xi., 24), but swiftly, after these apparent retreats, "awaked like a mighty man that hath been surfeited with wine" (Ps. lxxvii., 65), "He shall break the heads of his enemies" (Ps. lxxvii., 22), that all may know "that God is the king of all the earth" (Ib. lxvi., 8), "that the Gentiles may know themselves to be men" (Ib. ix., 20).

PEACE TO THE NATIONS.

All this, Venerable Brethren, we believe and expect with unshakable faith. But this does not prevent us also, according to the measure given to each, from exerting ourselves to hasten the work of God—and not merely by praying assiduously: "Arise, O Lord,

let not man be strengthened" (Ib. ix., 19), but, more important still, by affirming both by word and deed and in the light of day, God's supreme dominion over man and all things, so that His right to command and His authority may be fully realized and respected.

This is imposed upon us not only as a natural duty, but by our common interest. For, Venerable Brethren, who can avoid being appalled and afflicted when he beholds, in the midst of a progress in civilization which is justly extolled, the greater part of mankind fighting among themselves so savagely as to make it seem as though strife were universal? The desire for peace is certainly harbored in every breast, and there is no one who does not ardently invoke it. But to want peace without God is an absurdity, seeing that where God is absent thence, too, justice flies, and when justice is taken away it is vain to cherish the hope of peace. "And the work of justice shall be peace." (Is. xxxii., 17). There are many, we are well aware, who, in yearning for peace, that is to say, the tranquillity of order, band themselves into societies and parties which they style parties of order. Hope and labor lost! For there is but one party of order capable of restoring peace in the midst of all this turmoil, and that is the party of God. It is this party, therefore, that we must advance, and to it attract as many as possible, if we are really urged by the love of peace.

THROUGH CHRIST ALONE.

But, Venerable Brethren, we shall never, however much we exert ourselves, succeed in calling men back to the majesty and empire of God except by means of Jesus Christ. "No one," the Apostle admonishes us, "can lay other foundation than that which has been laid, which is Jesus Christ" (I. Cor. iii., 11). It is Christ alone "whom the Father sanctified and sent into this world" (Is. x., 36), "the splendor of the Father and the image of His substance" (Hebr. i., 3), true God and true man; without whom nobody can know God with the knowledge for salvation, "neither doth any one know the Father but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal him" (Matt. xi., 27). Hence it follows that to restore all things in Christ and to lead men back to submission to God is one and the same aim. To this, then, it behooves us to devote our care—to lead back mankind under the dominion of Christ; this done, we shall have brought it back to God. When we say to God, we do not mean to that inert being heedless of all things human which the dream of materialists has imagined, but to the true and living God, one in nature, triple in person, Creator of the world, most wise ordainer of all things, Lawgiver most just, who punishes the wicked and has reward in store for the virtuous.

BY THE CHURCH.

Now, the way to reach Christ is not hard to find: it is the Church. Rightly does Chrysostom inculcate: "The Church is thy hope, the Church is thy salvation, the Church is thy refuge" (*Hom. de capto Eutropio*, n. 6). It was for this that Christ founded it, gaining it at the price of His blood, and made it the depository of His doctrine and His laws, bestowing upon it at the same time an inexhaustible treasury of graces for the sanctification and salvation of men.

You see, then, Venerable Brethren, the duty that has been imposed alike upon us and upon you of bringing back to the discipline of the Church human society now estranged from the wisdom of Christ; the Church will then subject it to Christ, and Christ to God. If we, through the goodness of God Himself, bring this task to a happy issue, we shall be rejoiced to see evil giving place to good and hear for our gladness "a loud voice from heaven saying: Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God and the power of His Christ" (*Apoc. xii., 10*). But if our desire to obtain this is to be fulfilled, we must use every means and exert all our energy to bring about the utter disappearance of that enormous and detestable wickedness so characteristic of our time—the substitution of man for God; this done, it remains to restore to their ancient place of honor the most holy laws and counsels of the Gospel; to proclaim aloud the truths taught by the Church, as her teachings on the sanctity of marriage, on the education and discipline of youth, on the possession and use of property and the duties that men owe to those who rule the State, and, lastly, to restore equilibrium between the different classes of society according to Christian precept and custom. This is what we, in submitting ourselves to the manifestations of the Divine will, purpose to aim at during our Pontificate, and we will use all our industry to attain it. It is for you, Venerable Brethren, to second our efforts by your holiness, knowledge and experience, and above all by your zeal for the glory of God, with no other aim than that Christ may be formed in all.

FORMATION OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

As to the means to be employed in attaining this great end, it seems superfluous to name them, for they are obvious of themselves. Let your first care be to form Christ in those who are destined from the duty of their vocation to form Him in others. We speak of the priests, Venerable Brethren. For all who bear the seal of the priesthood must know that they have the same mission to the people in the midst of whom they live as that which Paul in these tender words proclaimed that he received: "My little children, of whom I

am in labor again until Christ be formed in you" (Gal. iv., 19). But how will they be able to perform this duty if they be not first clothed with Christ themselves? and so clothed with Christ as to be able to say with the Apostle: "I live, yet not I, but Christ lives in me" (Ibid. ii., 20). "For me to live is Christ" (Philip. i., 21). Hence although all are included in the exhortation "to advance towards the perfect man, in the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ" (Ephes. iv., 3), it is addressed before all others to him who exercises the sacerdotal ministry; who is therefore called another Christ not merely by the communication of power, but by reason of the imitation of His works; and he should therefore bear stamped upon himself the image of Christ.

This being so, Venerable Brethren, of what nature and magnitude is the care that must be taken by you in forming the clergy to holiness! All other tasks must yield to this one. Wherefore the chief part of your diligence will be directed to governing and ordering your seminaries aright so that they may flourish equally in the soundness of their teaching and in the spotlessness of their morals. Regard your seminary as the delight of your hearts, and neglect on its behalf none of those provisions which the Council of Trent has with admirable forethought prescribed. And when the time comes for promoting the youthful candidates to holy orders, ah! do not forget what Paul wrote to Timothy: "Impose not hands lightly upon any man" (I. Tim. v., 22), bearing carefully in mind that as a general rule the faithful will be such as are those whom you call to the priesthood. Do not, then, pay heed to private interests of any kind, but have at heart only God and the Church and the eternal welfare of souls, so that, as the Apostle admonishes, "you may not be partakers of the sins of others" (Ibid). Then, again, be not lacking in solicitude for young priests who have just left the seminary. From the bottom of our heart we urge you to bring them often close to your breast, which should burn with celestial fire—kindle them, inflame them, so that they may aspire solely after God and the salvation of souls. Rest assured, Venerable Brethren, that we on our side will use the greatest diligence to prevent the members of the clergy from being drawn to the snares of a certain new and fallacious science, which savoreth not of Christ, but with masked and cunning arguments strives to open the door to the errors of rationalism and semi-rationalism, against which the Apostle warned Timothy to be on his guard when he wrote: "Keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding the profane novelties of words and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called which some promising have erred concerning the faith" (I. Tim. vi., 20 s.). This does not prevent us from esteeming worthy of praise those young

priests who dedicate themselves to useful studies in every branch of learning the better to prepare themselves to defend the truth and to refute the calumnies of the enemies of the faith. Yet we cannot conceal, nay, we proclaim in the most open manner possible that our preference is, and ever will be, for those who, while cultivating ecclesiastical and literary erudition, dedicate themselves more closely to the welfare of souls through the exercise of those ministries proper to a priest zealous of the Divine glory. "It is a great grief and a continual sorrow to our heart" (Rom. ix., 2) to find Jeremiah's lamentation applicable to our times: "The little ones asked for bread, and there was none to break it to them" (Lam. iv., 4). For there are not lacking among the clergy those who adapt themselves according to their bent to works of more apparent than real solidity—but not so numerous, perhaps, are those who, after the example of Christ, take to themselves the words of the prophet: "The Spirit of the Lord hath anointed me, hath sent me to evangelize the poor, to heal the contrite of heart, to announce freedom to the captive and sight to the blind" (Luke iv., 18, 19).

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

Yet who can fail to see, Venerable Brethren, that while men are led by reason and liberty, the principal way to restore the empire of God in their souls is religious instruction? How many there are who hate Christ and abhor the Church and the Gospel more through ignorance than through badness of mind, of whom it may well be said: "They blaspheme whatever things they know not" (Jude ii., 10). This is found to be the case not only among the people at large and among the lowest classes, who are thus easily led astray, but even among the more cultivated and those enriched in other respects with great erudition. The result is for a great many the loss of the faith. For it is not true that the progress of knowledge extinguishes the faith; rather is it ignorance; and the more ignorance prevails the greater is the havoc wrought by incredulity. And this is why Christ commanded the Apostles: "Going forth teach all nations" (Matt. xxviii., 19).

But in order that the desired fruit may be derived from this apostolate and this zeal for teaching, and that Christ may be formed in all be it remembered, Venerable Brethren, that no means is more efficacious than charity, "For the Lord is not in the earthquake" (III. Kings xix., 11)—it is vain to hope to attract souls to God by a bitter zeal. On the contrary, harm is done more often than good by taunting men harshly with their faults and reproving their vices with asperity. True, the Apostle exhorted Timothy: "Accuse, beseech, rebuke," but he took care to add: "With all patience"

(II. Tim. iv., 2). Jesus has certainly left us examples of this. "Come to me," we will find Him saying, "come to me all ye that labor and are burthened and I will refresh you" (Matt. xi., 28). And by those that labor and are burthened He meant only those who are slaves of sin and error. What gentleness was that shown by the Divine Master! What tenderness, what compassion towards all kinds of misery! Isaias has marvelously described His heart in the words: "I will set my spirit upon him; he shall not contend, nor cry out; the bruised reed he will not break, he will not extinguish the smoking flax" (Is. xlii., 1 s.). This charity, "patient and kind" (I. Cor. xiii., 4), will extend itself also to those who are hostile to us and persecute us. "We are reviled," thus did St. Paul protest, "and we bless; we are persecuted, and we suffer it; we are blasphemed, and we entreat" (I. Cor. iv., 12 s.). They perhaps seem to be worse than they really are. Their associations with others, prejudice, the counsel, advice and example of others, and finally an ill-advised shame have dragged them to the side of the impious; but their wills are not so depraved as they themselves would seek to make people believe. Who will prevent us from hoping that the flame of Christian charity may dispel the darkness from their minds and bring to them light and the peace of God? It may be that the fruits of our labors may be slow in coming, but charity wearies not with waiting, knowing that God prepares His rewards not for the results of toil, but for the good will shown in it.

WORK FOR THE LAITY.

It is true, venerable brethren, that in this arduous task of the restoration of the human race in Christ neither you nor your clergy should exclude all assistance. We know that God recommended every one to have a care for his neighbor (Eccli. xvii., 12). For it is not priests alone, but all the faithful without exception who must concern themselves with the interests of God and souls—not, of course, according to their own views, but always under the direction and orders of the bishops; for to no one in the Church except you is it given to preside over, to teach, to "rule the Church of God wherein the Holy Ghost has placed you bishops" (Acts xx., 28). Our predecessors have long since approved and blessed those Catholics who have banded together in societies of various kinds, but always religious in their aim. We, too, have no hesitation in awarding our praise to this great idea, and we earnestly desire to see it propagated and flourish in town and country. But we wish that all such associations aim first and chiefly at the constant maintenance of Christian life among those who belong to them. For truly it is of little avail to discuss questions with nice subtlety, or

to discourse eloquently of rights and duties, when all this is unconnected with practice. The times we live in demand action—but action which consists entirely in observing with fidelity and zeal the divine laws and the precepts of the Church, in the frank and open profession of religion, in the exercise of every kind of charitable works, without regard to self-interest or worldly advantage. Such luminous examples given by the great army of soldiers of Christ will be of much greater avail in moving and drawing men than words and sublime dissertations; and it will easily come about that when human respect has been driven out, and prejudices and doubting laid aside, large numbers will be won to Christ, becoming in their turn promoters of His knowledge and love which are the road to true and solid happiness. Oh! when in every city and village the law of the Lord is faithfully observed, when respect is shown for sacred things, when the sacraments are frequented and the ordinances of Christian life fulfilled, there certainly will be no more need for us to labor further to see all things restored in Christ. Nor is it for the attainment of eternal welfare alone that this will be of service—it will also contribute largely to temporal welfare and the advantage of human society. For when these conditions have been secured, the upper and wealthy classes will learn to be just and charitable to the lowly, and these will be able to bear with tranquillity and patience the trials of a very hard lot; the citizens will obey not lust, but law; reverence and love will be deemed a duty towards those that govern, “whose power comes only from God” (Rom. xiii., 1). And then? Then at last it will be clear to all that the Church, such as it was instituted by Christ, must enjoy full and entire liberty and independence from all external dominion; and we, in demanding that same liberty, are defending not only the sacred rights of religion, but are also consulting the common weal and the safety of nations. For it continues to be true that “piety is useful for all things” (I. Tim. iv., 8)—when this is strong and flourishing “the people will” truly “sit in the fullness of peace” (Is. xxxii., 18).

May God, “who is rich in mercy” (Ephes. ii., 4), benignly speed this restoration of the human race in Jesus Christ, for “it is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy” (Rom. ix., 16). And let us, Venerable Brethren, “in the spirit of humility” (Dan. iii., 39), with continuous and urgent prayer ask this of Him through the merits of Jesus Christ. Let us turn, too, to the most powerful intercession of the Divine Mother—to obtain which we, addressing to you this letter of ours on the day appointed especially for commemorating the Holy Rosary, ordain and confirm all our predecessor’s prescriptions with regard to the

dedication of the present month to the august Virgin by the public recitation of the Rosary in all churches ; with the further exhortation that as intercessors with God, appeal be also made to the most pure Spouse of Mary, the Patron of the Catholic Church, and the holy Princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul.

And that all this may be realized in fulfillment of our ardent desire, and that everything may be prosperous with you, we invoke upon you the most bountiful gifts of divine grace. And now in testimony of that most tender charity wherewith we embrace you and all the faithful whom Divine Providence has entrusted us, we impart with all affection in the Lord the Apostolic blessings to you, Venerable Brethren, to the clergy and to your people.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's, on the fourth day of October, 1903, in the first year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X.

A CRUSADE OF WEALTH: A NEED OF THE TIMES.

IT WILL be an evil day for the world if ever that noble spirit of enterprise and self-denying energy which distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon race becomes wholly and definitely sacrificed on the altar of Mammon. If so, those qualities which are a precious part of God's endowment of our race will be turned into instruments of decay, swift and putrescent. Yet the danger is a real one and the remedy is hard to find. The desire of private gain without regard for the common good, the spread of luxury on the one hand and of pauperism on the other, are evils which sorely exercise the minds of statesmen, for no state can last long where selfishness abounds. Greater still is the dismay in the hearts of the pastors of the Church as they view the decay of faith and that falling away from the practice of religion which is consequent upon the growth of worldliness and the progress of ideals contrary to those of Christianity.

A new gospel is being preached, the gospel of wealth. This gospel is in its essence material, but, as any teaching professedly and openly material cannot attract mankind as a whole, the underlying essence is partly concealed under a halo of grand moral ideas and high-sounding shibboleths. If, therefore, wealth is to be sought, it must be sought in the name of philanthropy and public spirit, and if commerce, the great highway of wealth, is to be fol-

lowed, it must be followed in the interests of civilization and world-wide beneficence. Empire, too, must never be sought for from the mere love of domineering, nor to enrich oneself at other people's expense, but for the common advantage of ruler and ruled; while no ruler must be considered fit for his post unless he feels himself under heavy responsibilities to the world at large.

Such is the aim of the new gospel and such are its motives. The motives, it is true, would go far to sanctify the aim if this latter were, in reality and as it professes to be, the means and not the end of action, or, in other words, if we sought for wealth with all its personal advantages, not for its own sake, not for our private gain, but from a sheer sense of duty and of love for our country. Now, a very slight knowledge of the facts of human nature is enough to show us that this unselfish subordination of means to ends does not widely exist. We may salve our conscience a little with the thought that our greed is patriotic, but too often our patriotism is a mere adjunct to our selfishness, a sort of ornamental buttress to a building which could stand just as well alone, but would be too obviously ugly by its bare self.

Moreover, we must never forget that philanthropy and beneficence as motives of action cannot be final. They, in their turn, must be subordinated to the love of God. Without this relation to the absolute good they are words with little meaning and, as effective principles of action, they can stand neither steady nor long. It is perfectly true, indeed, that altruism is inherent in our nature. No man can be purely and entirely selfish. Even those whose leading principles are selfish will often find much room in their hearts for the higher sentiments of patriotism and benevolence. But just as physical forces, to be effective, must be organized, so too our moral forces, our sentiments and nobler passions cannot, with safety, be left to themselves. They stand in need of careful organization, and must be directed by a power higher than themselves. The sinews and the courage of a private soldier are forces in reserve and are useless without direction. Before he can strike an effective blow at a distance, deep-laid plans have to be thought out and very complicated machinery to be set in motion. Still more complex is the forethought and higher still is the power which must direct the moral forces of a man or of a nation. Sentiment is, in reality, for many purposes, a stronger force than self-interest, and that is the reason why the apostles of the gospel of wealth engage it in their service. Men will fight more readily and more bravely for ideas than they will for gold and commercial interests. Though these latter may be foremost in the minds of statesmen, they are not so in the minds of the people. In the war of North and South,

the Spanish-American war and the Transvaal war it was ideas that were principally at stake—ideas of humanity, race predominance or the civil equality of black and white. It was diversity of sentiment which put off for so long the union of Scotland with England in spite of the temptation of commercial advantage, while it is the same cause which still prevents the true and hearty union of England and Ireland. Community of sentiment, moreover, is the cement of empires and the only firm bond of alliance. Such union may begin with identity of trade interests and common advantage, but unless these selfish motives yield the first place to something better than themselves they will cease to operate with mankind for any high purpose.

The strong moral forces of altruism, patriotism and philanthropy, however, may very easily be turned into wrong directions. We may love our fellow-men, but benefits we wish to confer upon them may be evils in disguise. Our patriotism, like that of the ancient Romans, may lead us to set up our country as a god. We may spend our national wealth in trying to civilize the African savage, and succeed in making him worse than he was before—a spoilt child, with no knowledge of the world to come and a brutal incapacity to enjoy what is best in the present. We may educate the Japanese in our science and our philosophy, teach them to develop the resources of their country, and end by converting them into a nation of upstarts with their heads full of Western ideas, but without that basis of Christianity on which Western civilization was built and on which alone it can firmly stand. We may, in short, do more harm to the world by our supposed virtues than we do by our acknowledged vices, our greed and our worship of Mammon. Our so-called virtues can never wholly deserve the name of virtue until they are made the servants of our religion, until they are disciplined by an authority which is ultimately divine. Without that subordination and direction they are but indifferent qualities equally at the service of good or evil. Unless a man's life is ruled by principles based on faith his moral development will be largely swayed by the coercion of circumstances, a tyranny which natural goodness is unable to withstand. "*Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua*,"¹ says Horace, and if profound scientific knowledge is necessary in order to direct the physical forces of nature, how much more is it needed to direct the more potent and complex energies of our moral being? It is the forgetfulness of this truth and the belief that man's natural goodness will assert itself without the help of religion that is daily weakening the foundations of our present civilization.

The dependence of the natural on the supernatural and the sub-

¹ Strength without judgment falls by its own weight.

ordination of human action to a divinely constituted guidance was a fundamental idea in the theory of the mediæval empire. According to that theory all Christian states formed a great political unity under the sway of the Pope. He was their supreme visible ruler in spiritual matters and their final arbitrator in temporal concerns. It was for him, too, to interfere when the actions of princes went against the eternal principles of right and wrong. The theory, at the best of times, was never fully carried out in practice, but, none the less, it had an important influence on the politics of the time. To it was due, in large measure, the growth of civic freedom in Europe and the emancipation of citizens from the tyranny of feudalism. It did much to secure the proper distribution of wealth by means of laws against usury, by the protection of church property and by the prohibition of unjust taxation. But perhaps the most striking instance of the political influence exercised by the Church is furnished us by the Crusades.

When the barbarous tribes which overthrew the Roman Empire were, in their turn, conquered by the gentle influence of the Gospel, they were far from suddenly changing their natural character. Though they produced a goodly array of saints and of men who retired from the world to seek after perfection, the great body of those who remained in the world were still subject to many of the vices of their forefathers. They were still fierce and turbulent and looked upon war as their noblest occupation. The feudal system under which they lived was framed upon the idea that the whole nation was an armed camp, and military service was the ordinary rent paid for the tenure of land. The great lords and barons, who, often enough, paid but a doubtful allegiance to their overlords, loved fighting for its own sake and, as they had little to do in time of peace, they were ever ready to settle their quarrels by the sword. Nor did they always consider it beneath their dignity to engage in open robbery. The prosperous merchants of the city whom they despised and whose growing power they feared were looked upon by them as a fair prey, and they considered that the most honorable way to provide the means of luxury was to take it by force. It is clear that, in such a state of things, neither national prosperity nor religion were likely to advance very quickly, and strong efforts were made by the peace-loving members of the community, backed by the powerful support of the Church, to remedy the evils of the time. It was not so much the worship of Mammon as the worship of Mars which was fretting away the sinews of the Christian world. We are told, in the *Iliad*, how the ruthless, swaggering war-god was wounded and driven from the field by Diomedes, helped by Athene, the goddess of wisdom. His career was stopped, indeed, for a time,

but the god of war was immortal, and it was not long before he returned to the fray, pitiless and violent as before. The much vexed pioneers of commerce found in their well-trained citizen armies a Diomede who could check the course of the Mars that harried them. In this case, too, he again returned to the fray, still immortal, still untamed, but taught to fight under new conditions and in behalf of new allies.

In the year 1096 all Europe was stirred by the preparations for the great crusade. Twenty years before, Jerusalem, which had long been a flourishing mart under the peaceful rule of the Saracens, had fallen into the hands of the Seljakian Turks, who despised commerce and oppressed pilgrims and merchants alike. So powerful were these fierce Mohammedan warriors that they became a serious menace not only to the trade of Europe, but to Christianity itself. The Byzantine Empire was threatened and the Eastern commerce of Italy was already ruined. It was time for all those whose interests or religious feelings had suffered from the calamity to unite and strike a blow for the recovery of the holy places. A holy war was preached by Peter the Hermit and proclaimed by Pope Urban II. The monarchs of Europe, who were engaged in consolidating their dominions, were not sorry to part with their warlike and often turbulent vassals, while these latter were eased in conscience at the prospect of an adventure which had in it so much relish of salvation. Indeed the Crusade afforded a glorious opportunity for usefully employing all the restless spirits and directing in a worthy channel all the disturbing forces of Europe. The principle of making friends of the Mammon of iniquity was extended to his brother Mars. The war-god was being made to fight in a Christian harness, while his devotees exchanged their unhallowed worship of him for a relative if not inferior honor directed ultimately to the true god of battles.

It cannot be denied, of course, that motives of self-interest had a good deal to do with the promotion of the Crusades. But we must, in the first place, draw a distinction between well-ordered self-interest on the one hand and selfishness on the other. Now, no serious person would wish to banish the former from the list of worthy motives of human action. The most unselfish of men has his own true interests at heart, and the more devotedly he loves God the more wisely and securely is he providing for his own interests. In the purest act of divine love, of course, self is not considered, but then that act, of its own nature, necessarily tends to the creature's advantage, so that in seeking God he cannot, as far as his action goes, help seeking himself. Moreover, we must remember that between absolute selfishness, which consists in pure

self-seeking without any higher motive, and the highest purity of intention, there are various degrees of ordination in our aims. If they are directed by some sentiment or principle referable to God they are, so far forth, well-ordered, otherwise they are inordinate if not actually sinful. To refine and purify our motives with scientific precision is the work of asceticism or the science of the spiritual life, an advanced course of which must necessarily be reserved for the chosen few who are, *par excellence*, the salt of the earth. The mass of mankind have to be taken as they are and gradually elevated by rougher methods in which absolute precision is out of place. All men are naturally selfish. Their selfishness must therefore be changed by the best available means into some form of well-ordered self-seeking. This is precisely what was done in the Crusades, so that in that manifold host which reconquered Jerusalem from the Turks, while there were many who acted from the highest motives, the effective majority was composed of men whose grounds of action were more or less imperfectly regulated. The leaders of the enterprise, men like Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard, were members of God's aristocracy, men of peace, raised far above all mundane hopes and born to be the soul of a great movement, but thews and sinews for the work were furnished by the rank and file of ordinary Christians.

One of the great needs of our time is a Peter the Hermit or a St. Bernard to preach and organize a crusade of wealth. We can no more persuade mankind to give up money-getting than the mediæval saints could persuade their fellow-men to give up fighting, nor is it desirable that we should. Money rightly gotten and rightly spent is as powerful an instrument for good as was the sword of Godfrey de Bouillon, but for our crusade we must find our Bernard as well as our Godfrey. The one must be eminent for actual poverty, the other for poverty of spirit. The one must direct the golden current from the dry bank, the other must stand in the stream, washed but unsullied by its waves. We have such possible Godfreys among our millionaires, but they are knight-errants in wealth's chivalry, few in number, and no universal movement has ever yet clamored for them as leaders.

That the time is growing ripe for such a movement there are indications not a few. The very need of it, more or less clearly recognized, is a strong argument that it will be attempted under wise or unwise auspices. The writings of Mr. Andrew Carnegie are a proof that there are not wanting some at least among our plutocrats who are alive to the dangers and the responsibilities of wealth. His theory is that money gained from the labor of thousands must be spent for the benefit of thousands, and that no man

should be entrusted with a penny unless he feels himself accountable to some one for the spending of it. Nor have Mr. Carnegie's ideas remained in the region of theory. He has himself set the example of colossal beneficence on both sides of the Atlantic, the chief objects of his donations being education, scientific research and general enlightenment. Others have followed in his wake, nor have they always thought it enough to reserve themselves for the great final act of renunciation in their wills. They have given personal support as well as money to their good works, and taken a living interest in their progress. Such large handed munificence springs, no doubt, from natural generosity, but there is besides another motive underlying it, the motive of self-defense. The uneven distribution of wealth which results from the conditions of modern industry is held by many to constitute a grave injustice to those by whose labor that wealth is produced, and so strong is this feeling that we are threatened with a violent upheaval of the present state of things. The danger may be averted if those who reap the fruits of industry show the same wisdom in spending their gains as they did in acquiring them, and prove manifestly to the world that wealth in great reservoirs is as beneficial to mankind in general as water similarly stored.

The tendency of modern industry is to be monarchical, in as much as power and profit generally fall into the hands of a few men of genius who have the gift of management, who can understand and control the very complex conditions upon which success in trade depends. It seems an easy thing, indeed, to start a coöperative society upon republican principles, with an equitable distribution of profits; but, as a matter of fact, such undertakings usually tend to degenerate into joint stock companies. The original shares are bought up by a few capitalists and the business, in order to prosper, has to be managed by some captain of industry whose freedom of action is not hampered by the interference of a meddling board. In the world of industry, as in that of politics, a republic is not easily worked on a paper constitution. It must have developed gradually from a vigorous germ. Unfortunately the germ of many a possible industrial republic was ruthlessly choked when the guild system was destroyed at the time of the Reformation. If the ancient guilds had survived, we should, doubtless, have inherited an organic body of industrial laws worthy of the name. As it is, our so-called economic laws are, to a great extent, the working out of natural forces, largely selfish, under very imperfect control.

It is with the spending of wealth rather than its acquisition that we are at present concerned, though the one will react on the

other. Wise expenditure will breed secure profit, but in the wisdom there must be self-denial and the profit will not always be immediate. A great nation acts wisely in securing a market for its goods, but its manner of doing it may be short-sighted and foolish. Its first business is to consult the true interests of its customers and not merely to exploit them, without regard to any other qualities but their buying power. If, in our inconsiderate hurry, we force this up to an untimely maximum, our customers will come to regard us as mere scramblers for wealth and respect us accordingly. It is to be feared that the recent troubles in China are largely due to such an opinion of us as formed by the Chinese. They judge us by our merchants rather than by our missionaries, for the mercantile interest is much better represented than the missionary, so much so that they believe the latter to be in a hypocritical league with the former, with the common object of forcing a Western yoke upon the country. Now, the Chinese understand little of Western civilization, and that little they have not learned to admire or compare favorably with their own. They regard Europeans as little better than barbarians, whose only claim to civilization is that they have developed and organized all the mischievous tendencies in human nature. Our scientific knowledge, our military superiority, our railways, telegraphs and modern appliances are, in their eyes, only signs of a restless and dangerous activity destined to play itself out in the ruin of ourselves and of all who follow our lead. Ours is a one-sided development of our lower faculties at the expense of the higher—the harnessing of physical force, not in the service of true wisdom, but for the overthrow of all stability and the destruction of that root of all blessings—philosophic calm. So they think, and not, it must be confessed, entirely in ignorance. They see the repulsive forces of our civilization which make for disintegration, while the counteracting attractive forces which tend to union and stability have never yet been fairly brought before their view. They see the harmful effects of unrestrained commercialism, but they do not see the steadying influence of Christianity, which acts as a powerful check upon our aggressive worldliness. Hence they conclude that our civilization is verging upon its fall, and unless our Christianity is made to assert itself and prove the stronger of the two forces, who shall say that their conclusion is wrong?

The only way to gain permanent and steady customers in an independent nation, or to exercise a profitable rule over peoples subject to us, is to show them our better side; but for that we must have a better side to show. Now, the theory so common among us that scientific enlightenment and material progress are the sole constituents of true progress is a doctrine

unamiable in itself and commonly seen to be so by the peoples we wish to exploit in our interests. If we sail under the banner of enlightened self-interest, and, after all, this is the most dignified ensign which modern commercialism has to show, we invite suspicion at once. For interests are apt to clash and, however enlightened we may be, it will often be hard to persuade our less intelligent brethren that our interests are also theirs. In that case the persuasion may have to come by force. They will, under pressure, take up our ideas, enter into our industrial system and, be it remarked, imitate our military system also. Enlightenment will come, too, with emancipation from old ideas. They will form new conceptions of their own interests and prepare themselves, in time, to defend them against aggression on our part. In other words, they will join that happy family of the Western world of which every member is on terms of armed neutrality with every other, and so the solidarity of the world will be complete and last until the explosive cement which binds the nations together is ignited by the carelessness of some unwary politician.

If such a universal upheaval ever take place, it seems hardly likely that the white races will come out of the wrack with their supremacy still unquestioned. At present they form an aristocracy in the world, claiming by their mental and moral superiority, and by their scientific employment of physical force, to dictate terms to a majority of dark and yellow races who outnumber them by some three or four to one. It is a fact, however, which stands clearly out in the history of the world that the power of aristocracies tends to decline and to give way to the rule of the multitude, for, as the masses of a nation become wealthier and more enlightened, the conditions of superiority in the ruling class will gradually disappear, and the people, who have the advantage of numbers, claim their full share in the direction of affairs. Now, what is true of any particular nation is likely to be true of the whole family of nations which make up mankind. Numbers will tell in the end. Distinctions founded on education, social or political organization and commercial development will disappear, and the white man will find that, for better or worse, he has educated his less civilized brother up to something very near his own level. It is futile to maintain that the peoples of Asia are incapable of such development or that, if once moved, they may not become as aggressive as ourselves. Facts are dead against such a contention. In the space of a few years Japan has been transformed from its Oriental conservatism into the position of a first-class power which, as for China, those who know the country assure us that the Chinese, in spite of their political stagnation, are physically, mentally and morally superior to the Japanese. Should

time and circumstances enable them to develop their resources and throw life into their structureless probity they will be able to turn the tables upon European interference. In individual fighting power, at any rate, the trained Asiatic is already the equal of the European. He can shoot as straight, die as bravely and endure privations at least as well as his white companion in arms. The time seems not far off when he will find a leader of his own color and be taught to fight for his own hearth. When that day comes, and when he goes to battle with disciplined millions at his back, he may prove to be not merely the equal, but the possible master of his Caucasian rival. The Roman Empire was overwhelmed by the Northern barbarians; Europe was dangerously near meeting the same fate at the hands of the Turks, and there are forces now in reserve which are amply sufficient, under certain conditions, to destroy the whole fabric of our modern civilization.

When Christendom was threatened with destruction by the power of the Ottoman Empire there existed among Christian nations at least an imperfect form of political union which sprang from their common religion. Since then the influence of religion as a bond of union has grown weaker still, while the rivalry existing among the civilized peoples of the West does not tend to decrease. Identity of interest therefore, especially if the spirit of competition be regarded as a national virtue, is not more likely to unite them against a common enemy than it was in the days when Constantinople fell. The power of the foe they may have to face, though it be latent now, is likely to develop into a peril vastly more formidable than that which was threatened by the Ottoman Empire.

Such an outlook as this would, no doubt, be somewhat pessimistic were it not that we have the means to prevent its being realized. That it or something like it is the end to which secularism is tending we are fully persuaded. We are with equal firmness convinced that the Catholic Church is the only force in the world capable of successfully resisting the secularist contagion and its attendant spirit of greedy commercialism, and that it is with Catholics, therefore, that there chiefly lies the responsibility of exerting themselves to meet the dangers ahead. That we possess intrinsically the best means of combating the evil does not necessarily imply that we are actually the best combatants, unless we make the fullest use of the advantages we possess. We have valued allies outside the Church, who are, perhaps, owing to their greater natural resources, doing more for the good cause than we are ourselves. It is for us to work with them in friendly rivalry and show them by overwhelming evidence that our methods, when adequately worked, are those consecrated by heaven for the benefit of mankind.

It is the mission of the Church to take the lead in every good work of widespread utility, to give unity of action to every helpful movement by absorbing its promoters into her system. This is the ideal after which she must strive, and she can only attain it by being better known. The Church, indeed, has always possessed the marks by which she may be known in the world, but it is possible for those marks to become obscured or, on the other hand, to be more and more vividly impressed. It is by what she does rather than by what she teaches, by the results of her teaching rather than by the teaching itself, that men form their estimate of her character. They judge her by the evidence of facts. Now, the evidence of facts may be striking and manifold and yet be ignored by those who from perversity or prejudice lack the will to believe. Statistics may show that Catholic schools turn out a highly creditable percentage of good citizens; that Catholic missionaries, with the scantiest means at their disposal, obtain a much better hold on their converts than do the preachers of other religions who are backed by unlimited supplies of money; Catholic social works may meet with unparalleled success; and yet all this array of facts will fail to convince many a man of average prejudice that it is not his duty to detest the Pope of Rome and all his works. Our Lord has said: "Let your light shine before men." If the light is not strong enough we must make it stronger still. If facts are not persuasive we must swell the multitude of them until the evidence they supply is so overwhelming as to convince the minds of all but the most wilfully perverse. For this result we need a quickening of energy in every department of Catholic life; and this can only come from a copious outpouring of the Spirit of God, the well-spring of every true revival. At the back of all fruitful activity is the spirit of prayer and contemplation, which is nothing else than the profound and living possession of Catholic truth. All great movements in the Church have begun with a special interposition of the Holy Ghost in order to stir up this interior spirit, for without it the greatest zeal is apt to dissipate its energy in ill-advised and fruitless ventures. Hence to minimize the value of the interior life, or to question the *raison d'être* of religious orders who pass their time in the cloister, is to despise that very light which alone can guide us and which we, who are active, wish to make to shine before men.

But Christ has entrusted His Church not only with a shining light, but also with a sword: "I came not to bring peace, but the sword." As Catholics we are a militant body whose object is, in a certain sense, to create strife and division. This is a hard truth for our reckoning in these days when we hear so much talk of tolerance and of "live and let live." The wheat and the cockle

grow up in such close fraternity that any attempt to uproot the latter would seem to be an act of mischievous brutality. Yet there can be no compromise between good and evil, and all tolerance of the evil which we can prevent is a betrayal of our trust. Tolerance may be extended to persons, but not to principles. Once a principle is recognized as contrary to the teachings of our Master, it is our duty to combat it with all the energy we possess. If we can root up the cockle without at the same time rooting up the wheat, it is our business to do so without mercy, so as to leave the angels of God as little as possible to do on the final sorting day. If our work is done rightly there will be no need of any heavy-booted aggressiveness; our warfare will be carried on with a humanity undreamt of by the most considerate of Geneva conventions. For, after all, the rallying light and the sword of division which Christ brought into the world are only different aspects of one and the same thing, viz., that unchangeable, knowable truth which He confided to the keeping of His Church. The clearer the light of truth is made to shine before men, the narrower will be the zone of half-light, hesitancy and purblind indifference. Those who have any love for the light will know whither to follow it, while those who love darkness rather than the light will go the opposite way, and so the torch of truth will become the sword of division which definitely separates the world into the two hostile camps of good and evil, light and darkness. But before we can bring matters to this clear and definite issue it will be our duty to live the Catholic life in its fullness, so that the Church may stand before the world as a divine organization in complete working order, inspiring its members with a living knowledge of supernatural truth and, at the same time, inducing them to employ every form of activity which may propagate that truth among others.

There is much truth in the assertion that the weakness of the Church in so many Catholic countries is due to a deadening of the active virtues, to a decline of the militant spirit in Catholics themselves. They have been living in winter quarters while their enemies have been laying waste the country around them. Those whose business it was to be most active have, only too often, contented themselves with complaints and half-hearted prayers to heaven at a time when prompt and organized action was imperatively necessary, when vast numbers of neutrals, who, if gained over in time, might have been turned into active partisans, were going over to the standard of the enemy.

It is true that we are beginning to open our eyes, that the energy of Catholics in many parts of the world gives us every reason to hope for better things, but our period of unnecessary

hibernation is by no means at an end; we cannot yet sing *Jam hiems transiit* (the winter is passed), nor shall we be able to do so until we have emerged from our winter quarters with our minds on the alert, our scouts everywhere afield and our forces ready to converge at the right point. Then, and then only, shall we begin to swell our fighting line from the numbers of those nondescript Christians, half-baked Catholics and hesitating free-thinkers who at present occupy so large a space in what should be Christendom. When these have been gained over and drilled there will then be a real hope of dealing successfully with the vast heathen populations which form the great majority of mankind.

We have already recalled the fact that great movements and revivals in the Catholic world are commonly preceded by some unmistakable sign of Divine interposition, and, indeed, for such a revival as we have described, for such an output of energy all along the line, a very special outpouring of grace would be required. Now, miraculous help does not come at command, but we can prepare ourselves to receive it, and the sort of help we require for the extension of Christ's Church upon earth has been guaranteed to us by Christ Himself provided that we fulfil His conditions. If we labor and pray, if we work as units or in detached sections and make use of what energy we have at our disposal to begin with, He will find a means of coördinating our efforts and will provide a leader to direct them into one general movement. Since, therefore, it is our trading and wealth-gaining energy which is principally active, it follows that we should make our start by employing this, as the Crusaders of old employed their fighting propensities, in ventures hallowed by some relish of salvation. If we are determined to grow rich it must be for the only legitimate object of all riches, which is to promote the glory of God. It is better to be without wealth than to be ignorant of how to use it rightly when acquired; whereas, if we intend to use it as the means to a noble end, the commercial energy by which we acquire it becomes a pursuit worthy of our labor and useful in the best sense to the state as well as to all those with whom we have dealings.

When Christopher Columbus started on his first voyage of discovery the chief object he had in view, after the great and leading purpose of planting the faith in newly found lands, was to acquire gold to pay the expenses of an expedition to the Holy Land. Owing to the greed of his followers and the short-sighted policy of King Ferdinand, his schemes were effectually checked in their very inception, but, in spite of his failure, Columbus will live in history as the example of a saintly man, personally and spiritually poor, in whom the gold fever was so transfigured as to blend its

fire with the purest flame of divine love. He failed because he stood alone. The pioneers who inherited his apostolic spirit, men like Las Casas, St. Peter Claver, Marquette and the missionaries of both Americas, though they met with only partial success, yet showed, by the splendid works they inaugurated, what grand and enduring results would have been achieved had they met with support instead of opposition. There are many works at present in progress for the conversion of our fellow-citizens and for the conversion of heathens. Though many in number, they are few, very few, when compared with the needs they are intended to meet, and most of them are in a struggling condition. Their weakness springs, not so much from actual opposition, though that, at times, is violent enough, but from lack of support in the shape of money contributions.

In the year 1802 the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which is one of the principal mainstays of the foreign missions, was able to raise, from all parts of the world, no more than \$1,300,000, a sum hardly sufficient to pay the third part of the price of a first-class battleship. The contribution sent in from the United States, though it compared favorably with the sums subscribed by other nations, represented something under three-quarters of a cent per head of the Catholic population. In England the principal missionary college, St. Joseph's, Mill Hill, was actually in receipt of a subsidy from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and when the allowance was withdrawn it had to struggle hard for its very existence. Catholic France, which has long taken the lead in all apostolic work and made the noblest sacrifices in men and money, is at present so beset with persecution and wholesale robbery at home that she can hardly be expected to maintain her position as the most generous Catholic nation abroad.

If the Church is crippled in France it becomes all the more a matter of supreme necessity that Catholics in other countries should be made keenly alive to the sense of their responsibilities; for it is a want of knowledge rather than the lack of generosity which accounts for the extremely small allowance which is doled out to the foreign missions. Catholics are often generous enough when it is a question of supporting a voluntary school or of building a church at home, but the soul of a Chinaman or a Matabele would seem to be such a shadowy entity that the ransom of it is hardly worth the price we pay for a cooling draught in the summer. The neglect of apostolic work abroad is sometimes seriously defended on the plea that what is sent into heathen lands is lost at home. In answer to such ignorant reasoning we will quote some words spoken by Cardinal Manning in a speech delivered before a meeting

held in favor of St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary College in the year 1877:

It is because we have need of men and means at home that I am convinced we ought to send both men and means abroad. In exact proportion as we freely give what we have freely received will our works at home prosper and the zeal and number of our priests be multiplied. This is the test and the measure of Catholic life amongst us. The missionary spirit is the condition of growth; and if the faith is to be extended at home, it must be by our aiding to carry it abroad. To say that we are overwhelmed with local claims and with home wants, and that the money expended for the Foreign Missionary College had better be spent on the spiritual destitution at our own doors, is the most shallow and the most miserable of delusions.

From the earliest times it has been the claim of the true Church to call herself "Catholic," and the title was everywhere acknowledged. In the words of Cardinal Newmann:² "Balaam could not keep from blessing the ancient people of God; and the whole world, heresies inclusive, were irresistibly constrained to call God's second election by its prophetic title of the 'Catholic' Church." Yet we meet with certain members of the Anglican and Protestant Episcopal churches who, to the no small offense of their Protestant co-religionists, persist in calling themselves Catholics, and no amount of logic can convince them that they have no claim to the title. The one argument they need is that of facts, and we must produce overwhelming evidence to show them that it is the Church of Peter alone which has the essentially Catholic property of universal vigorous growth. Now, mission statistics prove that in the work of Christianizing pagans a Catholic dollar will go very much farther than a Protestant dollar, and the difference would be very remarkable indeed were it not for the fact that the Protestant dollars flow far more freely than the Catholic. It is true, of course, that our separated brethren have a greater abundance of this world's goods to bestow on what they consider to be the best of objects; but we ought not to be outdone by them in generosity. In a work of such importance we are called upon to give not merely of our abundance, but of our moderate competence and even of our poverty. The wealth we so bestow will come back to us a thousand-fold. The development of our missions will be so great as to drive all rivals from the field, not by force of unfriendly aggression, but because they will find their occupation gone; while the effect at home of such an object lesson will be to gather into the true fold all those earnest seekers after truth who have failed hitherto to see the light because we did not hold it up before their eyes.

And at this stage of our essay it may be well to point the moral of what has already been said about the possible future of the colored races, especially those of the Mongolian stock whose attitude

² "Development of Christian Doctrine," ch. vi., sec. 2, p. 6.

towards us is already designated by many as "The Yellow Peril." In view of the terrible possibilities which threaten us, the speedy awakening of a generous spirit among us becomes a matter which concerns not only the growth of true religion, but the very existence of civilization itself. Civilization is threatened from within and from without. The spirit of secularism is weakening those religious and moral safeguards which are the only bonds of our civil society. While pretending to aim at universal solidarity through the motive of enlightened self-interest, it is, in reality, dividing every nation into hostile sections, setting one civilized nation against another, and so poisoning the leaven of Western ideas that our contact with the races of Asia and Africa is the brewing of danger to ourselves instead of being the means of uniting the whole world into one peaceful family of nations. If old-fashioned faith and apostolic zeal are not strong within us, at any rate the thought of dangers ahead ought to impress us with a sense of the position which, as Catholics, we hold in the world. All the signs of the times tend to show that the Protestant system, never firmly united, is beginning to break up altogether. It will soon be powerless to resist the forces of infidelity and secularism which it has done so much to call into existence, while its inevitable disruption, though adding new members and fresh vigor to the Church, will also contribute largely to the forces arrayed against her. It is then that Catholicism will have to stand alone against the spirit of irreligion which is not only warring against Christianity at home, but establishing its outposts in pagan countries as well. If we are to be ready for the struggle we must be ready to make sacrifices now. We, too, must strengthen our outposts and promote the growth of our missions abroad. They are our colonies, whose interests are our interests and who will stand by us in the day of trial. A colonial policy may not always be advantageous to a nation, but it is essential to the Church. Her health and the fullness of her life at home depend upon the measure in which she spreads herself abroad, while we see that, if the Church is weak at home, the very existence of our present civilization will be at stake. If in pagan countries the merchant is not closely followed by the missionary; if, what is worse still, and what has actually taken place in Japan, modern infidel philosophy is more actively propagated than Catholic teaching; if, in short, we carry to our fellow-men the gospel of Mammon and of intellectual pride instead of teaching them Christian humility and charity, we shall be furnishing them with weapons which they may use to overwhelm us when they have learned to know their own power. The trader who sells rifles to the African savage is far less a traitor to his own cause than the statesman who exports

Western ideas and Western commodities without the necessary corrective of Christian teaching.

A Christian China and a Christian India would make for the solidarity of the world with the strength of two vast populations, including, perhaps, one-half of the human race, who would be ready to acknowledge their indebtedness to Western Christendom for their social, intellectual and religious emancipation. If, on the other hand, the work of emancipation is inaugurated by selfish commercialism, they will see no reason for gratitude towards us when our one object has been to exploit them as a lucrative market for our wares. We may enrich a semi-barbarous nation by developing its resources and organizing its finance. Its people, no doubt, will grow in material prosperity under our directing influence, but their obligations to us will be of a strictly business nature and no more. We, too, shall have drawn our profit out of their expansion and reaped thereby a sufficient reward. They will have given us our wages of management, and, as soon as they are able to sever the connection, they will dispense with our services and set up for themselves in opposition to us.

The smallness of the Catholic leaven in the East, the insignificance of the results we have achieved compared with what yet remains to be done, may be gathered from a few facts. The Paris Society of Foreign Missions is the largest missionary association in the world. In the near East and in the far East, from Southern India to Japan, Korea and Manchuria, it has 32 dioceses or vicariates apostolic. Its 1,236 European, assisted by 625 native priests, minister to the wants of 1,300,491 Catholics. The actual conversions of the year among adult pagans numbered 34,587, while 133,934 children of pagan parents were baptized. These figures, to be sure, in so far as they present to us the picture of an active and well organized society making the most of the means at its disposal, are very consoling. But when we consider the vast populations among whom the missioners work and the fact that hardly any men of influence have yet embraced the faith, the impression so far made by Christianity seems very slight indeed. In Japan, among a population of 40,000,000, there are less than 50,000 Catholics.

In the British Empire the propagation of the Gospel among heathen peoples is left entirely to private enterprise, so that Catholics, who form so small a proportion of the home population, are able to do but little for their pagan fellow subjects. English Catholic missionaries are very few in number, so that nearly all the work of evangelization has to be done by foreigners, mostly French and Belgians. However, even in England itself something is being done to train laborers for missionary work in the empire. St.

Joseph's Society for Foreign Missions has obtained a footing in Kashmir, Madras, Borneo, New Zealand and Uganda. This last named mission, the most successful of all, was begun in 1895 at the special request of Mgr. Livinhac, the successor of Cardinal Lavigerie. He had come to England to represent to Cardinal Vaughan how necessary it was that English missionaries should be sent to Equatorial Africa in order to dispel the lie so industriously spread among the natives that the Catholic religion was purely French, and that to be under British protection they must become Protestants. The sacrifices made in undertaking the work were soon well repaid, and at present the fathers of the mission have under their charge a large Catholic population who are loyal to the faith and who have, moreover, proved their loyalty to the government in times of extreme danger. Should this mission be well supported by the generosity of English-speaking Catholics, it is likely to have a great future before it and to compete on advantageous terms with the Protestant missions which are likewise carrying on an active propaganda in the African lake district.

The Zambesi Mission in Southern Africa can claim the honorable distinction of having obtained a footing among the savage Matabele, ruled over by Lo Bengula, just ten years before the British South African Company established its sphere of interest in and about the territories of that monarch. These ten years were indeed a period of weary waiting and hardships. In an account of the first pioneer expedition written by Fr. Arkwright, S. J.,³ we read as follows:

The first batch of missionaries consisted of eight fathers and three lay brothers. . . . It was in Father Depelchin's plan to establish stations along the line of march, but as he made headway into the interior he got news of the death of one father, then another, one brother, then another. . . . Another set of missionaries, headed by Father Croonenberghs, went to their help and were dispersed over the country. These, too, had their trials. Father Wehl got astray, missed the track of the wagon, was lost in the bush and was only found a month after completely out of his mind. He died soon after. A lay brother was lost in Crocodile river. Father Law died of starvation, Father Perörde and Father Fuchs died of fever. Father de Witt fell from his horse and died on the spot. . . . Finally, Father Depelchin, who had broken his leg during the journey, came back to the colony, on his way to Europe to give an account of his expedition and the hopes he had of the mission. . . . Father Prestage was in Lo Bengula's country for ten years or so, but made little or no progress with the blacks, on account of the despotic rule of the king.

Truly, before the country was opened up by the new chartered company things did look black indeed, and poor Father Weld (the superior's) heart seemed to be sinking, but when he saw the fortune hunters and gold-seekers themselves taking the thing in hand, he beheld all their endeavors in a supernatural light and gave sincere thanks to God for His wonderful providence, and on his death-bed his one great thought was that at last the time was come for the conversion of the poor abandoned creatures on the Zambesi.

The advantage of having been first in the field, ten years before the advent of the traders and gold-seekers, though it showed how helpless missionaries may sometimes be without the aid of these

³ See the *Month*, January, 1893, "The Zambesi Mission."

latter, was by no means a mere shadowy gain. The promise that those who sow in tears shall reap in joy began to be fulfilled in the general respect shown by natives and Europeans alike for these self-sacrificing apostles who had proved by their example that the heart of the white man can feel a nobler and more burning thirst than the thirst for gold. The Zambesi Mission, which is worked by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, has now some eight or nine stations among the Kaffirs, Matabele and Mashonas. The future is fraught with great possibilities, but their realization will depend, under God, upon the generosity of the faithful at home. At the present moment, while the new country of Rhodesia is being opened out and things are in a state of transition, any liberal and energetic support is likely to produce speedy and lasting results. If, through lack of this support the missionaries lose the position they have so heroically gained, the difficulties of the future may grow beyond remedy, while the labors and lives of men that were sown on the African veldt will fail to produce that hundred-fold harvest which is their proper recompense.

It is only fair to say here that the generosity of American Catholics has had no small share in the establishment and progress of the two missions of which we have sketched this short account. It is true that America has much noble apostolic work to support nearer home, but then the number of English Catholics is so small and their resources are so scanty compared with the tasks they have to perform that they are obliged to seek for liberal help from abroad.⁴

In South Africa the solution of the "Color Question" will probably depend upon the particular way in which the natives are Christianized. Whatever we may think of the good intentions of those concerned in producing him, the Methodized or Anglicanized Negro can hardly be reckoned a success. But too often he hides the vices of the black and the white man under a thin veneer of Christianity, and the only efficacious appeal to his sense of duty is that which comes from physical force. It is the Catholic missionaries who from experience and long tradition know best how to deal with the African savage according to his character, which is that of a long-neglected child who must be ruled with a firm hand while he is

⁴ It may not, perhaps, be unpractical in this connection to mention the addresses to which communications respecting the two missions of St. Joseph and the Zambesi may be sent. In the former case letters should be addressed to the rector, Father Henry, St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, London, N. W. Those for the Zambesi mission should be sent to the Rev. F. King, S. J., Manresa House, Roehampton, London, S. W., or to the Rev. M. R. McCarthy, S. J., St. Francis Xavier's College, 130 West Sixteenth street, New York city.

treated with all the consideration which the value of his immortal soul demands. Whatever be the political and social future that lies before him, whether he be destined to live in independence or to remain forever under the influence of his white brother, in any case it is altogether desirable that he should be first raised to the moral and spiritual level marked out in the Gospel. Since Christ died to redeem men of every color and has provided the means of regeneration for all men, however degraded they may be, there no longer exists any charter of Josue for settling race questions by the policy of extermination. The black man is destined to remain as a power in the world. In his own land of Africa the problem presented by him in the future will indeed be difficult to solve unless there be extended to him the full benefit of the Christian law of charity. In all probability Africa will remain the black man's land, though the white man will have a mighty influence in the shaping of its future. If the work of transforming its degraded heathen populations is not carried on according to the principles of the Gospel, the Dark Continent will become darker still, and the principal effect of our development of its resources will be to call forth all the latent energy of its indolent millions and let it loose for deeds of blood and violence. In Africa as in Asia events are marching with astounding rapidity, and in each case we are on our trial before heaven and before mankind now more than ever we were in the past. Posterity will have to pay dearly for every false step that we make, while heaven is waiting for that golden harvest the seeds of which it is now in our power to sow.

Enough has been said to point out in what true economy in the employment of wealth consists. Much more might be said about the numerous ways of wasting riches when they are regarded either as an end in themselves or as the means of living in idleness and luxury. It is sufficient to have indicated that in the end the most wasteful and dangerous method of using our resources is to lay them out for speedy returns by trying to convert the whole world into an economic hot-bed and its people into buyers and sellers who worship no god but Mammon. If wealth is a dangerous possession, easily employed in the service of evil and commonly smoothing the way to headlong decadence, it still remains in itself a good gift of God, though its ownership involves heavy responsibilities. That the weight of these responsibilities may be recognized and nobly borne, we have seen that a crusade of wealth is a need of the times which clamors to be realized. If such a crusade ever assumes the form of a powerful and widespread movement, there can be no doubt that heaven will provide leaders to organize it and give it its proper direction. Meanwhile it is for those who are alive to their own

responsibilities and know where needs are urgent to start the movement betimes by preaching and by generous example, and so to kindle a flame of enthusiasm which shall spread to all such as are ready to sacrifice labor and money when once they know where their true advantage lies.

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FEUDALISM, CHIVALRY AND THE COMMUNES IN THE MIDDLE AGE.

ELSEWHERE we have had occasion to describe the prime origin of Feudalism, when we spoke of the influence of the Germanic and Slavic barbarian invasions on general society in the disrupted Roman Empire.¹ Now we would remark that many publicists imagine that they discern the origin of the feudal system among the Romans of the time of the Empire; and simply because they find an analogy between the relations of mediæval suzerain and vassal and those relations which subsisted between his patron and the Roman soldier who had received a gift of lands with the obligation of defending their possession in the name of that patron. It appears certain, however, that as a definite system Feudalism was of Teutonic origin, although it speedily became the presumed governmental ideal also among the Latin, as well as among the Gallic and the other Celtic peoples. The reader should note that the Saxons and Vandals were the sole barbarians who interfered with the olden municipal régime of the Roman law; and he should not forget that in their treatment of the civilized land-owners in the whilom Roman Empire, the Germanic and Slavic barbarians acted in accordance with their respective and comparative ideas of decency and of justice. The Germans, properly so-called, appropriated every inch of arable soil in Gaul and Italy which they could dominate, relegating the owners to a serfdom which was yet to be mollified by the influence of the Church. The Vandals contented themselves with the best of the farms, of course reducing the legitimate proprietors to serfdom. The Burgundians were satisfied with a confiscation of two-thirds of the fertile acres, on which the olden proprietors were thenceforth allowed to find a living with pick and hoe. The Franks, however—as if in prognostication of the

¹ Our "Universal History," Vol. I., p. 532.

future *Gesta Dei per Francos*—occupied merely those lands which appeared to have no owners. All of these confiscated “fiefs” were donatives from the barbaric chieftains; and from the fifth until the ninth century there were manifested continually two tendencies—one, on the part of the lords, to take back the granted estates so that the said lords might procure more adherents by new investitures, and another on the part of the original barbaric vassals who constantly yearned for an exemption from every obligation toward their lords. Ere long three thoroughly antagonistic systems confronted each other—the monarchical, the aristocratic and the democratic. Perhaps we should not use the term “democratic” in this connection, but there is no other word capable of indicating the position which was occupied by that “Third Estate” which was already prominent in the ninth century. During the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne the monarchical idea obtained a predominance. In the Italy of that time anarchy was prevalent. In the glorious peninsula of Spain, the pride of the *hidalgos*—that pride which caused even the king to bend before it—made the monarch a mere military chief. In England, after the precarious reigns of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish monarchs, those of the Norman-French kings were a continual struggle with their recalcitrant barons.

A few words must now be devoted to the feudal hierarchy. At the head of Christian society, the *populus Christianus*, was the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Our Lord and Saviour, the supreme arbitrator in the differences among rulers, the suzerain of many of the kings, and upon whom devolved the duty of selecting the prince who was to be the “Holy Roman Emperor”—a personage who, despite his grandiose title, had no real jurisdiction over other States than those of which he was the king. In the feudal system there was a triple tie between the suzerain and the vassal—the *homagium*, the *fides* and the *investitura* or *saisine*; and this tie was to be renewed at the accession of a new vassal. By the act of *homagium*, as the term indicates, the vassal declared that he was the “man” of his lord; and the avowal was accomplished by the placing of the vassal’s hand in that of his superior. By the act of *fides*, the vassal swore fidelity to his lord. But not until the vassal had received the *investitura*, symbolized by a twig or a bit of clay, did the vassal know that his tenure was secure. The obligations of the vassal to his suzerain were both material and moral, the material being chiefly military, while the moral entailed the respect and defense of the honor of every member of his superior’s family. Undoubtedly, as in all human institutions, there were many imperfections in the feudal system; but we must say with Chantrel: “In

the days of Feudalism there could exist no such oppression as had been organized by the Roman Senate and which was to be established by that of Venice. Great conquests and great dominations were impossible. Anarchy was forestalled, and ambition was arrested ere it could develop. The despotism of one person was seldom actuated."²

Not until the eleventh century was the feudal system in full force; the fourteenth century saw its end, although the twelfth had beheld a lessening of its influence because of the growth of the Communes and of the royal power. Feudalism spread itself over all those countries which had formed the empire of Charlemagne; that is, over France, Italy, Germany and Northern Spain. In its improved condition the Normans introduced it into England. Quite naturally, its adoption followed every Christian conquest over the Musulman encampers on Spanish soil. The Scandinavian kingdoms welcomed it in the twelfth century; Russia in the thirteenth. The enterprising Crusaders transplanted it to their conquests in the Orient. Coming now to a general view of feudal Europe as it subsisted in the halcyon days of the much-discussed system, France claims our chief consideration. At the time when the Capetian dynasty attained the throne of France, the royal domain consisted of the *Ile* which was termed the Duchy of France, and of the Orleanais, the counties of Laon and Bourges and the Vexin. The immediate vassals of the king were the nine secular peers: the dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, Aquitaine and Gascony, and the counts of Anjou, Flanders, Champagne, Toulouse and Barcelona. There were also six ecclesiastical peers: the archbishop-duke of Reims, the bishops-dukes of Laon and Langres, and the counts-bishops of Beauvais, Chalons and Noyons. In the twelfth century the secular peerages were reduced to six: those of the duchies of Normandy, Burgundy and Aquitaine, and of the counties of Champagne, Toulouse and Flanders. The duchy (once the kingdom) of Aquitaine was bounded by the Loire, the Lower Rhone, the Pyrenees and the Atlantic. It comprised the county (destined to become the kingdom) of Navarre, the duchy of Gascony, the counties of Comminges, Bigorre, Armagnac, Toulouse, Roussillon, Barcelona, Foix, Poitiers, Auvergne, Angoulême, Périgord, La Marche and Bourges; the viscounties of Bearn, Turenne and Narbonne; the barony (in time the duchy) of Bourbon; the lordship (afterward the duchy) of Albret, and the lordship of Montpellier. Bounded by the Mediterranean, the Alps, the Lower Rhone, the Loire, the Jura, Champagne and Lorraine were the territories which once formed the ancient kingdom of Burgundy and Arles, and during many years

² "Cours d'Histoire Universelle, Moyen Age," Paris, 1886.

of the Middle Age these fiefs acknowledged the suzerainty of the Holy Roman Emperor, although it is to be noted that quasi-independence was the portion of many of the bishops in those regions. The northern provinces—Artois, Flanders and Picardy—depended from the French crown, as did also in the northwest Normandy, Maine, Anjou and Brittany, together with many counties. The olden kingdom of Lorraine, between the Rhone and the Meuse, comprising the territory known in our day as Alsace-Lorraine, depended from the Empire.

As for the Holy Roman Empire, we should never forget that two distinct personalities must always be discerned in its incumbent—the king of the Germans and the suzerain of the northern and central Italian princes (the Pope excepted) and of the northern and central Italian communes. The great vassals of the king of the Germans were the dukes of the two Lorraines, the dukes of Franconia, Suabia, Bavaria, Carinthia, Bohemia and Saxony, and those ecclesiastical princes whom Otho I. had endowed with secular dominion. The administration of the kingdom of Italy, on the part of the Holy Roman Emperor, was entirely distinct from that of the Germans. Until the eleventh century feudal nobles such as marquises and counts acted as a species of imperial vicars in the chief cities of the north and centre (Rome excepted), Magna Græcia still recognizing the sovereignty of Constantinople. Finally, counts were established in nearly every town which admitted the imperial suzerainty. However, the enfranchisement of the Lombard Communes, together with the rise of the Italian commercial republics, banished Feudalism from the greater cities in the north and centre of the peninsula. When, toward the end of the eleventh century, the Normans effected their domination of the Two Sicilies, they established feudal institutions firmly, and vestiges of those institutions are still perceptible in the island and in Calabria.

Among the Spaniards the royal authority was restricted by Feudalism to an extreme and nearly absurd degree. It is certain that had its exaggerations not been too frequently actuated, the Islamites would have returned for all time to Africa several centuries before the days of Ferdinand and Isabella. During the feudal period Spanish vassals of superior degree were styled *ricos hombres*, but this term should be understood as indicative of influential rather than of wealthy men. Now, in one of the *fueros viejos* (olden privileges) of the old Castilian law we read: "If the king exiles one of his vassals who is a *rico home*, all of the vassals and friends of that exile can accompany him. A *rico home* can change his lord whenever he desires; he needs merely to send a representative to his lord of the time, and he is freed from his obligations

when the messenger has said, 'My lord, I kiss your hands in the name of my own lord, and I announce that he is no longer your vassal.'” We must feel some enthusiasm when we remember that every mediæval Spaniard regarded himself as noble from the fact that he had received Baptism. But prudence was certainly disregarded when the kings of Aragon, on the day of their coronation, allowed themselves to be thus addressed: “Sire, taken one by one, each of us is your equal. United, we are stronger than you are; remember, therefore, that we make you our king only on condition that you respect our privileges.” Feudalism is said by some to have been introduced primarily into England by her Norman conquerors; but Lingard opines that its germs were discernible among the Anglo-Saxons long before the extinction of their dynasty, and he quotes Asser, tutor of Alfred the Great, in proof of the assertion that the term “vassal” was used in England during the reign of that monarch. Asser speaks of the thanes of Somerset as “*nobiles vassalli Sumertunensis plagæ*.”

Probably the fundamental weakness of the feudal system is to be found in the fact that it was in the power of any vassal to become a suzerain. By the concession of a portion of his lands he could become the “lord” of the beneficiary, and therefore in every practical sense a sovereign, while the secondary vassals—the *arrière vassaux*—came to regard him as their suzerain, forgetting quite conveniently their real obligations to the monarch who was the sovereign of the nation. But as an offset to this fundamental weakness we must mention one source of strength in Feudalism. No taxes could be levied without the consent of the contributors. No law was valid if it had not been accepted by those who were to be affected by it. No sentence was legitimate unless it was rendered by the peers of the accused. The average student of history is prone to reflect on the many instances of oppression which he finds in the feudal system. But he should not forget that since the disappearance of feudal institutions history has been at least as redolent of tyranny and outrage as it was when those institutions were dominant. And let us reflect on a very salient fact in connection with this much decried system. It may be thanked for the creation of a very numerous class of men who were ever ready to defend their rights. These men were proud of a common equality, whether they were monarchs or not; they were ever watchful for the moment when their suzerains would justify them in an abjuration of the feudal tie. Nor should moderns forget that besides the principle of individual independence, Feudalism bequeathed to our time other very important principles—the sentiment of honor and that of reciprocal duty, respect for woman, love of domestic life, courtesy

and every other kind of social refinement—in fine, that chivalry which now demands our consideration.³

It has been debated whether chivalry, as we have been accustomed to fancy it, ever really existed, or whether, like the golden age, it is not a pretty dream. Cantù, to whom no modern author can be compared for accurate appreciation of the spirit of the Middle Age, reminds us that even in the so-called halcyon days of chivalry the contemporary writers were wont to lament the glories of the olden time and to decry the presumed decay of the lauded institution. And the following remarks of this incomparable historian are very much to the point: "We may well believe that the chivalry of the romances—that is, an era of valor, of loyalty, of spontaneous order, of real happiness, of disinterested sacrifice, of chaste love—no more existed than did the idyllic blessedness of the Arcadian shepherds. Probably books have modified this condition, substituting an ideal for the true era. Nevertheless, there was considerable reality in chivalry, and its members formed an efficient organization, with initiatory forms, rights and prerogatives. Its principal theatre was the south of France, whence it spread throughout Spain, whose people were already chivalrous by nature. Italy, devoted to commerce, religion and science, cared but little for the punctilios of chivalry, unless in the Sicilies, where it was introduced by the Normans. The Suabians wondered that the Hungarians ignored this institution, and they urged, in the name of woman, that the Hungarians should fight with the sword and not with less courteous weapons, but the envoy was soundly scourged. England, more aristocratic than chivalrous, shows us only Richard Cœur de Leon, and he was formed to the arms and poetry of France; the heroes of the Round Table lived merely in the pages of romance; Edward III. and the Black Prince derived all of their renown from the tutelage of France. The Greeks and the Russians never had a conception of chivalry, but its institutions penetrated into Poland."⁴

As a social institution, chivalry dated from the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, and it was the influence of the Catholic Church that endowed it with all of its estimable qualities. As for its faults—ever concomitants of all the devices of man—most of them were due to the still surviving barbaric tendencies

³ For accurate details in regard to Feudalism consult: Beaumanoir, "Livre des Coustumes de Beauvoisis," written in 1283, but printed at Bourges in 1690 and at Paris in 1843; Brussel, "Usage des Fiefs," Paris, 1750; Cantù, "Storia Universale," Bk. XI, chap. xii. Ninth Italian edition, Turin, 1866; Romain, "Le Moyen Age," Paris, 1890; Tocqueville, "L'Ancien Régime et la Revolution," Paris, 1856; Orlando, "Feudi di Sicilia," Palermo, 1817; Lingard, "History of England," Vol. I., London, 1830; Guizot, "Histoire de la Civilisation en France," Lect. 40, Paris, 1830.

⁴ *Ubi supra*, chap. iv.

in the not yet perfectly consolidated *populus Christianus*. The word "chivalry," like every other word in modern languages which indicates any notion of refinement, is derived either from the French or the Italian idiom. Both the French *chevalier* and the Italian *cavaliere* signified originally a man who fought on horseback. As a military force cavalry was unknown to the Germanic and Slavonic hordes who disrupted the Roman Empire, and for several centuries after the great invasion, all operations of war in Europe were conducted by infantry. It is true that the Merovingian kings had in their employ a number of fighting horsemen, but these were all Gallo-Romans, and it seems that unfortunately their worth in battle was not appreciated at its full value. Not until the accession of the Carolingian dynasty was any great consideration accorded to cavalry; then every warrior who was sufficiently rich to buy and feed a horse insisted on entering the field as a "chevalier." Hence it came to pass that this term was in time regarded as a title of honor—in fact, as indicative of a new institution. Then the Church, ever on the alert to Christianize every proper enterprise of her children, undertook the task of consecrating the chevaliers to her own defense and to that of the weak and the poor. Almost from the origin of this institution there were two kinds of chevaliers, religious and secular. The secular knight was devoted to the service of his sovereign or to that of his feudal suzerain; the religious knight received an investiture from his bishop, the ceremony consisting of a blessing of a sword which was never to be drawn unless in the cause of God or in that of the oppressed. As a rule the chevalier underwent an apprenticeship. While still a child he was sent to the household of his sovereign or to that of his suzerain, there to act as *varlet* or *damoiseau*, according as his service was given to the lord or to the lady of the castle—to the *castellan* or to the *chatellaine*. When he had attained to the age of fourteen the boy was supposed to be *hors de page*, or graduated from his novitiate. If then he was found to be all that religion and courtesy demanded, he was admitted to the grade of *ecuyer* or "squire," which entitled him to the privilege of carrying the shield of his lord. Seven years were then spent in study and in military exercises ere the lad could hope to be admitted to the ranks of chivalry; at the expiration of this period, if his conduct had met with the approval of his lord and of his lady, he was "dubbed" a knight.

Certain moderns smile when they happen to peruse a description of the ceremonies which inducted the candidate into his probably glorious career. But the thoroughly Catholic reader will agree with our opinion that such ceremonies could appropriately signalize an initiation into the real and so-called Catholic societies of our

day. After a bath, a symbol of purification, the youth was shorn of those tresses which had been his own pride as well as that of his mother and sisters, and he donned a white robe as a symbol of that chastity which, in accordance with his married or unmarried state, he swore to observe. Then he assumed a red garment, which indicated that he vowed to shed his blood, if necessary, in the cause of the Church and in that of the orphan and friendless. An absolute fast from food and drink during the ensuing twenty-four hours then followed as a preparation for the candidate's *veille des armes*, which was a night spent in solitary prayer before the Blessed Sacrament in order that the grace of God would make him a worthy knight. After this solemn vigil the youth made his confession, received his Sacramental Lord and then he left the holy edifice as a chevalier. Another ceremony followed, but it was purely civil. The new knight bowed before his suzerain in order to receive the *accolade* or sword tap on the shoulder, which was accompanied with these words: "In the name of God Almighty, of St. Michael and of St. George I create you a chevalier. Be brave and loyal!"

When we consider the deep significance of these ceremonies, and when we reflect that every modern European sovereign knows full well that Christian knighthood implies devotion to the Catholic faith on the part of its recipient, we are filled with righteous indignation when we hear that orders of chivalry are continually bestowed upon Mohammedans, Freemasons and other infidels by the royal head of the Church of England, by that king of Sardinia who is temporarily installed in the Papal Palace of the Quirinal, and by other rulers who at least proclaim themselves as Christians. The absurdity of which these would-be conferrers of knighthood are guilty is evinced by the vows which the chevalier was obliged to take: 1. To die rather than abandon the Holy Roman, Catholic, Apostolic Church. 2. To be ever loyal to his suzerain. 3. To protect the weak. 4. To never offend another intentionally and to never appropriate the goods of another. 5. To always act from motives of virtue and real glory rather than from any hope of pecuniary or other perishable reward. 6. To regard the honor of his fellow-chevaliers as his own. 7. To combat always *en bonne guerre*, that is, to use no contemptible trickery on the field. 8. To never utter a falsehood. 9. When on military duty, to never lay aside his weapons unless for necessary ablutions or sleep. 10. To sacrifice his life in defense of any female who might claim his protection. 11. To pay a proper ransom if he were captured in war, and if he were to find it impossible to raise the sum when he returned to his home, to surrender himself to the enemy. A dereliction from any of these duties entailed the mark of "felony" upon a chevalier;

heralds proclaimed him as such and as a "miscreant," and he was placed on a bier, carried to a church, and there he listened to his obsequies. Thenceforth he was an outcast, practically dead to the world.

The obligations of a chevalier were onerous, but his privileges were great. In France, Italy and Spain the knights were always addressed as "my lord;" their wives bore the title of "my lady"—*dame, signora, senora*—a designation then not given even to noblewomen whose husbands were not chevaliers. A place at the royal table was accorded to a knight, although such honor was denied to every member of the royal family who had not received his spurs. An army could be commanded only by a chevalier; among the chevaliers royal ambassadors were exclusively chosen. It must not be forgotten, however, that there were two grades of knight-hood; namely, the *bacheliers* or inferior chevaliers and the "bannerets." The latter alone could display their banners at the points of their lances and over the towers of their castles; and no others could aspire to such dignities as marquisesates, countships, etc. The period of the Crusades was the heroic age of chivalry. Then the natural emulation between the secular knights and the military religious orders was a benefit to both classes. The decadence of chivalry began shortly after the demise of St. Louis IX., the *beau ideal* of a Christian knight. However, this decadence was not precipitate, for even in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there flourished many such knights as Duguesclin and Bayard. That the institution of chivalry, the theme of innumerable poets and romancists, rendered inestimable service to civilization cannot be denied. There is scarcely a feature of modern taste or refinement which does not owe its existence to the halcyon days when chivalry was vivified by the Church.⁵

Contemporary with the halcyon days of feudalism and of chivalry was the rise of an institution most antagonistic to the former and not very friendly to the latter. We allude to the Mediæval Communes. The disruption of the Roman Empire did not entail an entire disappearance of municipal government; especially in the south of Gaul the cities retained much of their independence and of their consequent privileges, nor did Feudalism entirely destroy this autonomy. The word "commune" is naturally malodorous to those whom it reminds of that Masonic ebullition which disgraced and

⁵ Cantù, *ubi supra*; Michiell y Marquez, "Thesoro Militar de Cavaleria," Madrid, 1642; Giustiniani (Bernardo), "Historie Chronologiche degli Ordini Militari," Venice, 1692; San Sovino, "Dell' Origine del Cavallieri," Venice, 1583; Menestrier, "La Chevalerie Ancienne et Moderne," Paris, 1683; La Curne de Saint-Palaye, "Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie," Paris, 1781; Mills, "History of Chivalry," London, 1825.

nearly ruined France and all but destroyed Paris in 1871; but the Communes of the Middle Age were sources of political and commercial prosperity for their citizens. Their prime origin must be ascribed to the laudable pride of those cities in the north of Italy which struggled against the tyranny of those kings of the Germans upon whom a Roman Pontiff had unfortunately placed the crown of the Holy Roman Empire which the Frankish Charlemagne had worn most worthily. The word "commune," which denoted merely an enlarged family, was adopted in France, in the Low Countries and in England as a name for the many free mediæval municipalities in those lands. The term was simply a translation of *communitas*, just as in Italy the corresponding idea was generally represented by *republica*, an adaptation of the Latin term *res publica*. The majority of these municipalities were instituted in the eleventh century; in the thirteenth, that century which was the most mediæval of all, according to the prevalent acceptation of the term, they were at the height of their prosperity. It is well to note that the very "unclerical" Guizot, supposing that a *bourgeois* of the twelfth century might visit one of the great cities of modern Europe, emits the following reflections: "The stranger inquires as to how the government is administered, and as to the condition of the people. He learns that outside the limits of the city there is a power which taxes the citizens at will, and that the said power forces them into its armies. He hears some talk of magistrates and of a mayor, but he is told that the affairs of the municipality are regulated from a distance. This *bourgeois* of the twelfth century, accustomed to a different state of things, is mute with astonishment. Now let the scene change! Suppose that a Frenchman of the nineteenth century could enter a city of the Middle Age! He would find himself indeed in a fortified place, but its defenders would be the citizens themselves. These citizens would tax themselves; they would elect their own magistrates and judges; they would meet in order to debate on public matters. They governed themselves; in a word, they were sovereigns."⁶ Each of the Communes had its mayor, its aldermen, its municipal seal for all communal documents, and what we would term a national guard. As the formula of their rights was generally couched, these rights composed those of *scabinatus* (the right of having aldermen) of *collegium* (that of investing certain notables with police authority) of *majoratus* (that of choosing their mayors), of *sigillum* (that of having their own official seals), of *campana* and *berfredus* (that of bell and belfry whereby the citizens could be summoned to arms) and that of jurisdiction, a term which explains itself. Augustin Thierry well says: "At the commence-

⁶ "Histoire de France," Paris, 1823.

ment of the fourteenth century, when for the first time the deputies of the *bourgeoisie* of France were called to the States General of the kingdom, the command was no sign that the *bourgeois* had been recently emancipated; for more than two centuries had elapsed since that numerous class had conquered its liberty and had fully enjoyed it. Therefore the convocation of the deputies of the Third Estate was not a political favor; it was a recognition of the olden communal privileges. In fact, the recognition coincided with the first violations of these privileges and with the first attempts to rob the Communes of their independence of organization."⁷ In France, especially in its central portion, there were, besides the Communes properly so-called, many privileged cities and towns which were termed *villes bourgeoises*; for instance, Paris and Orleans. Despite their name, all the inhabitants of these *villes bourgeoises* were not *bourgeois* or citizens; very many were simply *manants* or *habitants* who could obtain the rights of citizenship only by purchase or by special merit. These cities and burghs held their charters directly from the monarch, and hence it was that they enjoyed greater security and more internal tranquillity than were the lot of most of the Communes, although, as an offset to these advantages, their independence was less pronounced than that of the latter. Their magistrates were supervised by a royal provost who presided over the tribunals in the name of the king, regulating the taxes and promulgating the laws. The existence of the Communes and of the *villes bourgeoises* was of great profit to the royal authority in France, since they tended to lessen the power of the feudal nobles. The continual aim of the French monarchs during the feudal period was to establish *villes bourgeoises* in the royal domain and to encourage the erection of Communes in the territories of their vassals. In time the changes of circumstances convinced the Communes that an abrogation of their charters and submission either to the king or to some powerful lord would give to them more security from external aggression and more persistent internal tranquillity. In the reign of Philip the Fair (1285-1314) the counter-communal revolution had progressed so far that it was then generally admitted that no Commune could be established without the royal consent, and from that time the number of the *villes bourgeoises* increased, forming that power which was destined to be known in time as the Third Estate.

In Italy the Communes flourished more than in any other country. Unlike France, England and Germany, there were then in the north of Italy no powerful dukes and counts who were so many petty kings; the royal authority, united with the imperial, was at a

⁷ "Lettres sur l'Histoire de France," Vol. XXV., Paris, 1827.

distance, and it was generally disputed by some of its own immediate German subjects, and the Italian cities naturally profited by the fact. The Communes of Lombardy soon became veritable republics. In Germany, unless along the Rhine and in the far interior, free cities were unknown long after they had attained to a flourishing condition in other lands. In England the free municipalities generally allied themselves with the aristocracy in order to curb the power of the monarch. In Spain the *fueros* corresponded to the communal charters in France, but they limited the royal authority as it was circumscribed in no other land, the king enjoying only the right of appointing a *corregidor* or municipal chief, who was to be confirmed by the *junta*, a legislative body which was elected by an almost universal suffrage. In 1058 Alfonso V., king of Spain, gave its first *fueros* to the kingdom of Leon, after deliberation with the episcopal body; but the first *fueros* of Castile had originated in 1012. The dawn of the sixteenth century witnessed the disappearance of these privileges, save in name, unless in Aragon, which continued to boast of the royal power of its Cortes until Philip II. abolished it with the armed hand. Unlike the Spanish monarch, the French hero of the crime of Anagni, that Philip the Fair the memory of whose outrage on Pope Boniface VIII. has been perpetuated by the immortal Dante,⁸ used no armed force in order to destroy the Communes of France. With that spirit which animated Napoleon III. when he granted a "universal suffrage" which he expected to dominate, Philip the Fair thought that the States General would effect his object, since its composition showed less of independence than that of the Communes. The States General, remarks Augustin Thierry, "derived its force and its spirit from two different sources: from the commercial classes and from the officers of justice and finance, who were generally of plebeian origin. The *bourgeois* of the cities clung to their local franchises, to their hereditary rights and to the independent and privileged existence of their municipalities. On the contrary, the spirit of the legists admitted but one right, that of the State (as is the wont of most modern dabblers in statecraft); they acknowledged but one liberty, that of the ruler, and their logic was no more favorable to the plebeian than it was to the noble." It is to be observed that the legists here stigmatized by Thierry were generally mere creatures and flatterers of the king; as the historian says: "these were

⁸ Entering Alagna, lo! the fleur-de-lis,
And in His vicar, Christ a captive led!
I see Him mocked a second time—again
The vinegar and gall produced I see;
And Christ Himself 'twixt living robbers slain.

Wright's translation.

the men who prepared the way for the revolutionists of the future, when they proclaimed the absolute power of one man."⁹ And even Michelet does not hesitate to aver: "They were the tyrants of France. With a horrible calmness they undertook a servile imitation of the Roman law and of the Roman imperial extortions. These cruel demolishers of the Middle Age were the founders of the civil order of modern times; secular jurisprudence is generally a foe of the ecclesiastical."¹⁰

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THE TEACHING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND OF THE CHURCH REGARDING DIVORCE.

II.

SO FAR we have only touched upon the Gospel teaching regarding divorce; if we now turn to the Apostle we find that a system of moral teaching has already arisen upon the question of Christian marriage. As is well known, St. Paul's converts at Corinth wrote to ask him various liturgical and doctrinal questions, one of which regarded the marriage. In the seventh chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians the Apostle gives them a complete treatise upon the states of wedlock and virginity. In the space of one chapter comprising only forty verses he lays down on these two points principles which have served ever since as the guiding star of the Church and her theologians.

After laying down that the celibate life is good, St. Paul recalls the words of our Lord which we have examined above and concludes from them, as we saw from St. Augustine, that if Christian married people do separate, they may not marry again during one another's lifetime. As he had said when writing to the Romans:

For the woman that hath a husband, whilst her husband liveth is bound to the law. But if her husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband.

Therefore, whilst her husband liveth, she shall be called an adulteress, if she be with another man; but if her husband be dead, she is delivered from the law of her husband: so that she is not an adulteress if she be with another man.—Rom. vii., 2-3.

Only her husband's death releaseth her from the bond. He then proceeds to speak upon his own Apostolic authority, for he has no express words of the Lord, when on earth, to fall back upon:

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, xxv., p. 277.

¹⁰ "Histoire de France," Vol. III., p. 39, Paris, 1830.

For to the rest I speak, not the Lord. If any brother have a wife that believeth not, and she consent to dwell with him, let him not put her away.

And if any woman have a husband that believeth not, and he consent to dwell with her, let her not put away her husband.

For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife; and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the believing husband: otherwise your children should be unclean; but now they are holy.

But if the unbeliever depart, let him depart. For a brother or sister is not under servitude in such cases. But God hath called us in peace.

For how knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? Or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?

The case here proposed by St. Paul is known as the "casus Apostoli" and affords room for much discussion. It is evident that the Corinthians in their letter had put before him a difficulty which must have been of very frequent occurrence in the early days of the Church, namely, that arising from husband or wife becoming a Christian while the partner remains an infidel. The whole case furnishes us with a vivid commentary on our Blessed Lord's own words:

Think ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you no, but separation.

For there shall be from henceforth five in one house divided; three against two, and two against three.

The father against the son, and the son against his father, the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother, the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law.—S. Luke xii., 51-53.

Up to a certain point St. Paul is exceedingly clear in his discussion of this delicate question. He first insists that the adoption of the new religion does not mean a relaxation of all former ties and that the Christian husband or wife are by no means at liberty to leave their heathen partner. He gives as his reason that

For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife; and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the believing husband: otherwise your children should be unclean; but now they are holy.

The true Christian will by a holy life sanctify a union which might otherwise seem like defilement. Man and wife are one, therefore if one be sanctified, so also will be the union of the two, and this, argues the Apostle, is clear from the fact that your children are not considered defiled because father or mother is a heathen, but rather because one of the parents is sanctified, so also the offspring; much more, then, will the union between husband and wife be sanctified, since it is of a far more intimate nature than that between parents and children.

St. Paul now passes to the exception to this rule of permanence in the wedded state:

But if the unbeliever depart, let him depart. For a brother or sister is not under servitude in such cases. But God hath called us in peace.

The unbelieving husband or wife may refuse to live any longer with the Christian wife or husband. If that be the case, says the

Apostle, let him or her depart; in other words, do not feel bound to insist upon his or her remaining. "For God hath called us in peace," and such compulsory union when tastes have now become so diametrically opposed certainly would not make for peace.

The really difficult point is to understand what St. Paul understood by not being "under servitude in such cases." If we put aside all teaching of the Church upon the point for the moment we shall feel obliged to say that the Apostle has here laid down merely a general principle to guide those of his converts whose adoption of the Catholic religion had strained their previously existing relations with others, whether husband and wife, father or son, mother or daughter. The embitterment consequent upon conversion might be intense and life might become unbearable, and yet a stern sense of duty might prompt the sufferer, if in the superior position, to refuse to waive his previous rights and duties; a husband might feel it wrong to permit his wife to leave him because she found his new religion insufferable; fathers might feel it a neglect of paternal duty to suffer their children to leave them; and yet not merely severe mental suffering, but even inability to practise their religion in peace might result: "the brother or sister is not under servitude in such cases," answers the Apostle, "but God hath called us in peace."

But can we go further and say that the words here mean the dissolution of the marriage bond, so that each party is free to marry again? This is the teaching of the Church which, relying upon this passage, declares that in the case of one of two unbaptized married persons becoming a Christian, the unwillingness of the unconverted party to live peaceably with the other dissolves the bond of matrimony.

Yet it is clear that just as a father does not dissolve the tie existing between himself and his son because he suffers him to depart, so neither is the bond between husband and wife—a bond stronger than that between father and son—dissolved by the determination of one to separate. St. Paul's words, then, do not on the surface signify the solution of the marriage bond, and if it were not for the habitual practice of the Church whose teaching is founded on this text, we should not be compelled to see in them a permission to re-marry.

Cardinal Cajetan, in his commentary on the Epistle, says: "For a brother or a sister is not called to servitude in such cases," that is, a brother or sister, a Christian husband or wife, is not called in such an event to be subject to the servitude of wedlock, so the Church commonly understands St. Paul's words; for she gathers from them that if the unbeliever depart, the Christian husband or

wife is free to contract another marriage. But I must add that St. Paul does not clearly declare such a liberty; he only denies that they are subject to servitude in such cases. Now, if we carefully examine these words, they only mean that in such departures or separations between the unbeliever and the believer, be it unbelieving husband from believing wife, unbelieving son from Christian father, unbelieving father from Christian son, and so on, no brother or sister, that is, no Christian man or woman, is bound to their former servitude, such as that, for instance, by which son is bound to father and father to son, daughter to mother and mother to daughter, wife to husband and husband to wife. But that does not prove that the marriage bond is annulled any more than the paternal or filial bond is annulled. And if you limit the question to matrimony, the literal sense of the words is clearly that when one so departs, a brother or sister, *i. e.*, the Christian wife or husband is not bound to the slavery of living with the heathen husband or wife (*non est servituti morem gerendi conjugii subjectus*); but this is clearly not a dissolution of the marriage bond. And I am stupefied with amazement that when Christ so clearly made an exception of the case of fornication (referring to his comment on St. Matthew which we gave above), the whole stream of theologians refuses to allow that the husband has any such liberty, but when, on the contrary, Paul speaks anything but clearly, his words are interpreted as signifying a dissolution of the bond of matrimony, and that, too, for a different cause from the only one which Christ allowed."

All must allow the cogency of Cajetan's reasoning, and the more we examine the text the less easy it seems to deny his conclusion. In fact, most of the commentaries seem to us little else than cases of special pleading, and we cannot help wondering what their conclusion would have been had they not been necessarily biased by the teaching of the Church and by a very natural wish to make that teaching fit in with the *prima facie* view of the text.

We must never forget that St. Paul's seventh chapter in his First Epistle to the Corinthians is a complete treatise on matrimony, and if we attempt an analysis of it we shall realize how packed the argument is and how pregnant every word. He proceeds from point to point with marked precision, and though while avoiding minute and captious casuistry, he yet maps out the great principles which are to govern the Christian in the various cases which may arise.

I. To the unmarried.

It is good to remain unmarried:

But I say to the unmarried, and to the widows: it is good for them if they so continue, even as I.

But if they do not contain themselves, let them marry. For it is better to marry than to be burnt.

II. To the married Christians.

(a) They are not to separate.

(b) If they do separate, they are not to marry during the lifetime of one another:

But to them that are married, not I, but the Lord commandeth, that the wife depart not from her husband.

And if she depart, that she remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband. And let not the husband put away his wife.

III. The case with which we are concerned, that namely of two who were married when as yet neither were believers. What is to happen if one of them be converted?

(a) If the unconverted party will agree to live in peace with the Christian, the latter should not insist on a separation:

For to the rest I speak, not the Lord. If any brother have a wife that believeth not, and she consent to dwell with him, let him not put her away.

And if any woman have a husband that believeth not, and he consent to dwell with her, let her not put away her husband.

For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the believing wife; and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the believing husband: otherwise your children should be unclean; but now they are holy.

(b) But if the unbelieving husband or wife will not live peaceably with the Christian, but insists on a separation, let him have it.

But if the unbeliever depart, let him depart. For a brother or sister is not under servitude in such cases. But God hath called us in peace.

For how knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? Or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?

Where note that the same word "depart" is used as in verse 10 above, where he is talking of the married Christians.

That the Church does, as Cajetan allowed, so understand these words of St. Paul is clear.

Thus St. Ambrose, in his commentary on the words, "but if the believer depart, let him depart," writes:

"He safeguards the intention (propositum) of religion by bidding Christians not to dissolve their marriages; but if the unbeliever depart through hatred of God, the believer will not be guilty of the dissolution of the marriage, for the cause of God is higher than that of matrimony. 'For a brother or a sister is not bound to servitude in such cases.' For he who abhors the Author of marriage cannot expect that reverence should be paid to his marriage. That marriage is not 'ratified' (ratum) which is contracted without any respect (devotio) to God, and consequently it is no sin for the one who is put away out of hatred to God to contract a second marriage. But the unbeliever who thus departs is clearly sinning both against God and against his marriage, and so there is no obligation to keep the troth plighted to him in marriage, since he departed

precisely so as not to learn that the God of the Christians was the Author of marriage."

St. Chrysostom, however, is not quite so clear, and we should rather be inclined to think that in the following passage he does not contemplate the dissolution of the bond. In his commentary on the words, "But if the unbeliever depart, let him depart," he says: "What is the meaning of 'if the unbeliever depart?' " and he answers: "For instance, if he bid thee sacrifice and take part in his ungodliness on account of thy marriage, or part company, it were better the marriage were annulled (*divellatur*) and no breach made in godliness. Wherefore he adds 'for a brother or sister is not under servitude in such cases.' If day by day he buffet thee and keep up combats on this account, it is better to separate. For this is what he glances at, saying, 'but God hath called us in peace.' And when it comes to that, it is the other party who hath furnished the ground for separation, even as he did who committed fornication." (*Hom. on I. Cor. vii., Oxford Transl., vol. i., p. 251.*)

St. Augustine's evidence as to the teaching which the Church founded on these words of St. Paul is most interesting. Recalling what we said above about his treatise "*de conjugiiis adulterinis*," we should naturally expect to find here a full examination of the "*Casus Apostoli*" if the saint had ever heard of it. Now, as we have seen, the saint refuted his friend Polilianus, who had drawn a false conclusion from the Apostle's words about Christian married people, by a minute examination of our Lord's own doctrine about marriage.

The saint then proceeds to examine the Apostle's words:

For to the rest I speak, not the Lord. If any brother have a wife that believeth not, and she consent to dwell with him, let him not put her away.

And if any woman have a husband that believeth not, and he consent to dwell with her, let her not put away her husband.—I. Cor. vii., 12-13.

He gathers from this that the Christian is *free* to put away his unbelieving partner, though the Apostle *counsels* men not to do so; "and indeed," adds St. Augustine, "if a man is allowed to be separated from his wife because of bodily fornication, how much more should he (be free to) shew his detestation of that fornication which pertains to the mind? . . . but because it is lawful, it is not therefore expedient, lest by reason of such separations men should be offended and should grow to have a horror of that the very doctrine of salvation which prohibits what is illicit, and should perhaps grow worse and worse and cling to their unbelief."

Note, not a word about the convert being free to marry again, even the separation is discountenanced, though allowed to be just; it is discountenanced because of the scandals which might thence

arise, how much would the saint if he had ever thought of such a thing discountenanced the idea of the Christian who had thus separated from the unbelieving partner marrying again during the latter's lifetime? Are we not shut up to the conclusion that such an idea was unknown to him and that consequently it was not the practice at least of the African Church in his day? The same must be said about his treatise "De Sermone Domini in monte," and in the "De Fide et Operibus," where he speaks of matrimony and divorce.

It is clear, then, that the Church's teaching, which is now known as the "Casus Apostoli," was, as was indeed to be expected, of only practical growth. As Cajetan insists, the text of St. Paul is by no means clear and that a conclusion which, to say the least of it, is not clear upon the surface should be uniformly drawn from it during all ages of the Church was not to be expected.

The uncertainty for a long time prevalent on this point is clearly seen in the Decree of Innocent III., "De divortiis:" "Your fraternity has intimated to us that one of two married people has lapsed into heresy and that he wishes to marry again, and you write to us to ask whether this can be done. We reply, then, to your letter by making a distinction, *though one of our predecessors seems to have thought otherwise*, between the case where one of two unbelievers (who are married) is converted to the Catholic faith, and the case where one of two believers lapses into heresy or becomes a pagan."

Thus in the Corpus Juris Canonici, Lib. ii., titulus xvi., "Sed etsi" (Lancellotti):

"But if the marriage was celebrated between infidels and was consummated, if one of them remains an unbeliever and wishes to depart from the believer, or at least will not dwell with him or her, without insulting their Creator, it is lawful for the Christian not only to dissolve the marriage, but also to marry another. And in such cases the marriage is annulled by the authority of the Apostolic See and of the Roman Pontiff; the bond of wedlock is dissolved not by human power, but by Divine."

That it was no unusual thing, however, for catechumens to leave their wives is evident from the legislation of the above quoted Council of Granada in the year 305 on the subject. Thus Canon X. reads: "If she who has been dismissed by a Catechumen should marry, she can be admitted to baptism." This evidently contemplates the possibility of the heathen wife of a catechumen being put away by the latter in accordance with the "Casus Apostoli" and afterwards herself becoming a Christian; having moreover married in the meanwhile, the Council would seem to decide that

she has not really two husbands, as might appear at first sight, and can in consequence be lawfully admitted to baptism.

Those who maintain that St. Paul does really contemplate here a dissolution of the very bond of matrimony must be prepared to face the fact that St. Paul, with our Lord's words in his mind regarding the indissolubility of marriage, and referring, too, at least by implication, to the only cause for separation which the Lord had allowed, yet here grants a dispensation which Christ never seems to have contemplated.

We may well ask them, putting the question to them in this way: If our Blessed Lord laid down so positively that a man could put away his wife only when unfaithful, and if, further, He at least implied that not even this really dissolved the bond of matrimony existing between them, but only allowed of a separation so that neither party could marry again in the lifetime of the other, if the Author of marriage did this, how can we interpret St. Paul as allowing another cause to be sufficient to dissolve the bond of marriage?

The answer seems to be, as we have said above, that St. Paul's words say nothing of the kind. If his words in verse 15 mean that the unwillingness of the unconverted husband or wife be a sufficient cause for dissolving the bond of matrimony, how can the Apostle, in verse 39 of the very same chapter, write: "A woman is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth; but if her husband die, she is at liberty, let her marry whom she will?" As a matter of fact, the Apostle is not treating of the Sacrament of Matrimony precisely as such, but rather of the change which adoption of the new religion may necessitate in the relations between husband and wife; and on this point he says in plain terms that it is better to have a separation than to feel bound to attempt to live in harmony with one who has made up his or her mind not to live in harmony. What the Lord had refused to sacramental marriage the Apostle felt obliged to concede to heathen marriage. Those who had received the sacrament of matrimony were not to separate except, according to the more usual interpretation of St. Matthew xix., 9, because of the adultery of one of the parties, and even then they were neither of them to marry again during one another's lifetime. Those, however, who had only contracted natural marriages the Apostle allows to separate even when no such crime has been committed, and he appends as his reason:

For how knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? Or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?

The Church, however, has gone a step further, and looking precisely at matrimony from the point of view of a sacrament, and

realizing, moreover, that such unions between heathens have no sacramental character—a point with which the Apostle was not concerned—she uses as a starting point the Apostle's declaration that such parties can separate, and declares that not only is a separation allowable in such cases, but that the very bond of matrimony is dissolved.

A clear view of the Church's position with regard to the Sacrament of Matrimony will help us to understand this teaching. Matrimony is a natural contract which by its very nature is indissoluble, not indeed that its dissolution is contrary to the law of nature, taken in the rigorous sense of the word, but that it is prohibited as being one of those things which are less in accord with nature. This contract, moreover, was raised by Christ to the dignity of a sacrament, and is indissoluble by a Divine precept superadded to the law of nature: "What God hath joined together let no *man* put asunder." What, however, *God* hath joined together He Himself, or His vicegerent, can put asunder. That the Church can declare that the merely natural contract of infidel matrimony is rendered void by the conversion of one of the parties and the unwillingness of the other to live in harmony with the Christian party, the reason being that the enforcement of the yoke in such cases is opposed to the very object for which a man has embraced the Christian religion, "for God hath called us in peace." Such marriages are by the very nature of the contract indissoluble, but no Divine seal has been put upon them, for heathens can receive no sacrament. A true sacramental marriage the Church cannot dissolve, for God's seal is already upon it, and He does not undo His own work.

The marriages of heathens are, says St. Thomas, true marriages, but since they look only to the material perfecting of their children, they are not so perfect as Christian marriages, the end of which is the spiritual as well as material perfecting of their offspring.

Again, the Church cannot change the nature of the marriage contract, but she can decide that certain things will prevent the contract being a true one and thus susceptible of the seal of the sacrament. She can, for instance, decide that those already under the contract of solemn vows cannot validly enter into the matrimonial contract; and similarly that a heathen and a Christian cannot make the true matrimonial contract between themselves.

When, then, the Church declares that such heathen marriages are dissolved by the unwillingness of the heathen husband or wife to live peaceably with the converted wife or husband, we must acknowledge the justice of her decision, for it is not now "*man*" who "*puts asunder*," but God. When, however, the Church rests this teaching on the words of St. Paul in this chapter, we are not bound

to say that his words explicitly and in their primary import signify such a doctrine, though we cannot question the Church's right to deduce such a conclusion by implication from his words.

The Church has in at least one instance solemnly defined the actual meaning of certain words of Holy Scripture. Thus the Council of Trent, sess. xxii., can. i.: "The Holy, Œcumenical and General Synod of Trent teaches, declares and decrees that the following be preached to the faithful: 'Our Lord and God. . . . at the Last Supper . . . offered up to God His Father His own Body and Blood under the appearance of bread and wine and gave them under the same symbols to His Apostles to receive, and at the same time He appointed them to be the priests of the New Testament; and He commanded them and their successors in the priesthood to offer these same symbols when He said "Do this in memory of Me," as the Catholic Church has always understood and taught.'"

Here is a solemn definition as to the exact significance of the words, "Do this in memory of Me;" but it is far otherwise with the words of the Apostle "But if the unbeliever depart, let him depart. For a brother or sister is not under servitude in such cases."

Pope Innocent III., in libro 4, Decr. tit. 19, cap. vii., "De divor-tiis," writes as follows:

"If one of two married heathens be converted to the Catholic faith, and the other be in no way willing to dwell with him (or her), or at least not without blaspheming the Divine name or attempting to lead him (or her) into mortal sin, the other (*i. e.*, the one who has become a Christian) can marry again if he wish, and in this sense we understand what the Apostle says: 'If the unbeliever depart, let him depart. For a brother or sister is not under servitude in such cases.' And so we also understand the canon which enacts that 'contumely towards the Creator dissolves the right (*jus*) of matrimony for the other party.'"

And this is the doctrine of Peter Lombard and of his disciple St. Thomas. St. Thomas asks if a man who has become a Christian can put away his wife who remains a heathen, even if she be willing to live peaceably with him. He answers in the affirmative, but inconsiderately asks whether the convert can then marry another during the lifetime of his heathen wife. The convert, he answers, is free to leave her, but if she herself is willing to live with him and will not try to lead him back to his heathen state, he cannot, though he put her away, marry another. If, however, she will not live peaceably with him, he can not only put her away, but can marry another.

We cannot better conclude this investigation into the teaching

of the New Testament and the practice of the Church regarding divorce than by giving the words of the catechism of the Council of Trent:

"By the testimony of Christ the Lord it is easily proved that the bond of marriage cannot be dissolved by divorce; for if after a bill of divorce the wife were freed from the law of her husband, she might, without the guilt of adultery, wed another husband; yet our Lord expressly declares that 'Whosoever shall put away his wife, and shall marry another, committeth adultery.' (St. Luke xvi., 18.) Wherefore it is clear that the bond of marriage can be dissolved by death alone; and this the Apostle also confirms when he says: 'A woman is bound by the law, so long as her husband liveth; but if her husband die, she is at liberty: let her marry whom she will, only in the Lord' (I. Cor. vii., 39); and again: 'To them that are married, not I, but the Lord commandeth that the wife depart not from her husband; and if she depart, that she remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband' (I. Cor. vii., 10). To the woman who might have left her husband for a just cause the Apostle offers that option either to remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband; for Holy Church does not permit one to separate from the other without rather weighty reasons.'" (Part ii., chap. viii., question xx.)

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RICHARD CRASHAW.

STRANGELY enough, it is not the greatest man of our acquaintance with whom we form the closest friendship nor for whom we entertain the sincerest admiration. The lowly life of quiet service known only to a limited circle has a power of personal influence which can never be shared by those natures which are extensive rather than intensive, and the same holds good of the authors who become more than friends to those of us who live the mental life. A poet whom we feel to be our particular friend will seldom be one of the first and greatest among the children of the muses, but one whose song gushed from his heart as spontaneously as the lay of the wild bird of the forest and found an echo in our own souls. Such a poet was Richard Crashaw. His song was of the "inmost utmost things of faith" and has only to be known to be loved. The body of English devotional poetry is so

small and its quality mediocre that we can well afford to recall the memory of a Catholic poet who is to-day unfortunately almost unknown except to literary scholars.

Richard Crashaw was born, according to the university register, in London in the year 1612. He was the only son of William Crashaw, B. D., a famous Puritan preacher who for a long time occupied the pulpit of the historic Temple. The name of the mother is unknown. The child was baptized by Ussher (afterward Archbishop of Dublin) and received his early education at Charterhouse. He entered Cambridge University as a gentleman pensioner of Pembroke Hall in 1631. As a student he became proficient in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Italian and Spanish. It may also help us to understand the man to know that he was a good musician and very clever with his pencil and brush, one of the editions of his poems (that of 1652) being illustrated by his own drawings.

Of his undergraduate life we know but one incident, the death of a certain William Herries, with whom Crashaw had been intimate and in whose memory he wrote several rather conventional elegies. He received his B. A. in 1634. On November 26, 1636, he was transferred to St. Peter's College—commonly called Peterhouse—and elected a fellow of that college the following year. In 1638 he proceeded to his M. A.

Some time during his residence as a graduate at Cambridge he was incorporated at Oxford, but whether as a bachelor or master does not appear. The fact, however, is testimony to his scholarship and throws some light on his academic standing and may account in some degree for his apparently large place in the councils of the greatest ecclesiastic which England had produced since S. Thomas à Becket. At this time there was going on in England a revival of Catholic life and practice which in many ways may fairly be compared to the great Oxford movement, which was inaugurated in the common room of Oriel College in 1837, and for a time it seemed as if there were to be a reconciliation between England and the Holy See; but the rise of the Puritans to power ended these fair hopes, and Archbishop Laud went to the block, whither the King himself was to follow. There were, however, differences between the two movements mentioned above: the nineteenth century movement took hold at once of the scholar in the university halls and the population of the slums, while the Laudian revival seems to have been almost entirely scholastic in its impulse and limited in its influence to the higher classes. Into this movement Crashaw flung himself with an abandon and enthusiasm which, whether we sympathize with him or no, is nevertheless

very refreshing. He spent long vigils in the splendid chapel of Peterhouse, where saints and angels carved in stone adorned the altar piece, above which was a glorious window of fifteenth century glass, which fortunately had been judiciously hidden in the disorderly days of the boy King Edward VI. He reread the writings of the Church Fathers and studied the rich religious literature which was at this time being produced in Spain. Another factor in his psychological development at this period was Nicholas Farrar, who, after a busy and useful life as secretary of the Virginia Company, had revived the religious life at Little Geddings, where his brother, his nieces, his nephews and a few other persons to the number of thirty or more lived according to rule, saying the old Sarum hours and printing and binding exquisite little books. Crashaw often visited here, coming from the university with a few devout students to make communion after an all night vigil in the little chapel where world-sick souls watched and prayed for a morning which they were never to see. Here Crashaw and Farrar, who was a Spanish scholar of considerable attainment, discussed together "The Flaming Heart" of St. Teresa and the works of the other Spanish mystics. No doubt they talked like Faber and Pusey at a later day of

. how scantily
In what thrifty rivulets
Faith's weak tide among us sets.

But these were unsettled times. England was on the verge of civil war. Just before Christmas, 1643, the Parliamentary Commission sacked the Cambridge colleges and gave the fellows the choice of the covenant, as they called it, or expulsion—a good share of them were men enough to take the latter. The destruction of works of art, statuary, plate and priceless old stained glass reported by the ignorant iconoclasts is enough to make one angry after over two hundred and fifty years. The fact that some of these statues were "mighty angels with wings all of solid gold" may account for the activity of the Puritans: the sale must have netted a pretty sum, for you may be sure the gold was not spurned by these pious soldiers.

Crashaw was fortunately at Oxford keeping term and so was not expelled, as has been sometimes stated. Needless to say, it was a great shock to him. On every side he saw the triumph of what he can have regarded only as the powers of darkness, and national apostasy was well nigh a fact. He must have made his peace with the Roman See some time in 1646—probably in France. There is no record of the submission, and it may not have been formal as we understand the term to-day. He lived for two years

in Paris. He was very poor and would probably have known actual want if it had not have been for the poet Cowley, who discovered him and introduced him to the English Queen Marie Henrietta, who was an exile in France. She gave him letters to Cardinal Palotta in Rome. Thither Crashaw went about a year later, and in 1648 became secretary to this Cardinal. Like many another English Catholic at the Papal court, the sensitive Crashaw was shocked by the vulgar immorality of the inferior ecclesiastics around him, and at length spoke his mind to the Cardinal. The history of this incident is not as complete as we could wish, but it evidently ended in the Cardinal's decision that Crashaw would be better off and perhaps safer elsewhere, so he got him appointed Guardian of the Holy House at Loretto. This was April 24, 1649. The four months of life which remained to Crashaw were a beautiful and fitting conclusion to a career which had been eminently pious and even saintly. Gosse has drawn a picture which emphasizes perhaps too much temporal and spatial elements of our poet's experiences at this time, but under the veil of earthly things such a soul could hardly fail to grasp the eternal realities.

We can imagine with what feelings of rapture the world-worn poet crossed the Appennines and descended to the dry little town above the Adriatic, in which no doubt he pictured to himself a haunt of peace and prayer until his life's end. As he ascended the hill he saw before him the magnificent basilica which Bramante had built as a shelter for the Holy House, and he would feel that his feet were indeed entering upon the shelter of his rest. With what joy, with what beating heart he would long to see the very Santa Casa, the cottage built of bricks which angels lifted from Nazareth out of the black hands of the Saracens and gently dropped among the nightingales in the forest of Loretto on that mystic night in the year 1294! Here indeed a delicious life seemed planned for Crashaw—to minister all day in the rich incense; to touch the very raiment of Our Lady, stiff with pearls and rubies to the feet; to trim the golden lamps, the offerings of the whole Catholic world; to pass in and out between the golden cherubim and the brazen seraphim; to cleanse the mosaics of lapis-lazuli and to polish the silver bas-reliefs till they shouted the story of the magic flight from Nazareth. There in the very house of Jesus to hear the noise and mutter of the officiating priests, the bustle of canons, chaplains, monks and deacons, the shrill, sweet voices of the acolytes singing all day long—this must have seemed the very end of life and the beginning of heaven to the mystical and sensuous Crashaw. He died August 25, 1649, probably of a fever, although Bargrave darkly hints at poison administered by some of the followers of Cardinal Palotta.

His only memorial is a portrait in stained glass in the chapel of Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he is represented as holding his poems in one hand and a pallet and brushes in the other. His poems seem to have enjoyed some considerable popularity in the seventeenth century, there being four editions, 1646, 1648, 1652 (Paris, with his own illustrations) and 1670. Selections were published in 1775, and in the nineteenth century there were two reprints, 1856 and 1872, the latter being by Grossart and gracefully dedicated to Cardinal Newman. A volume of selections, if published at a reasonable price, would be a valuable addition to our somewhat limited number of devotional poets, and it is to be hoped that some at least of the poems may be rendered accessible to the ordinary reading public within the next few years. It is with this end in view that I shall venture to give frequent quotations.

Crashaw must be studied under his two characters of translator and original poet. It has been said that a poet's translations are the final test of his mastery over technique, and yet there are some poets—of which Longfellow is a particular example—who seem to write better verse under the trammels incident to translation. "The Office of the Holy Cross" is a poetical translation of the hours of the Holy Cross which figure so prominently in early English devotional books such as the primers and manuals. The Recommendation which is printed immediately after the Office reflects the deep piety of our poet:

These Hours, and that which hovers o'er my end
Into Thy hands and heart, Lord, I commend.

Take both to Thine account, that I and mine
In that hour and in these may be all Thine;

That as I dedicate my devoutest breath
To make a kind of life for my Lord's death,

So from His living and life-giving death,
My life may draw a new and never fleeting breath.

Vexilla Regis is, I believe, the first really literary English translation of that grand old hymn familiar to students of hymnology in the translation beginning The Royal Banner forward goes. The second and third stanzas are as follows:

Lo! how the streams of life from that full nest
Of loves, Thy Lord's too liberal breast,
Flow in an amorous flood
Of water wedding blood.
With these he washed thy stain, transferred the smart
And took it home to His own heart.

Large throne of Love! royally spread
With purple of too rich a red:
Thy crime is too much duty;
Thy burden too much beauty;
Glorious or grievous more? thus to make good
Thy costly excellence with thy King's own blood.

It departs considerably from the Latin text and is perhaps the weakest of all the translations except the twenty-third Psalm, which frankly calls itself a paraphrase.

Sancta Maria Dolorum is based on the *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, but shows traces of the influence of the other *Stabat*—the *Stabat Mater Speciosa*; but there is far more of Crashaw in this poem than of the old unknown Latin poet, and it was not until I had grasped our author's literary theory of translation that excluded it from the number of the original poems and placed it here, although it often wanders far beyond the limits allowed to translation in our own day. As is usual in Marian verse, the vocabulary and imagery are drawn almost entirely from the Song of Solomon and the prophetic books of the Old Testament. Apparently there has been no influence exerted by the Little Office (Farrar only revived the canonical hours of Sarum), but there are two passages which may have found their inspiration in the Litany of Loretto and the opening lines of the last stanza:

Let me suck the wine,
So long of that chaste vine,
Till drunk of the dear wounds, I be
A lost thing to this world as it to me,

is probably an echo of St. Ignatius Loyola's "Blood of Christ, inebriate me!"

The translations of the two Psalms are at the two extremes of merit. That of the twenty-third is no great credit to Crashaw, but the virility and passion of the one hundred and thirty-seventh makes it one of the best, if not *the* best, metrical translation of a psalm in our language:

On the proud banks of great Euphrates' flood,
There we sat and there we wept;
Our harps which now no music understood,
Nodding on the willows slept;
While unhappy captived we,
Lovely Sion, thought on thee.
They, they that snatched us from our countries' breast
Would have a song carved to their ears
In Hebrew numbers, then (O cruel jest!)
When harps and hearts were drowned in tears:
Come, they cried, come sing and play
One of Sion's songs to-day.
Sing? Play? To whom (ah!) shall we sing or play,
If not, Jerusalem, to thee?
Ah! thee, Jerusalem! ah! sooner may
This hand forget the mastery
Of music's dainty touch, than I
The music of thy memory.
Which when I lose, O may at once my tongue
Lose this same busy speaking art,
Unpeach't, her vocal arteries unstrung,
No more acquainted with my heart,
On my dry pallet's roof to rest
A withered leaf, an idle guest.
No, no. Thy good Sion, alone, must crown
The head of all my hope-nursed joys.
But Edom, cruel thou! thou criest down, down,

Sing, Sion, down and never rise,
 Her falling thou did'st urge and thrust
 And haste to dash her in the dust.
 Dost laugh? Proud Babel's daughter! do, laugh on,
 Till thy ruin teach the tears,
 Even such as these; laugh till a venging throng
 Of woes, too late, do rouse thy fears.
 Laugh till thy children's bleeding bones
 Weep precious tears upon the stones.

These "Hebrew numbers" is perhaps a trace of Crashaw's Greek scholarship, and certainly is not without its value. The passionate longing of the exile had been his, and the translation therefore becomes more than a mere academic exercise and rises into the realm of creative verse and gives a new force to the psalm itself.

The translation "*Ecce Panis Angelorum*," unlike the others which we have considered so far, keeps very closely to the Latin text and has some very strong lines, as:

Nor touch nor taste must ask for more,
 But each sit still in his own door.

Oh, dear memorial of that death
 Which lives still and allows us breath.
 When Glories sun Faith's shades shall chase
 And for thy veil give us thy Face.

"Oh, soft, self-wounding pelican" is an instance of the "unnatural natural history" so common in mystical authors and which played so large a part in Euphuism.

Lauda Sion Salvatorum, the sequence for Corpus Christi, is also wonderfully strong, but the first, fourth and sixth stanzas tell their own story more eloquently than a critic can hope to do:

1. Rise, royal Sion! rise and sing
 Thy soul's kind shepherd, thy heart's king.
 Stretch all thy powers; call if you can
 Harps of heaven to hands of man.
 This sovereign subject sits above
 The best ambition of thy love.

4. Lo, the new law of a new Lord,
 With a new lamb blesses the board:
 The aged Pascha pleads not years,
 But spies Love's dawn and disappears.
 Types yield to truths; shades shrink away;
 And their Night dies into our Day.

6. The Heaven-instructed house of Faith,
 Here a holy dictate hath,
 That they but lend their form and face;
 Themselves with reverence leave their place,
 Nature and name to be made good
 By a nobler bread, more needful blood.

It may fairly be doubted whether in all the range of poetry there is a stanza more pregnant with eucharistic teaching than this last, and certainly its first line gives us a beautiful and suggestive name for the Church.

The translation of "*Dies Irae Dies Illa*" is wonderfully severe,

solemn and intense, but at times we get something which is far nearer to being Crashaw's reaction to a stanza than a mere translation, as :

Dear, remember in that day
Who was the cause thou cam'st this way.
Thy sheep was strayed, and thou would'st be
Even lost Thyself in seeking me.

Once read receptively and the words haunt with an awful persistency. The melody is the music of a master and the occasional discords only enhance the majesty of the verse; but unfortunately the four-line stanza precludes all possibility of singing it to the traditional music.

The secular translations are some of them very delicate and musical, but they are neither better nor worse than a vast quantity of similar work and need not detain us here.

Before turning to the original poems we must take account of the two most striking characteristics of Crashaw's literary style: his mysticism and his use of the conceit. The roots of both lie, as we shall see, deep down in the very constitution of his mind, and in the final analysis have the same origin.

Of late years it has become the fashion to regard all mystics as either mildly insane or incipiently imbecile; but while either of these statements may be occasionally true, neither can be accepted as a necessary concomitant of mysticism. On the contrary, a perfectly sane and vigorous mind may be decidedly mystical, provided that the emotional nature is highly developed and the associative processes active. The fact that all language descriptive of the emotional experience is necessarily figurative accounts for the symbolic literary form in which religious and philosophical thought invariably clothes itself, unless it is consciously scientific and technical, partially accounts for this. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil, the river of life or the gruesome fountain filled with blood of a popular Protestant hymn are simply visualized literary expressions for ideas which an unemotional nature is able to connect only by the greatest effort; but in the delirium of emotion such figures are spontaneously produced by imaginative minds, which very naturally soon acquire the habit of employing the symbol for the more complex and less picturesque if more scientific formula.

Altogether too much stress has been laid on Crashaw's conversion in this connection, for the language of mysticism is pretty much the same whether it is Roman or Anglican, whether Christian or Hindoo. There is always the same tendency to visualize or otherwise reduce to terms of sense perception abstract philosophical ideas and personal emotions, yet if one of these mystics were suddenly interrupted in the midst of the wildest of mystical flights, and

when his language had become well nigh a lingo he would probably be able with some help to reduce his ideas to a form of expression which could be fairly considered normal, if not actually commonplace. For instance, a theologian may discourse in highly mystical language of Jonah and the whale, making Jonah a type of Christ and the whale a type of the tomb in which our Lord lay for three days, as did Jonah in the belly of the whale, and Nineveh a type of the world—the subject is a favorite one with mystical theologians. Yet twenty minutes later the same theologian may be talking in the most measured and learned terms concerning the textual and critical questions involved in the study of the Book of Jonah in a way which the ordinary mind finds it difficult to square with his former mystical utterances. The fact is that the life of devotion is not the life of the mind, nor is it exclusive of it, and the story of Jonah furnishes analogies which are useful for religious purposes when it is desirable to appeal to the emotions rather than to the intellect.

Crashaw's mysticism is, however, the mysticism of the pre-Raphaelites rather than of the Spanish school, the instances in which he most nearly approaches the latter being clearly traceable to influences which are traditional and literary rather than personal and psychological. Take, for instance, the exquisite and delicate little poem

ON THE WOUNDS OF OUR LORD CRUCIFIED.

Oh, these wakeful wounds of Thine,
Are they mouths? or are they eyes?
Be they mouths, or be they eyne
Each bleeding part some one supplies.

Lo! a mouth! whose full-bloomed lips
At too dear a rate are roses:
Lo! a bloodshot eye! that weeps,
And many a cruel tear discloses.

O thou that on this foot hath laid
Many a kiss and many a tear;
Now thou shalt have all repaid,
Whatsoever thy charges were.

This foot hath got a mouth and lips
To pay the sweet sum of thy kisses;
To pay thy tears an eye that weeps
Such of tears, such gems as this is.

The difference only this appears,
(Nor can the change offend)
The debt is paid in ruby tears
Which thou in pearls did'st lend.

Of course, the idea of the wounds being eyes and mouths was not original with Crashaw, but can be traced to a very early date. Moreover, various devotions to the Five Wounds had been very popular in England as early as the first decade of the fifteenth century. The Pilgrimage of Grace carried the banner of the Five

Wounds as a standard, and instances might be multiplied to prove the hold which this devotion had taken upon the English mind. But after all is said we have here something which is original with Crashaw, a delicacy of expression and tendency to the literary conceit—note the rubies and pearls—which did not come from the old devotional language which inspired some portions of the poem.

A good sample of his mysticism is found in *St. Mary Magdalene* (s. vi., v. 37), where, after speaking of the angels as holding crystal vials, we have the line, "Their Master's Water, their own Wine." In the ecstasy of his devotion his mind is abnormally active: he thinks instantly of the wine and water presented at the altar, at the offertorium and then of the miracle at Cana of Galilee.

The conceit in Crashaw has a similar origin, as can be seen from a few lines of the poem on the Nativity:

She sings Thy tears to sleep and dips
Her kisses in Thy weeping eye.
She spreads the red leaves of Thy lips
That in their buds yet blushing lie.
She 'gainst those mother diamonds tries
The points of her young eagle's eyes.

The gentle kiss of the Virgin upon the tear-wet eyes of the Christ-child immediately suggests the old idea of the bee—a type of the ever-Virgin Mary—gathering dew drops; so we get immediately the rose suggested by the rosy lips and the unformed, child-like character of the lips described as buds. Again, the sense of sight catches a resemblance to diamonds in the tears (already thought of as dew), and that sets up the association of the unnatural natural history and we have the eagle part of this elaborate conceit. The conceit in Crashaw is, like his mysticism, the result of a certain flashing suddenness in establishing psychological associations.

The original religious poems all show the influence of the Spanish mystics and of his friendship with Farrar. "The Hymn to St. Teresa," "The Apology," "The Flaming Heart," "The Tear" and "The Weeper" are all of them too long to be reprinted here, and selections are bound to be unsatisfactory. Some idea of the style can, however, be gathered from the following lines taken from "The Hymn to St. Teresa:"

Sweet, not so fast! lo, thy fair Spouse,
Whom thou seekest with so swift vows,
Calls thee back and bids thee come
T' embrace a milder martyrdom.
Thou shalt look round and see
Thousands of crowned souls throng to be
Themselves thy crown: sons of thy vows,
The virgin births with which thy sovereign Spouse
Made fruitful thy full soul. Go now
And with them all about thee bow
To Him; put on (He'll say), put on

(My rosy love) that thy rich zone,
 Sparkling with thousand flames
 Of thousand souls, whose happy names
 Heaven keep upon thy score: (Thy bright
 Life brought them first to kiss the light
 That kindled them to stars) and so
 Thou with the Lamb, thy Lord, shalt go,
 And wheresoe'er He sets His white
 Steps, walk with Him whose ways are light,
 Which who in death would live to see,
 Must learn in life to die, like thee.

Here as in all his work the imagery is rich and of what Mr. Swinburne has called "dazzling intricacy." It is almost invariably in terms of sight and in spectrum colors rather than mere brightness. His color sense is evidently perfectly healthy and shows none of those peculiarities which so frequently surprise us in the mystical literature of our own day. He sees red and purple equally well and seems to have a real fondness for yellow. The few auditory references in his poems are perfectly normal, as are also those of the sense of touch. Mere form, however, does not appeal to him, and there is no mention of odors which have played so large a part in our English verse since Keats. His joy in nature and responsiveness thereto was remarkable for a seventeenth century author, although, of course, not as pronounced as in our modern nature poets. "New Year's Day" has a particularly definite color scheme:

Rise, thou best and brightest morning!
 Rosy with a double red,
 With thine own blush thy cheeks adorning
 And the dear drops this day were shed.

All the purple pride that laces
 The crimson curtains of thy bed,
 Guilds thee not with so sweet graces
 Nor sets thee in so rich a red.

Of all the fair-cheeked flowers that fill thee,
 None so fair thy bosom shows
 As this modest maiden lily
 Our sins have shamed into a rose.

Bid thy golden god, the sun,
 Burnished in his best beams, rise,
 Put all his red-eyed rubies on,
 These rubies shall put out his eyes.

When he hath done all he may
 To make himself rich in his rise,
 All will be darkness to the day
 That breaks from one of these bright eyes.

And soon this sweet truth shall appear,
 Dear Babe, ere many days be done;
 The Morn shall come to meet Thee here,
 And leave her own neglected sun.

Here are beauties shall bereave him
 Of all his eastern paramours,
 His Persian lovers all shall leave him
 And swear faith to Thy sweet powers;
 Nor while they leave him shall they lose the sun,
 But in thy fairest eyes find two for one.

The first two stanzas suggest Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet," A. iii., s. 5:

. What envious streaks
Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east.

The reference of "all the purple pride that laces the crimson curtains of thy bed" is perhaps, as Grossart suggests, to lilac lace curtains under heavy crimson damask ones; light, fleecy, diaphanous lace-like clouds under the heavy red clouds of sunrise, but this explanation is very gross and can hardly be said to add to our pleasure. There is nothing poetic about an upholsterer's shop or an early Victorian drawing-room—which was, after all, much the same thing.

The "Hymn on the Epiphany of Our Lord God" is too long to admit of any extended quotation or review, but it is as illuminating as any of the poems if we would understand the man Crashaw in his religious life. However puritanic the father may have been, there was not an ounce of the Puritan in Richard Crashaw—not even the bit which Richard Bagot says is in all Englishmen. He lives and breathes in a sanctified world of sense which the Catholic Christian regards as normal, but in which the Puritan can see no good thing. At times he uses figures which seem almost over the narrow line which separates the sensuous and sensuality, as:

Oh, little all! in Thy embrace
The world lies warm and likes her place;
Nor does her full globe fail to be
Kissed on both cheeks by Thee.

Then comes the mysticism of it:

Time is too narrow for Thy year,
Nor makes the whole world Thy half-sphere.

Also when the chorus sings:

To Thee Thou day of night, Thou east of west,
Lo, we at last have found the way:
To Thee the world's great universal east,
The general and indifferent day!

Imagine how some of our modern mystics would throw in the capitals!

The first king becomes almost Platonic:

All circling point, all centering sphere,
The world's one round eternal year.

Perhaps the most exalted of his lyrical strains are "The Hymn for Holy Name Day" and "The Hymn for the Assumption." The latter is written in rimed cambic pentameters or tetrameters interrupted again and again by an angelic refrain—a paraphrase of the Song of Solomon. It would seem to offer a splendid libretto for a

musical composition. The strong sweep of the verse and its deep devotional feeling are entirely beyond anything in modern English religious poetry, and yet it would be difficult to point out the elements of excellence. From the opening

Hark! she is called, the parting hour is come;
Take thy farewell, poor world! Heaven must go home,

until the last

Come away, come away

of the angel's song the hymn sweeps in majestic cadence and leaves us wondering like the Apostles of old.

The secular poems are less original on the whole and must take their chances in the throng of seventeenth century lyrics. Three stand out from among the rest: "The Music Duel," a dainty and characteristic piece of verse; "Wishes to His Supposed Mistress," familiar (in an abridged form) from its presence in Palgrave's "Golden Treasury," and "An Epitaph Upon a Young Married Couple Dead and Buried Together."

To these whom Death again did wed,
This grave's their second marriage bed;
For though the hand of Fate could force
'Twixt soul and body a divorce,
It could not sunder man and wife
'Cause they both lived but one life.
Peace, good reader, do not weep;
Peace, the lovers are asleep.
They, sweet turtles, folded lie
In the last knot that love could tie.
And though they lie as they were dead,
Their pillow stone, their sheets of lead,
(Pillow hard and sheets not warm)
Love made the bed; they'll take no harm;
Let them sleep; let them sleep on,
Till the stormy night be gone
And the ternal morrow dawn;
Then the curtains will be drawn
And they wake into a light
Whose day shall never sleep in night.

A critical judgment of Crashaw would be a very different thing from an appreciation penned by a student who has learned to love the gentle poet, and yet we may as well own that his place among the seventeenth century lyricists is not particularly high. Living as he did almost on the threshold of a new poetical era, Crashaw was sublimely unconscious of the great literary movement which was going on around him, and wrote in a style, and with the faults even, of the past. But if we consider him as a devotional poet, the whole situation is changed and his position becomes almost commanding. There is, moreover, another fact which lends interest to the study of Crashaw's poems; the poet's mind was of a type which is and always has been exceedingly rare among Englishmen. His

strong mystical tendencies, his sensitiveness and his whole mental constitution are almost unique in our literature, and we cannot help wishing that we knew something of the poet's mother. The scholar of Peterhouse and the English exile we know, but we can only guess at early influences which surrounded this disciple of St. Teresa.

WATSON BARTEMUS SELVAGE.

MR. MALLOCK ON SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

IT may seem a work of supererogation to offer any adverse criticism of Mr. Mallock's recent work, "Religion as a Credible Doctrine," its manifold shortcomings being so painfully evident; but inasmuch as even the most ponderous of English quarterlies have seen fit to take the volume seriously and have dealt with it in all sober and solemn earnest, a dignity has thus been conferred upon it which it by no means merits. For this reason it may not be altogether out of place to expose the utter shallowness of this the latest of the literary curiosities which the so-called conflict of science and religion has inflicted on a long-suffering generation.

Mr. Mallock has long been before the reading public. He is neither a very profound thinker nor a very acute reasoner. He is, however, a pleasing writer, and he seems to have a turn of mind which leads him to select serious subjects. He is not a scientist; he is not a theologian; he is not a philosopher; but he has a sufficient acquaintance with the trend of modern ideas to permit him to play the part of one or other of all three, as his fancy may dictate. Indeed, in science, in philosophy, in theology he affects the rôle of the dilettante, and in spite of a marked weakness for antithesis which soon becomes monotonous, his books dealing with those subjects have commanded attention—sometimes even respect. But even the orbits of popular writers have, it would seem, their perigee and apogee; and this is true of the dilettante in philosophy and theology quite as well as of the dilettante in literature, science or the arts. Mr. Mallock's latest book is a conclusive proof of this; for if his best known work, "Is Life Worth Living?" marks the point at which Mr. Mallock's genius was at perihelion, "Religion as a Credible Doctrine" as surely indicates the point at which it was at aphelion.

The task which Mr. Mallock has undertaken is a very ambitious one. Most people would regard it as absolutely hopeless; for, if we are to take his own word for it, it is nothing more or less than that of reconciling contradictions. Mr. Mallock pronounces science and religion in hopeless contradiction, and yet, nothing loath, he, with an alacrity that is inspiring, undertakes the impossible task of harmonizing them, and what is more, he seems—to his own satisfaction at least—to have accomplished it. Indeed, never did sane man address himself to thesis more remarkable than Mr. Mallock's. Briefly his thesis is this: Religion, by a process of argumentation both palpably false and "hopelessly futile," has in some unaccountable way succeeded in reasoning itself into right conclusions; while science, on the other hand, by a process of argument unexceptionally sound and absolutely "invulnerable," has, in some mysterious manner, only succeeded in reasoning itself into wrong conclusions. From these data, solve the mystery. This is Mr. Mallock's thesis in brief; and aside from the thesis itself there is no other evidence of insanity in the work, although of unsound knowledge and unsound reasoning there is enough and to spare. To the unraveling of this Chinese puzzle Mr. Mallock devotes his entire work, while the reader in wonderment asks:

Can such things be
And overcome us like a summer's cloud
Without our special wonder?

Yet Mr. Mallock is very modest about the astounding feat. At the very outset he undertakes to belittle the nature of his wonderful achievement. He very humbly reminds the reader that his work is not that of either the scientist or the theologian, but a task far "humbler"—that of a mere "accountant." In view, however, of the extraordinary undertaking and its still more extraordinary accomplishment, it is difficult not to suspect that, in spite of all his protestations, Mr. Mallock's humility is not quite genuine. We cannot forget that Uriah Heep, according to his own asseverations, was the "umblest" of men, as his mother, Mrs. Heep, was, on her own recognizances, the "umblest" of women. Unless both Southey and Coleridge have grossly belied his Satanic majesty, that gentleman also once

Owned with a grin,
That his favorite sin,
Is pride that apes humility.

And in view of the fact that Mr. Mallock declares himself the self-constituted arbiter of the most important questions which can engage the attention of mankind; that before himself as a board of arbitration he summons both science and religion for an adjustment of their differences; that he establishes his own capacious mind as a

sort of intellectual clearing-house for the whole realm of science as well as for the entire religious world, where both religion and science may rely on having an accurate "summing-up" of debits and credits and a proper arrangement of their respective balances; in view of this gigantic undertaking on the part of one man, we think it is fair to infer a *humilitas cum hamo* when we hear the self-constituted "intellectual accountant" speak of such a task as "limited and unambitious" and "the work of a much humbler person" than either the scientist or the theologian.

A further reason for suspecting the sincerity of Mr. Mallock's humility is the exceeding jealousy which he manifests in his new office of intellectual "accountant" and the pains he takes to exclude scientists on the one hand and theologians on the other from any participation in the colossal labor. Mr. Mallock—in order to secure a monopoly, it is to be presumed—at once proceeds to declare both these specialists unfitted for the work. Both are flatly told that it "is not a task which properly belongs to either." The "leaders of scientific thought" are, he informs them, in a position which "tends to unfit them for a full understanding" of the nature of the work to be accomplished. The "theologians are in a position that is no better." Fortunately, however, both for science and religion, Mr. Mallock occupies a neutral ground between both and, according to his own estimate of his powers, is of just the proper calibre, equipment, and accomplishment for a skilful execution of the task—indeed, may have been providentially raised up for its special fulfillment. It will thus be seen that Mr. Mallock's enterprise closely resembles the undertaking of Mr. Herbert Spencer in his synthetic philosophy. In effect it is nothing more than an abbreviated form of Mr. Spencer's gigantic folly. The result is equally disastrous. The execution is only somewhat more elliptical. Indeed, Mr. Mallock has clearly demonstrated on almost every page of his work that he is the last person living who should have attempted such a task; for almost every page of that work bears evidence that either he has totally misapprehended the values in the "accounts" on both sides, or that if he understood, he has wilfully misrepresented, them. In this article we propose to examine Mr. Mallock's qualifications for the duty he has undertaken.

Let us deal first with Mr. Mallock's appraisal of religious values. His new method of representing the defense of Christianity will be somewhat surprising to those who imagined themselves familiar with the subject. Wholly ignoring what has ever been recognized as the logical method of procedure, Mr. Mallock sets up three religious propositions of his own selection, makes them the subject of scientific inquiry, and assures his readers that all religion "must

stand or fall" with these isolated propositions. These three propositions are: the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the freedom of man's will. It is needless to say that no defender of supernatural religion ever undertook to arrange a defense of Christianity in this order. It is much as if an enemy should insist that the colonels of the opposing army should stand out and be shot, bearing the entire brunt of the battle, while the rank and file of the soldiery were commanded to stand by with folded arms. This novel arrangement of Christian apologetics Mr. Mallock does not attempt, it is true, without much misgiving and profuse apology. He candidly admits that these three propositions will "not give us a living religion." He plainly confesses that they "are co-extensive with none." He apologizes for substituting this creation of his own fancy for religion and undertakes to give his reasons in justification of the unwarranted liberty.

The reasons which Mr. Mallock gives "for thus limiting the meaning of the word religion" are the following: First he tells us that an assent to these three propositions "is essential to every religion," though, as we have seen, he candidly admits that they are "co-extensive with none." Next we are told that "these propositions form also the sole points at which religion, as apart from revelation, comes into collision with science." Then again Ernest Haeckel has seen fit to call these propositions "the three buttresses of superstition." And lastly, "in its task of emancipating the enslaved spirit of man it (science) will fight neither with small nor with great, save with these propositions only." This, then, is the extraordinary "summing-up" of religion's side of the account. Out of the whole scheme of Christianity these three propositions are—to carry out Mr. Mallock's allegory—the sum total of the assets of religion, and their par value depends wholly upon whether they are in agreement or non-agreement with to-day's teachings of science upon these points.

It may be remarked in passing that Mr. Mallock does not pretend to claim that science has disproved any one of these three propositions, but merely that as far as science *now* knows about these matters—which, to be sure, is not very much—its conclusions or, more correctly, its assumptions do not harmonize with the teachings of religion. What we are here interested in just now, however, is Mr. Mallock's wilful or ignorant perversion of the defense of Christianity. He would limit it to these three propositions. He says that when he speaks "of religion" in the present volume he means "an assent to these propositions as statements of objective fact." He maintains that for all purposes of controversy "these three propositions are practically religion itself, and we need, in the present inquiry, trouble ourselves about nothing else." And this singular

presentation of the cause of Christianity being made, Mr. Mallock in true Quixotic fashion proceeds to the demolition of these wind-mills of Christian apologetics. Nor will it do for Mr. Mallock to say that it is not Christianity, but religion in general he is examining; for, throughout the entire extraordinary volume, it is Christianity which is on trial—and Christianity as represented by Catholic writers.

Now, the fact is that Mr. Mallock has wholly mistaken the nature of Christian apologetics. Important and solemn as are the three propositions which he places on trial, two of them are by no means primary. The existence of God does indeed stand at the very forefront of all religious inquiry; but the same may not be said of the free will of man or, singular as it may seem, even of the immortality of the soul. These doctrines are indeed vital to religion as we understand it—to Christianity they are even cardinal—but they are not in the true sense of the word fundamental. Mr. Mallock has wholly failed to grasp the manner in which the religious problem appeals to the human intellect. That order is not by fits and starts or by leaps and bounds, jerking out disconnected propositions here and there to furnish targets for fools or merry-andrews. It is, on the contrary, a chain of closest logical reasoning in which every strand is double-tried and in which link fits into link with convincing firmness and precision. For the benefit of Mr. Mallock let us briefly summarize the logical form of this intellectual appeal.

The process would run somewhat in this fashion: "I find myself here—a thinking, intelligent, rational being. I am quite sure that I am not here of my own volition, neither am I of my own making. Whence am I then? My intelligence, if it tells me anything at all, tells me that I must be the work of a being superior to myself. What, then, are my relations to this power which has placed me here? I find that reason tells me that the universe which I find surrounding me is not capable of producing me—it is not capable of producing itself; most probably the same power which has placed me here has placed the universe here also. All philosophy points to this conclusion. For me, therefore, as far as my intellect guides me, I must regard both myself and the universe as manifestations of that otherwise unknown power, and from both learn what I can of that power and of my relations to it." This is the first step in the inquiry.

And then comes another question as the logical sequence of this. It is: "This power having manifested itself in myself and in the universe, can it or can it not manifest itself to me in any other way? If so, has it done so? It is claimed that it has so mani-

fested itself. What are the proofs? Are they trustworthy? If so, what are the new relations revealed through this other manifestation?"

This, it seems to us, is the basis of the religious argument, and yet we have not touched upon two of Mr. Mallock's propositions at all. The immortality of the soul and the freedom of the human will have not yet even come upon the horizon. Mr. Mallock has wholly misconceived the relative importance of the propositions upon which he has expended so many vain words. Hence all this portion of his work is a *Love's Labor Lost*. Indeed, it might be safely argued that if any facts of science seemed to contradict (which they by any means do not) the doctrines of immortality and free-will, the matter would not, as Mr. Mallock supposes, be thereby settled, for the claims of those doctrines which rest on the second manifestation just mentioned would still remain to be dealt with—at least until that manifestation was shown to be untrustworthy. It is indeed true that if the immortality of the soul and the freedom of the will were proven to be false, there would be little left of religion as Christianity conceives it; but it is equally true that science has proved nothing and can prove nothing whatever against these doctrines. And when science has said its last word upon these subjects, even as represented by Mr. Mallock, the strength of these doctrines is hardly at all impaired; for the stronghold of proof upon these points is not science, but revelation, and the duty of the scientist in such a case would consist not in showing the falsity of the doctrines in themselves, but in proving the untrustworthiness of the revealed message of which they formed a part. Hence, doubtless, when Father Driscoll and Father Maher (whose writings Mr. Mallock so frequently challenges) undertake to deal with these questions from a scientific standpoint, they are in all probability doing (we have not seen their works) what Christian apologists are doing every day. They leave the citadel in all its unmolested security and strength and go out to do battle with the scientists on their own grounds. An occasional sortie of this kind, however, leaves the real fortress not only unshaken, but unassailed. Hence an examination of Mr. Mallock's treatment of these propositions would be wholly superfluous. The doctrines may indeed be, as Professor Haeckel has told Mr. Mallock, "buttresses of" religious superstition, but they are not fundamental. It is indeed singular that Mr. Mallock should make so great a blunder; but we know of no remedy save that Mr. Mallock start over again, and that when he starts he be sure of his ground. Not even the fact that Ernest Haeckel calls these doctrines "the three buttresses of superstition" will justify Mr. Mallock in his high-handed proceeding. No theo-

logian has ever selected these doctrines as the bulwarks of Christianity. They have their importance, it is true, but Mr. Mallock can never force them into undue prominence or out of their natural position. Consequently, whether these points have, from the scientific side, been well or illy defended by Catholic apologists is a matter of no very great concern. The whole scheme of Christianity stands or falls together. It is not to be taken piecemeal, like Captain Boabdil's method of defeating an army. Mr. Mallock may concede all its preposterous claims to scientific atheism, or pantheism, or materialism, or whatever else the latest fancy may choose to call it, but he cannot be permitted to misrepresent Christianity's method of defense or assign to its doctrines a relative importance which they have never possessed. Christian defense has never been on the points of immortality or free-will, but along the lines of a first cause, which manifests itself first through the visible universe and next through revelation. Either Mr. Mallock has been disingenuous on this point or he has deceived himself. It is difficult to believe that a man of Mr. Mallock's intelligence could be ignorant of the Christian scheme. Indeed, it is almost impossible in reading his book to divert the mind of the suspicion that Mr. Mallock deliberately chose a false view of Christianity and expatiated upon it simply because he wanted very badly to write a paradoxical book. What would be thought of the "accountant," as Mr. Mallock calls himself, who, while giving full value to one side of the ledger and never questioning its statements, selects one or two items from the opposite side, and having used every means in his power to discredit them, finally concluded from such proceeding not only that the culled items were unreliable, but that the entire side of the ledger from which they were taken was unvarnished and untrustworthy?

While, however, Mr. Mallock tries to minimize the front which religion opposes to science, he is not so scrupulous in allowing the claims of science itself. Indeed, one reads with wonder and amazement the concessions so prodigally made in its behalf. Everything passes to science with Mr. Mallock. Its most unsubstantial and unsupported surmises he endows with all the dignity of established facts. Theory, hypothesis, conjecture, assumption—all are encircled with a halo of scientific sanctity which it were sacrilege to touch. To Mr. Mallock the very guesses of science seem sacred. Even the wildest dreams of Ernest Haeckel are accepted as the unquestioned facts and conclusions of science. That the scientists themselves should entertain an absurdly exaggerated notion of the importance of their assumptions is not surprising. Indeed, the extent of the exaggeration is usually in indirect ratio to the value of

the assumption or the intellectual standing of the scientist. But that Mr. Mallock should make an act of faith openly in all the assumptions of modern science and place implicit confidence in modern methods, adopting not only the uncontroverted facts and legitimate conclusions, but all the lacunæ in the evidence for doubtful hypotheses as well, is what we think no former reader of Mr. Mallock was exactly prepared for. The fact is, however, that Mr. Mallock out-Darwins Darwin, leaves Spencer and Huxley far in the rear and is fully abreast with Professor Haeckel himself in his unquestioning submission to the dogmatism of latter-day scientific pretension. This full confession of faith in science and its methods Mr. Mallock makes in his paradoxical statement of the task which he sets out to fulfill. He says:

"I shall seek to show that the latter (the class which defends religion) is right in its final conclusions, but is seeking to support them by methods hopelessly futile. I shall seek to show that the former (the class which opposes science to religion) is in its conclusions wrong; but that the arguments which it adduces to support them are in themselves invulnerable."

We need not dwell here on the extraordinary and wholly paradoxical state of things described in this brief paragraph. What we are interested in here is "the arguments" of science which Mr. Mallock declares to be "invulnerable." We must confess that we have looked with much curiosity through Mr. Mallock's entire volume for those "arguments" of science which he pronounces "invulnerable," but in vain. We have sought for conclusions of science which are "incontrovertible" and which are opposed to religion, but we have failed to find them. Mr. Mallock does not mention any. We have looked for authenticated facts of a similar nature, but aside from one or two doubtful citations in favor of evolution and one or two irrelevant illustrations from psychology, to both of which we may allude later, Mr. Mallock has failed to supply them. The fact is that Mr. Mallock has failed to adduce from the whole realm of science a single fact or a single conclusion upon whose truth the testimony of scientists agrees, or which rises above the level of unproved hypothesis, and which is opposed to religion in any form. We have seen how Mr. Mallock erred in his estimate of religion, by defect; we shall see now that in an opposite direction he has erred against true science by excess. In a word, as we have shown that Mr. Mallock is incapable of estimating values in religion, he is also incapable of estimating values in science. This will be his best refutation.

The first thing that strikes us, in taking inventory of the "arguments" of science which we are to regard as "invulnerable," is the

charming naïveté with which Mr. Mallock tells us that science must now be right because it has discovered that formerly it was wrong. Science has, he tells us, changed front completely on the doctrine of "materialism." He candidly admits that it has been compelled to do so by religious thinkers. He pleads guilty, for science, to the "opprobrium" of its old teachings. He rejoices because science has rid itself of "the kind of intellectual discredit which rightly attaches itself to materialism." But now he expects religion to regard the new position as "invulnerable," and for no other reason, that we can perceive, than that it is not the old. "Science," he admits, "has at all events been driven to go to school to philosophy, which at first it neglected or scouted with a boorishness born of ignorance; and the result of its education is seen to be this—that the materialism which it was content to profess or assume yesterday is to-day universally abandoned by it; or rather is transfigured into something which is the opposite of its former self."

Surely here is reason enough for religion to bow down to the infallibility of science. And if religion will not accept the plea and henceforth regard science as invulnerable, religion must indeed be hard-hearted. Science has been wrong, but—it has at last admitted its error, although, it is quite true, it admitted it only when compelled by religion to do so. It is now quite ashamed of its former position, and though it has not yet quite come around to the views of religion, it must now be admitted to be right, for the simple reason that it has abandoned the old, crude, shameful blunder. Mr. Mallock's plea here is irresistible. He says:

"Their (the scientists') old, their crude doctrine, that mind is the product of matter, they now completely metamorphose by adding that, with even greater truth (save the mark!), we may look on matter as a manifestation of mind."

Perhaps there never was a more extraordinary plea put forward for the acceptance of a scientific theory than that which Mr. Mallock here advances in favor of scientific monism. It is nothing more or less than this: Science was wrong in maintaining monism when monism consisted in a belief in the existence of matter solely; but now that, thanks to religion, science has been forced to shift its position and admit its former error, surely religion will not be unreasonable enough to question it when it makes its monism consist in the sole existence not of matter, but of mind? Lest we might be suspected of misrepresenting Mr. Mallock on this point—so singular in its naïveté—let us quote Mr. Mallock himself still further. He adds:

"Materialism, in fact, with the old opprobrium attached to it, has practically lost its place among the terms and the ideas of con-

troversy. No man of science who can make any claim to being a thinker, or is anything more than an expert but half-educated specialist, is now a materialist in the old sense of the word. The opposition between science and religion, though not less acute than formerly, is no longer an opposition between a materialistic philosophy and a spiritualistic. It is an opposition between a monistic philosophy and a dualistic."

Here, then, Mr. Mallock fully admits that religion has not swerved one single iota from its original teaching, while science has been compelled to abandon its former teachings and invent new doctrines. Under the circumstances it is a somewhat extravagant demand upon religion to ask it to regard the new doctrine of science as "invulnerable."

We are not, however, yet done with the new monistic theory which we are to regard as "invulnerable." The new doctrine is that since science has changed front and now claims that matter is no longer matter but spirit, the fact that it is spirit dispenses with God, and hence we have not a dualism, but a monism. Now, the truth is that the new monism of spirit is quite as unsupported in evidence as was the old monism of matter. In spite of all Mr. Mallock's claims for it, it stands on no stronger ground than did the crude materialism of which men of science, as Mr. Mallock tells us, are now ashamed. What are the facts of science that go to prove its truth? What are the "incontrovertible" reasons upon which it is founded? Absolutely none. It is a theory not one whit more respectable than the abandoned materialism which it has replaced and for which men of science are now blushing. It is a theory—like materialism—invented to meet an exigency of science. The best that Mr. Mallock can say of it is that it "may be erroneous, but it is not . . . obviously irrational." He is forced to admit that it does not explain "all phenomena," though he claims that 't will explain "an enormous part of them." This claim he modifies, however, by the very significant clause "within certain limits." We have not the space to follow Mr. Mallock in his description of this mental monism (which after all proves to be nothing but matter) or in his contrast between it and the personal God of religion. All we need do here is to emphasize the fact that, according to Mr. Mallock's own showing, it is merely a theory without any sure foundation into which some materialists have been driven by the arguments in favor of religion; that it is admitted it may be "erroneous;" that it "cannot account for all the facts" to which the new mind-materialism would apply it, and, lastly, that the best that can be said in its favor is that it is not "obviously irrational"—all of which seems to Mr. Mallock to be the scientific synonym for the

epithet "invulnerable." What guarantee has religion that the scientists will not be as much ashamed of the modern mind-matter monism ten years from now as they are to-day of the old, crude material monism? Why should religion trouble itself at all to chase a rainbow science and beg it to do battle with it? Will science warrant that there will not be another theory of the universe—quite as "invulnerable" as monism past and present, material or spiritual—before the rising of another sun? It is supreme folly to undertake to readjust the religious position to every will-o'-the-wisp vagary of modern science.

There is just one other feature of this item of scientific assets which deserves attention. It is that Mr. Mallock has no scruple in passing off the new monism on his readers as sterling value in science, and as bearing the stamp of the scientific mint. Now, nothing could be more misleading. Mr. Mallock speaks of monism as though it were adopted by the universal consent of scientists. Truth is, the doctrine is not accepted by any one worthy of the name of scientist at all. There may indeed be a school of fledglings who follow Ernest Haeckel. But when we come to question the giants in modern science—the Virchows, the Pasteurs, the Lord Kelvins, and even such men as George Romanes, Alfred Wallace, even Darwin himself, we shall find that they all stand not for monism, either material or mental, but for dualism, and dualism in the sense of the term as accepted by religion. When Mr. Mallock, therefore, attempts to palm off the doctrine as a product of "modern science," he shows himself as unfit for the task he has undertaken as when he pronounced the doctrine "invulnerable." Evidently Mr. Mallock has never heard of Edmund Burke's famous metaphor, or at least has failed to profit by it. When he enters the field of science he seems to see or hear nothing but the "chirping grasshoppers" so noisily obtrusive in the corners. The quiet cud-chewing, deep-chested kine occupying the same field—and the only things of value in it—he passes over unnoticed. Yet only the other day one of these told us "Science positively affirms Creative Power. . . . We cannot escape from that conclusion when we study the physics and dynamics of living and dead matter all around." And again: "If you think strongly enough you will be forced by science to belief in God, which is the foundation of all religion." Surely this is a dualism that is unequivocal. Yet Mr. Mallock would have the world believe that "modern science" teaches only monism. Whom shall we believe, Mr. Mallock or Lord Kelvin?

It is quite evident, then, whether or no we accept what Mr. Mallock tries to impose upon the world as the apology for religion as the reality in religion, that when we come to the region of

science, what he undertakes to impose upon us as science is not entitled to the name of science at all.

When we come to the views of individual scientists we find in the same way that Mr. Mallock is singularly unfamiliar with their real teachings. For example, he roundly censures Christian apologists for their disbelief in spontaneous generation, and directly charges them with misrepresenting the views of scientists upon this point. Father Maher especially he undertakes to bring to book and openly accuses him of suborning evidence in his own favor upon this point. He says:

Even men as fair-minded as Father Maher, in their zeal for their own view, unintentionally misrepresent—we might almost say invert—what the leading men of science have really said on the subject. Thus Father Maher confidently quotes Tyndall and Huxley as affirming that living beings are produced only from living beings, and that the theory of spontaneous generation has not “a single shred of evidence” to support it. What they really say is something totally different. . . . That it has taken place in the past is the very thing they affirm, and they hold that this view is supported by all the analogies of the universe.

Here, then, is a flat contradiction of Father Maher and “our religious apologists” in which they—and Father Maher in particular—are charged with “misrepresenting” and even “inverting” the teachings of the scientists. Now, one would suppose that Mr. Mallock would have alluded to the particular work in which he finds this contradiction, or that in a case of accusation of misrepresentation he would have quoted the words of Tyndall or Huxley. But he does neither the one nor the other. Now what are the facts? When we come to Huxley we find, it is true, in his lay sermon on spontaneous generation, opinions coinciding with those which Mr. Mallock attributes to him. This, however, was early in Huxley's career. Pasteur's immortal labors in the cause of biogenesis had not yet changed the views of the scientific world. When those views did come, we find that Huxley was not slow to adopt them, and consequently, in the seven or eight years that had elapsed between the famous lecture on spontaneous generation and his essay in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on “Evolution in Biology,” an extraordinary change had, thanks to Pasteur, come over the spirit of Huxley's dream, and in the latter work he tells us in no equivocal terms:

But while the course of modern investigation has only brought out into greater prominence the accuracy of Harvey's conception of the nature and mode of development of germs, it has as distinctly tended to disprove the occurrence of equivocal generation, or abiogenesis, in the present course of nature. In the immense majority of both plants and animals it is certain that the germ is not merely a body in which life is dormant or potential, but that it is itself simply a detached portion of the substance of a pre-existing living body; and the evidence has yet to be adduced which will satisfy any cautious reasoner that “*omne vivum ex vivo*” is not as well established a law of the existing course of nature as “*omne vivum ex ovo*.”

That Mr. Mallock was ignorant of this is not, perhaps, to be

wondered at; but that he should, in his ignorance, presume also on the ignorance of his readers, and have the hardihood to challenge Father Maher's statement and charge him with misrepresentation upon this point, is the very essence of unpardonable effrontery.

The same is true of Tyndall. Whatever his views before Pasteur's brilliant experiments, there is no doubt regarding them afterwards. He even took up the defense of Pasteur in British journals. M. Vallery-Radot, in his most interesting *Life of Pasteur*, tells us that "Pasteur's experiments had been strongly attacked by a young English physician, Dr. Bastian, who had excited in the English and American public a bitter prejudice against the results announced by Pasteur on the subject of spontaneous generation."

"The confusion and uncertainty," wrote Tyndall to Pasteur (we are quoting from M. Vallery-Radot), "have finally become such that, six months ago, I thought that it would be rendering a service to science, at the same time as justice to yourself, if the question were subjected to a fresh investigation. . . . I went over a large portion of the ground in which Dr. Bastian had taken up his stand, and refuted, I think, many of the fallacies which had misled the public."

"The change which has taken place since then in the tone of the English medical journals is quite remarkable, and I am disposed to think that the general confidence of the public in the accuracy of Dr. Bastian's experiments has been considerably shaken."

And in point of fact Tyndall himself conducted experiments in England, in the Alps and elsewhere, along the same lines as Pasteur, and in every instance the results coincided with those reported by Pasteur. In the face of all this what must be thought of Mr. Mallock's ignorant arraignment of Father Maher and religious apologists? His ignorance of the subject upon which he undertakes to write is equaled only by the effrontery of his charges. This single incident is sufficient to show his utter unfitness for the task he has undertaken and how wholly unreliable are his statements. We shall, however, cite one more instance of Mr. Mallock's reckless statements.

After what we have here seen, the reader is not surprised to find that Mr. Mallock "swallows Darwin whole;" though it is a question if he fully understands the famous doctrine. From the undue weight he attaches to some of the arguments, it would hardly be rash to infer that he does not fully comprehend their nature. The curiosity of the reader is aroused when Mr. Mallock, in his usual tone of universal superiority to "our religious apologists," querulously tells them:

What our religious apologists, however, fail to understand is this, that whilst, on the one hand, lacunæ have been discovered in the class of evidence with which, in a special manner, the name of Darwin is associated, other evidences of the doctrine for which Darwin contended—namely, the essential unity of man with the other animals—have accumulated in overwhelming strength, and have done more to make the doctrine a demon-

strable, indeed a visible, fact than any of the detected lacunæ have done or can do to cast doubt upon it.

The reader, like Hamlet's queen, when he gets so far is apt to be almost breathless with curiosity, if not with interest, and, like her, is apt to wonderingly inquire what is the startling intelligence "which so thunders in the preface?" A feeling of disappointment is apt to come over him, however, when he reads somewhat eagerly the news itself. Mr. Mallock thus tells it:

The evidences to which I am here referring are those supplied us by embryology (!)—a science to which Darwin always looked with confidence as the most important of the witnesses by whose evidence his case would be established.

Now, nothing could be more haphazard than this assertion. That Darwin laid stress on embryology—as he laid stress on everything which he imagined made for his theory—is indeed true. But that he regarded it as "the most important of all the witnesses by which his case would be established" is quite an amazing statement. Still more amazing, however, is the statement that "the evidences supplied us by embryology" have "accumulated in overwhelming strength," and have made man's evolution "a demonstrable, indeed, a visible fact." The fact is that embryology has advanced but little since Darwin's day. There was nothing to look forward to, for the most important lessons of embryology had been learned during his lifetime. No one knew better than Darwin himself not only the value of embryology as a proof of his doctrine, but also the difficulties which that branch of science opposed to his theory. Von Baer, perhaps the greatest authority on embryology who ever lived—who may, indeed, be called the father of the modern science—ridiculed Darwin's doctrine. The importance which he attached to the proof from embryology, which Mr. Mallock regards as so overwhelming, can be estimated by the fact that he characterized it as a wool-gathering tale, "ein volles märchen." Darwin himself fully recognized the objections to the "proof from embryology," as Mr. Spencer calls it, and feebly attempted to meet them. Out of the many difficulties which have never been satisfactorily answered let us simply mention two or three, in Darwin's own words. 1. "The very general, though not universal, difference in structure between the embryo and the adult." 2. "The various parts in the same individual embryo, which ultimately become very unlike and serve for diverse purposes, (though) being at an early period of growth alike." 3. "The fact of certain larvæ standing higher in the scale of organization than the mature animal into which they are developed." These are some of the principal difficulties in the proof of evolution from embryology which Mr. Mallock tells us is now so "overwhelming"

—difficulties fully recognized by Darwin himself, by even such an enthusiastic evolutionist as Mr. Herbert Spencer, by Sedgwick, by Agassiz and others. Yet Mr. Mallock in his utter recklessness of statement would have his readers believe that the evidences “from embryology” are overwhelming in their “strength,” and that they have made the evolution of man from an ape “a demonstrable, indeed, a visible fact.” The real fact is that Darwin, like most of his followers, “looked with confidence” not to embryology, but to the geological record for the confirmation of the evolutionary theory. Let Huxley speak for the whole school. He tells us:

Primary and direct evidence in favor of evolution can be furnished only by palaeontology. The geological record, as soon as it approaches completeness, must, when properly questioned, yield either an affirmative or a negative answer: if evolution has taken place, there will its mark be left; if it has not taken place, there will lie its refutation.

These words are taken from his famous address on the occasion of “The Coming of Age of the Origin of Species,” for which he was the specially chosen orator. They represent the thought of Darwin and his entire school. Yet for the “modern methods of hardening and section-making” and all the other evidence which embryology furnishes, Huxley simply claimed—on this memorable occasion—that they show that evolution “is, at any rate, possible.” Here again, then, we find that Mr. Mallock has discovered a veritable mare’s nest, and that as an exponent of scientific views he is wholly as untrustworthy as when he undertakes to expound the views of the defenders of religion.

In like manner, when Mr. Mallock comes to treat of free-will and the determinism of matter, he shows how imperfectly he is acquainted with the views of the scientists who are authority on this particular doctrine. Here again with unabashed assurance he undertakes to convict “our religious apologists,” as he styles them, of contradicting the doctrine of the conservation of energy, when they maintain the freedom of the human will. He is careful not to mention the names of the “scientific determinists” whom he quotes or, to put it more correctly, whose views he undertakes to give. Possibly he deemed it wiser to suppress his authorities. Purporting to give the doctrine of science on this point, he tells us:

The doctrine of free-will is in absolute and direct contradiction to the first laws of science. In especial, it is in direct contradiction to the law of the conservation of energy. It is a doctrine that energy can be annihilated and new energy created; and to maintain this, they say, is no less absurd and monstrous than it would be to maintain that the will can annihilate and create matter. Such is the primary difficulty which modern physical science puts in the way of those who maintain that the will is free.

It is a great pity that Mr. Mallock has not seen fit to say who are the scientists whose views here he makes stand for “modern physical science.” Now, the fact is that so little is known about the

doctrine of the conservation of energy that to begin to dogmatize from the imperfect knowledge of the subject is nothing short of the highest folly. The little that can be put in exact form by science can contradict nothing. Only last year at a meeting of the British Association in Belfast, Ireland, the president, Professor Dewar, candidly admitted on behalf of science that it knows absolutely nothing about the nature of energy. He confessed ignorance on the part of science quite as much of the ultimate nature of energy as of the ultimate nature of matter, "and still more of the origin and ultimate synthesis of the two." The late Clerk Maxwell—who as an authority on the subject has not been yet superseded—defines the doctrine in these terms: "The total energy of any body or system of bodies is a quantity which can neither be increased nor diminished *by any mutual action of such bodies*, though it may be transformed into any one of the forms of which energy is susceptible." We have italicized the words "by any mutual action of such bodies" because it seems to be inserted specially for the purpose of not excluding the influx of action—and consequently of energy—from without. Indeed, so certain is this that the late Professor Huxley here, too—as in the case of spontaneous generation—revised his views and amended his opinions. For instance, he once gave to the world the famous utterance: "I believe that we shall, sooner or later, arrive at a mechanical equivalent of consciousness, just as we have arrived at a mechanical equivalent of heat;" and on another occasion, when addressing an audience, he told them: "It must be true . . . that the thoughts to which I am now giving utterance, and your thoughts regarding them, are the expression of changes in the matter of life which is the source of our other vital phenomena." It reads like a recantation of these doctrines, then, when we find him, in his last work, telling us that "the phenomena of consciousness which arise, along with certain transformations of energy, cannot be interpolated in the series of these transformations, inasmuch as they are not motions to which the doctrine of the transformation of energy applies." In view of this, what are we to think of Mr. Mallock's accusation that religious apologists sin against the doctrine of the conservation of energy when they come to prove the doctrine of free-will?

We shall give just one more instance of Mr. Mallock's wild attempts to discredit Christian apologetics, since to expose them all would be to review his almost every page. Mr. Mallock is dealing with Father Driscoll's admissions on "frustrated purpose," and in order to overwhelm Father Driscoll completely, makes a supreme dramatic effort in which he really surpasses himself. It is his *piece de resistance*. He wishes to convict God of "mad stupidity" and of

"wanton and miserable failures" when He is, as Mr. Mallock puts it, "doing His best to produce" human beings. Turning from the waste of seeds involved in the production of turnips, "let us," he says, "take the waste that is involved in the production of men."

"This process of conception," Mr. Mallock urges, "is necessarily, according to the theist, the very sacrament of God's creation, and must exhibit his skill and resource in the very highest degree."

And Mr. Mallock proceeds in language that is highly blasphemous, and which the late Colonel Ingersoll might envy, to burlesque the Christian idea of the dignity of man. Omitting what cannot be reprinted, we come to his point:

"What can be holier, from the theist's point of view," he asks, "than the male life-bearer which penetrates the female cell, depositing there the seed whose growth will be like the kingdom of heaven? Nothing can be more holy."

And now comes Mr. Mallock's climax.

"Every time," he solemnly assures us, "a woman conceives a child, God, in order to secure that the act of conception shall take place, blindly and recklessly throws away enough of these holy things—enough spermatozoa, enough potential souls (!) to populate the whole city of London or the whole kingdom of Scotland, if only each spermatozoon could meet with an appropriate ovum. He burns down the house to roast the pig."

And then he triumphantly asks:

"What sort of answer can the theist make to this?" And we answer: "What, indeed?" The temptation is exceedingly strong to give to it the answer it deserves. Let us, however, patiently examine this piece of solemn buffoonery. The inference is that science here confronts us with a new scientific difficulty. Well, the first answer is that the difficulty, such as it is, is not new at all. It is as old as human nature. Only the shallowest of minds could regard it as new. If there be any force at all in the difficulty, science has been exceedingly slow in discovering it, and for very shame at its stupidity in not urging it before, should have maintained a discreet silence. For if, as Mr. Mallock would have us believe, it be a blind and reckless throwing away of "holy things" that only one child results from the act of conception, when there ought to result a whole London population, what must be said of the number of conjugal unions from which no human life results at all? Here, indeed, is a wanton and reckless waste of "most precious materials;" and the wonder is that science has not awakened to a recognition of it before. Usually only one conception takes place in twelve months; and science has been all this time blind to this dreadful fact; and has forgotten to inveigh against God or improve the order of nature!

Surely here has been a great opportunity neglected! Evidently science has been caught napping upon this point of divine providence!

But there is another answer—one so obvious that even a scientist or Mr. Mallock might have perceived it. It is that perhaps the spermatozoon is not a "holy thing" at all, as Mr. Mallock would devoutly persuade us. According to the showing of science, and according to Mr. Mallock's own statement, which he manages to strangely forget, neither the spermatozoon nor the ovum, of itself, can produce a human being. Either is barren by itself. It is, as Mr. Mallock himself tells us, only "the coalescence" of both that gives us the conception of the human being. Hence, unless there is a wilful destruction of the "coalescence," there is neither "wanton and miserable failure" nor a playing "of ducks and drakes with His own most precious materials" on the part of God. On the contrary, when Mr. Mallock in true Ingersollian fashion, through lack of understanding his own assertions, presumes to call God "only a stupid God" and also "a morally reckless God," he is simply guilty of wanton and reckless blasphemy. The spermatozoon which Mr. Mallock is pleased to burlesque as "a holy thing" is simply, as science tells us, a combination of carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen and oxygen, united into the compound known as protein and associated with much water and a little phosphorus and sulphur. Why should these ingredients be more precious, or holy, or sacred in the form of spermatozoa than in any other form? Mr. Mallock may in jest or earnest look upon all these as sacred if it so pleases him, but of themselves they can never constitute a human being. The coalescence of the spermatozoon and the ovum is necessary, just as the coalition of the flint and steel is necessary to produce the spark, or as the union of the positive and negative electrodes gives the electric spark. What would be thought of the man who in the name of science said that there was a reckless and wanton waste of fire because every quartz rock was not a mass of flame, or because every piece of copper wire did not give forth an electric spark? Mr. Mallock must explain why the carbon or nitrogen or other element of which the spermatozoa are composed should be one whit more precious than carbon or nitrogen in any other form. Hence his sapient judgment that God must be convicted of "stupidity" and "recklessness" and of "playing ducks and drakes with His own most precious materials," because "for every spermatozoon which develops into a human being several millions do not, but find their way to the gutter" instead, is not, as Mr. Mallock would persuade us, "evidence" that God's means to an end "are as a rule wanton and miserable failures." Mr. Mallock's statement of it, however, is

"evidence" that the vilest scurrility cannot be hidden even when under the disguise of blasphemy.

There is no space—nor is it necessary—to follow Mr. Mallock further. There is hardly a page of his work which does not offer the strongest proof that Mr. Mallock is wholly incompetent for the stupendous work he has so rashly undertaken. And yet his strange work may serve a useful purpose. Mr. Mallock's opportunity—of which he has taken so speedy advantage—has arisen, it seems, from the too easy concessions of Catholic apologists to the assumptions of science. It is, indeed, well to be generous even to an adversary, but not to the point of giving him undue advantage. As has already been seen what is masquerading as scientific truth to-day will, to-morrow, in all probability be discarded as scientific error. We have seen how Mr. Mallock admits the complete change of front of materialism which is so wholly metamorphosed that it must now be called mentalism. We have seen the change of opinion of Tyndall and Huxley on the question of spontaneous generation, and also that of Huxley on the conservation of energy. The science of yesterday is not that of to-day, nor will that of to-day stand the test of to-morrow. To undertake to harmonize religion with all this kaleidoscopic change is to the task of Sisyphus over again, or to pursue the mischievous Puck in his knavish challengings. Indeed, science now boasts of its "plasticity;" that is, of the instability of its teachings.

Of Mr. Mallock's solution of the problem there is no room to speak here. Strange to say, however, it is the only portion of his book in which he stumbles on a partial truth. It is not, indeed, true, as he says, that truth can contradict itself; nevertheless his plea that the claims of the moral world as well as those of what he calls "the religious faculty" should have some recognition, is entirely just. The methods of the new Solomon, however, differ somewhat from those of the original. When the two mothers, religion and science, come to Mr. Mallock, each claiming the child, Truth, as hers, the modern Solomon, instead of bisecting the child, undertakes to bisect each of the parents, and by selecting from the parts of each construct the real parent of Truth. It is hardly rash to say that, notwithstanding Mr. Mallock's paradoxical thesis, his lucid exposition and wise solution of it, old-fashioned people will still doubtlessly be found who will insist on maintaining that where the conclusion is wrong the argumentation which leads up to it is apt to be faulty, and that right principles and right reasoning from them is the surest and safest route to right conclusions.

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

SYNOPSIS—RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

FIRST PERIOD, 1630 to 1775.—Corner-stone of college and school education.

1. Purpose of Harvard College and first schools, 1635.
2. Law of General Court.—1642, religious education compulsory; 1647, schools for it compulsory and free.
3. Unity, harmony, strength, 1642 to about 1700.
4. Division by arrival of Baptists, Quakers, Episcopalians.
5. Lethargy from commercial gain and wars, 1725-1775.
6. Deism of England imported.

SECOND PERIOD, 1775 to 1825.—Rise of private denominational schools.

1. Infiltration of French Atheisms.—Declaration of Independence, United States Constitution, New York University.
2. Influx of people after War of Independence.
3. Unitarian ideas spreading.—Took Harvard, seized churches.
4. Rise and development of academies.
5. Mount St. Benedict Ursuline Academy.
6. Decadence of the common school.

THIRD PERIOD, 1825 to 1900.—Rise of common non-sectarian school, Catholic school system.

1. Danger of the fall of the common school system.
2. Horace Mann: life, influence on education.
3. New common school system, religious but unsectarian, founded on Deism and Unitarianism.
4. Arrival of Irish Catholics.
5. Know-Nothingism.—No public money for sectarian schools, Bible must be read.
6. Gradual secularization of the schools.—Legislation, social changes.
7. Present hope and demand for moral and religious instruction.
8. Catholic school system: fact and idea.

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THE great State of Pennsylvania, with its beautiful City of Brotherly Love, like nearly all the important centres of our common beloved country, has felt the influence of the little State of Massachusetts. Small in territory, the old Puritan Commonwealth, or Bay State, was early settled, quite well peopled and strongly organized with a homogeneous element. It secured wealth, developed industry, fostered the arts and sciences and produced men great in commerce, literature and religion, hence spread its influence far and wide over the newer or then less favored but now more dominant communities. From a literary or educational point of

view this influence has ever been and is still most marked, so that whatever the future may bring, no one can ever justly take the crown of educational glory from the fair brow of venerable Massachusetts. I am equally convinced that Massachusetts forsook her ideal, and the right ideal, by eliminating religious and moral training from the public elementary education and thus wrongly influenced the country. This paper is to show how and when and why the fatal divorce was made legal and compulsory, and thus will call for a general survey of the educational development of Massachusetts, not in a didactic or controversial spirit, but simply in historic outline, as pictured in legislation and important historic episodes from 1630 to 1900; for they tell the whole truth. It naturally divides itself into three periods or chapters, the first from 1630 to 1775, the second from 1775 to 1825 and the third from 1825 to 1900.

FIRST PERIOD.

Religious education was the corner-stone in the foundation of the great monument which we call the State of Massachusetts and of which any one may now be proud to be a part. It was the corner-stone of Harvard College, founded by the General Court in 1636: 1, lest an illiterate ministry might be left to the churches; 2, to provide for the instruction of the people in "piety, morality and learning;" 3, beautifully inscribed on its coat-of-arms: "Veritas Christo et Ecclesiæ" or "In gloriam Christi." It was also the corner-stone of the whole educational system. In the year 1642, only twelve years after the settlement of Boston, the General Court ordered and decreed:

"Taking into consideration the great neglect of many parents and guardians in training up their children in learning and labor and other employment, which may be profitable to the Commonwealth . . . that chosen men in every town are to redress this evil, are to have power to take account of parents, masters and of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country."

Three things stand out clearly in this decree:

First. That many parents had shown great neglect in *training up* their children. This does not square with the traditional picture of the first Puritans, of whom Horace Mann has said in one of his many flights of imagination: "In all that company there was not a drop of blood which had been tainted by vice, nor an act of life that had been stained by crime."

Secondly. That education was made compulsory, with the ways and means at the option of each municipality, but not necessarily schools. Schools already existed for the "nourtering," "nourish-

ing" (ideal word) of children, and Harvard College had been founded.

Thirdly. The object of the education is stated, namely, that children may read and understand the *principles of religion* and the *capital laws of the country*; religion first, then citizenship, all secular learning to be a means to both, the handmaid to manly, civic and religious character.

Five years later, in 1647, every town, and there were forty or fifty of them with about 20,000 people, was ordered, under a penalty of a fine, to build and support a school for the above double purpose, and every large town of 100 families a grammar or classical school to fit youth for the university. Hence primary school, grammar or classical school and university were well defined and all had one chief object, the religious and civic training of the people as of the ministry.

It is sometimes imagined that all this was an original idea of the Puritans. Such a notion is far from true; it was one of the many fine ideas imported from England, and given to England by the Catholic Church of Augustine, of Theodore, of King Alfred, of Dunstan, of St. Anselm, of Becket, of Langton, of Fisher and Sir Thomas Moore. The compulsory feature as a State law was new; the universality feature or education for all children was also new, in one sense, and was not carried out, but if the Puritans had such an ardent love and unquenchable thirst for learning and for religion, it is hard to see why the tyranny of compulsion should, by law, replace the liberty of love. No, it was the unconscious continuity of the religious educational work of God and of the Church from the time when our Lord said to His Apostles, "*Teach* all nations," and that continuity has never been broken even in the State of Massachusetts. During the first period, from 1630 to 1775, there was no real modification, by statute law, of the original idea, and the man who would dare to think out loud of holding or "keeping," as it was said, a secular, non-religious school would have been judged an emissary of Satan, and would have been told in plain words to return quick to his fiery abode.

Whatever the motive of the autocratic and theocratic Commonwealth may have been, whether it was religious zeal, or commercial gain, or self-protection or simply Calvinistic intolerance, and perhaps it was one and all of these, unity and harmony were developed and maintained by the supremacy of religion in education. Church and Commonwealth were only two names for the same body, at least in power of government and voting, for no one could vote, much less hold office, who was not a communicant in the Church. The Church authorities made the formal subscription to the Creed and the reve-

lation of personal experience in thinking and planning so stringent, that the religious education was a necessary means to the end of voting, of power, of influence and of wealth. Prayer, reading, writing, spelling, figuring were the course of study. The Bible, the Psalter, the Catechism (Westminster) and the New England Primer were the books used to carry out the purpose. The teachers were ministers or students, graduates usually of Harvard College. It is really wonderful how long these factors held their place and how widespread was their influence long after the spirit that introduced them had lost its hold either as a private monitor of conscience or a standard of public morality. The machinery was in view long after the fires and steam had been withdrawn; the skeleton remained when the soul had taken flight. Let me just recall, without developing, some of the historic signs that point out this certain fact.

1. It is striking, yet not surprising, how the pulse-beat of the mother country's heart was soon felt in the colony so far away.

When Puritanism was dominant or triumphant in England, the Massachusetts legislators made barriers strong and numerous against any intruders. When royalty and the Church of England gained control, the door to Massachusetts was opened a little more.

When a Governor came who was a strong churchman, the Puritans of Boston were rather nervous and conciliatory, and the fear of losing their charter, more than once threatened, made them cautious.

Hence Quakers, Baptists, Episcopalians slipped in from time to time, and though not numerous enough to build churches or to organize schools, asserted themselves often enough to be persecuted and to have laws made against them.

It was only after the middle of the eighteenth century that they were unmolested and put up churches for their own adherents.

2. The witchcraft delusion of 1692, for which my native place, Salem, has had notoriety if not fame, weakened the Puritan ministers in their claim of possessing truth, the Spirit and Prophecy and infallibility, and many people asserted that the Devil was in the clergy rather than in the witches.

3. Commercial gain and the wars with the French and Indians, in which the help of all was needed, made the Puritans less strict about the qualifications of voters and communicants, and produced an apathy in religious matters such as usually follows in their train.

4. The Half-way Covenant in 1650 and the Brattle Street Church formula in 1698 and the Great Awakening or revival between 1730 and 1750 served to show how little the Puritan creed and ordinances were adapted to human nature, and these compromises weakened the whole body, religious and social.

In 1700 Cotton Mather writes: "I see Satan beginning a terrible shake in the churches of New England, and the innovators that have set up a new church in Boston (a *new* one indeed!) have made a day of temptation among us. The men are ignorant, arrogant, obstinate and full of malice and slander, and they fill the land with lies. . . . Wherefore I set apart this day again for prayer in my study, to cry mightily unto God."

The Methodists under Whitefield and Davenport played havoc with the Puritan uniformity.

"Good Lord," said Davenport, about 1750, "I will not mince the matter any longer with Thee, for Thou knowest that I know that most of the ministers of Boston and of the country are unconverted and are leading their people blindfold to hell." He was indicted for slander and acquitted as insane, and no wonder, for he preached a sermon on one occasion nearly twenty-four hours in length.

The Methodist revival collapsed, and apathy was the result, but the Baptists and Methodists and other English sects gained a footing which was never after lost.

The lethargy in England between 1750 and 1775 that came from the deist and infidel philosophy imported from Europe must have had its counterpart in the colony. In spite, however, of all these currents and counter-currents, the religious instruction did not change much in form, and the various sects secured a part of the State tax for the support of their religious houses of worship, and no doubt were able in the localities where they were strong to manage the schools on their own lines and to have the teachers interpret according to their views. The sources or books were the same for all, but the spirit of understanding and interpretation was different.

The corner-stone was the same religious training, but the color, shape and strength of the building varied more and more; in fact, it was the denominational system just developing naturally from the original foundation, while the statute law remained unchanged one *jot* or *tittle*. Thus closed the first period.

SECOND PERIOD—1775 TO 1825.

The second period shows the steady rise of the denominational system, but at the same time the growing decadence of the common school in secular as in religious training, and thus presents some interesting features.

When the vigorous colonies made that great kick against the mother country, some have even ventured to say the kick by right Divine, which is now so often recalled by our Filipino cousins, to justify their own, the question was no longer, are you a Puritan or Baptist or Episcopalian, but are you a patriot or a Tory? Be what

you like in religion, only kick and fight against England. A new bond of unity, another invitation to religious variety.

With this force and even somewhat earlier a far different force was the wave of French infidel philosophy that had far more influence upon the fathers and educators of our Revolutionary period than we are wont to realize or at least acknowledge.

The part that France, noble Catholic France, played in making us a nation is a wonderful page of history. When I fix my eyes upon the great monarchy under King Louis XVI. and Queen Marie Antoinette, after 800 years of vigorous and prosperous life, then bleeding at every pore from internal injuries and on the verge of financial ruin, and I see her allowing herself to be bled once more to give food and protection and confidence to this bouncing, kicking boy of America against the giant power of England, I cannot but admire and praise. But the very force that was disrupting France, infidel philosophy, was making itself felt, feebly at first, but none the less effectively, on our shores. Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Franklin, Hamilton, all had come under its spell by personal touch in Paris or by the indirect reflex action of literature. The American mind was changing, and when the educated public mind changes, sooner or later public opinion and then statute law will crystallize that mind.

Did the thought ever come to you that in the great "Declaration of Independence," made in 1776 for the religious eyes of the whole world, there is a clear public recognition of the "Creator of all men," the "Supreme Judge of the world" and of "Divine Providence" as protector and guide of men, while on the other hand in the Constitution of the United States made in 1789 there is not the slightest hint of any such power in the United States or out of it? Thirteen years separated the two documents, and among other things the French secular idea that was about to deluge France with human blood in fraternal strife had made its indelible mark upon the minds of American statesmen.

Religion that had been fundamental in each of the colonies was not even mentioned in the United States Constitution, much less recognized as useful or necessary to national ideals. The first amendment soon tied the hands of Congress by prohibiting the establishment of any religion and any interference with the free exercise thereof.

It was probably the only practical course, as Divine Providence had already split up the colonists into very many sects, and the Catholics, few in numbers, were respected, but not feared.

That same influence was seen more clearly still in the records of the University of the State of New York, which I will only mention,

as outside of our subject, but in reality the French infidel philosophy and a Frenchman by name, "L'Homme-Dien," strangely enough, conceived, developed and brought forth that great institution. The influence was felt all over the country, and Jefferson and Franklin must have drunk many a draught at that unhallowed fountain, as their writings prove, for the mottoes of Franklin show that the electric spark of mind and ether and the golden coin were his chief idols. In Massachusetts it was felt less and later than elsewhere, and the serenity of the Boston Puritan in his stronghold may be realized when we hear John Adams say while standing up in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia: "A change in the solar system might be expected as soon as a change in the ecclesiastical (hence educational) system of Massachusetts."

Yet in forty years from that time the whole system had been shattered, and the change in religious ideas as in education was the chief destroying force. During and after the war schooling was much neglected, and now poverty and taxation made the burden of the school all the harder, hence the minimum only was demanded, and the "grammar" or classical school was weakened or abandoned in many towns, while districts made up of two or more towns were formed to keep such a school. Wealthy people there were, many perhaps laying the foundation of their wealth during the war. These people needed schools to prepare their boys for college and to give their girls an education, for girls had been almost entirely overlooked in the early Puritan régime. All the sects were bold and free when the war was over, and to these three facts must be attributed the rise of the "private school," or academy, as it was called, where a polite education for the girls and a classical training for the boys determined the course of studies. Several were founded by individual wealthy merchants, hence the names of Dummer, Philips, Williston, or from the town in which they were built, as Leicester, Worcester, Groton, etc.

The religion of the founder generally fixed the religion of the academy and determined the choice of teachers, books, etc., but the pupils were not bound to follow the teaching. Hence Quaker, Baptist, various shades of Congregationalists were all freely represented.

Legislatures are always ready to see facts and figures squarely, and the town representatives saw an opportunity to lighten, if not remove, the heavy tax by encouraging the academy.

The two oldest, Dummer and Philips, had already gained renown from the character and scholarship of teachers and pupils, hence other places petitioned for a similar institution, and the Legislature gave an endowment in the shape of a "township in Maine," to be

sold or worked, to three new incorporated academies. The alliance was made between Legislature and private academy, and in rapid succession petitions for similar aid were presented. A committee of the Legislature examined the whole question, reported in favor of encouraging the plan and in 1797 the Legislature formally adopted all the incorporated academies as public State schools, offered similar inducements to all other towns, fixing, of course, the conditions so as to safeguard the interests of all.

From 1797 to 1840 one hundred and twelve acts of incorporation had been given to eighty-eight towns all over the State, though all were not opened. Thus, as nearly all the present colleges of Massachusetts were founded or strengthened by State aid, so the numerous academies that adorned and in many places still adorn Massachusetts, and in which I believe the best men and women of Massachusetts were educated, were started or very materially aided by legislative grants. Thus denominational education made great strides forward, and the old "grammar schools" founded in 1647 rapidly disappeared or became very insignificant.

Another influence began to show strength very soon after the war closed, and it is the primary factor at this very hour, namely, Unitarianism.

It is not our task to trace here its genesis, but meeting it as a fact and factor show how it affected the "religious training in the school." The old Puritan believed that Christ Jesus was God; Second Person of the Blessed Trinity and made man to redeem the world from sin, and all Catholics and all true Christians must ever believe the same unchanging doctrine.

Deism, rampant in France and England after 1750, was inconsistent with that doctrine, and as many did not wish to forsake Christ and Christianity, they figured out their scheme, in part going back to an old heresy of the fourth century, Arianism, that Christ was not God, but was somebody between God and man, a supernatural or spiritual man, the ideal excellence of manhood, or even simply a man developed to the noblest manly ideals, surpassing all others, as Plato, Socrates, etc., etc. Hence they denied the Trinity, forsook or were driven out by the Trinitarians and called themselves Unitarians, as professing the Unity of God.

Calvinism and predestinarianism went to pieces during the eighteenth century, and though the revivals of Whitefield and Jonathan Edwards galvanized it into life for a few years, the life was gone, and the old adherents and ministers of the Congregational churches were slowly but surely being inoculated with the Unitarian virus. It weakened and divided one congregation after another and then little by little animated a large enough body to form a separate

congregation, thus completely breaking up the old Puritan and Congregational Commonwealth, which had maintained all its power even in presence of the other sects. This struck at the very vitals of the whole Puritan doctrine, polity and practice, and the ecclesiastical system was changed, while the solar system still rolls on in the starry dome above, as also on our earth.

Now as the Unitarians gained influence in church and school with corresponding progress and they made inroads on Baptist, Quaker, Episcopalian and Methodist, the faithful of each congregation were all the more anxious to encourage and strengthen the denominational academy, hence another sure germ of decadence was eating into the heart of the old common school, and from the grammar school was sure to quickly, if quietly, advance into the primary school on the one hand and the college on the other. This is really what happened and before the year 1830 Harvard College was practically in control of the Unitarians, as it is to-day.

One very striking fact will vividly illustrate the whole movement. The Catholics of New England in 1790 were an obscure and scattered band of French, Spanish, Portuguese and Irish emigrants all along the coast from Eastport to New York, and a good sized group in Boston. Pitied by all in their poverty and supposed superstition, scorned by the real Puritan, protected and respected by the Unitarians for general and special reasons not to be even mentioned here, feared by no one. French priest, Frs. Matignon and Cheverus, occasionally an Irish monk like Fr. Lariscy, or strange contrast, a Unitarian converted and ordained, Fr. Thayer, would gather them, French and Irish people together and finally Bishop Cheverus secured a Cathedral. He established the Ursuline nuns in Boston to found a school in 1820. These good nuns had been accustomed to academy life, and, leaving Boston, opened the Mount St. Benedict Convent and Academy, in 1826, in Charlestown. The teaching must have been very fascinating, for a large number of pupils came. The religious instruction was Catholic; yet that was no barrier, and we might draw many beautiful lessons and hopes from this one fact which now concerns us, that, when the convent was destroyed on that unhallowed night of August 11, 1834, there were more Protestant pupils than Catholics in that Catholic Ursuline convent. (Twelve Catholic pupils out of about seventy.)

In the year 1817 there were in the public common schools of Boston 2,365 pupils and in the private denominational schools 4,132 pupils.

The private denominational school was the great social, aristocratic, intellectual, popular and religious factor in Massachusetts. It was the logical and reasonable outgrowth from the seeds sown

and nourished by the founders, suiting the variety and respecting, by liberty and equality, religious convictions, without minimizing them. The public common school was in a stage of serious decadence that must surely, before many years, mean its passing away. It had become not a seminary of education, but as the Scotchmen had said of a school in another country, "a cemetery for education." Its death-knell had sounded when a young man appeared on the scene, Horace Mann by name, with whom our third period or chapter opens.

THIRD PERIOD—1825 TO 1900.

There is a proverb: "The child is father to the man," and there is another, so oft quoted: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it."

Both proverbs were ejaculatory mottoes for Horace Mann, and he is the best illustration of how they are and are not true, for the difficulty is always to know in just what way he should go, and Horace Mann departed considerably from the way in which he was trained up, or perhaps he would say chained up. He grew to manhood during the first quarter of the nineteenth century while Unitarianism was disrupting all the Protestant churches and the old "public school" was literally going to the dogs or to the Devil, according to its friends and enemies.

He was born at Franklin, Massachusetts, in 1796, of a father who was a farmer and strict Calvinist and who died when the boy was 13 years of age: of a mother, sweet, gentle soul, who, with her blood, gave many of the beautiful traits for which he is justly noted and merits unstinted praise. His pastor was a hyper or intense Calvinist, strict predestinarian. Between the father and the pastor Horace learned to call the Creator of the world "cruel," and, being of a very sensitive, imaginative nature, probably also a playful boy, he became very morose, "looking for a personal Devil behind every hedge and tree to carry him off."

Of his own traits he has said: "I never was drunk (except with joy and sadness); I never swore; I never used 'the vile weed' in any form," which, according to him, was the climax of virtue; "I never was a slave to any bad habit;" and lastly, when his sister manifested apprehension, anxiety, alarm at his condition of mind losing the Christian faith, he wrote these telling words: "I felt, indeed, that it was a great and irreparable misfortune that I had not been taught the existence of a God worthy of being loved." Such was the action and reaction of the Calvinistic teaching of his youth.

He had the ordinary farmer boy schooling, eight or ten weeks a year, under what he called "good people," but "poor teachers,"

and, finally, at the age of 20, entered the sophomore class at Brown University in Providence. Hard study under a tutor to prepare and unwearied application that brought the highest honors to him at Brown, undermined his health and shattered his nerves, never afterwards steady, and perhaps this accounts for his erratic or rather imaginative judgment to the end of his life. At Brown, where Unitarianism was then unknown, a revival of religion did not take hold of Horace, but his thorough knowledge of Greek and Roman classics, then and there gained as pupil and later as tutor, neutralized, yes, completely drowned the old Calvinistic doctrines, and made him a respectable Deist, which he was also to the end of his life, though nominally a Boston Unitarian and later simply a Christian.

Were I inclined to psychological inferences, I could trace some of the fruits of his later life to the seeds sown in mind, heart and soul during the educational periods, but that is not my present aim, and I only mention it to show how important it is to sow the right seeds in the fertile youthful natures.

He studied law, and soon entered the Massachusetts Legislature, where a bill was introduced to divide among various Protestant sects the money, called the religious tax, or at least set apart for religious purposes, and perhaps the school and academy grants were involved. This appropriation had been made from the very first Massachusetts General Court, and probably some of the newer churches asked to share in it, but it was the beginning of the end.

Horace Mann made his first speech on religious liberty and against such a bill, defeated it and thus took by storm the fortress that had stood for nearly two hundred years, and by which alone Calvinism or Puritanism could stand.

In the same year, 1827, he secured a bill "making it unlawful to use the common school or to teach anything in the school in order to proselyte the children to a belief in any particular sect."

Religious liberty was his first principle or shibboleth, and it served to destroy by law what had been law and practice from the beginning. He saw very clearly, however, that a law was of little avail unless the public mind believed in it and supported it, hence unless the people were educated in the right principles, and his must be right, the laws would be of no avail. Education then became his watchword, his star, his sun; I, for one, am convinced, his God.

Education and his education would be the preventive of all future human ills and a panacea for all the actual social diseases. Let me quote a typical passage:

Without undervaluing any other human agency, it may be safely affirmed

that the common school, *improved* and *energized* as it can easily be, may become the most effective and benignant of *all* the forces of civilization, a reformatory and elevating influence. The materials upon which it operates are so pliant and ductile as to be susceptible of assuming a greater variety of forms than any other earthly work of the Creator. The inflexibility and ruggedness of the oak, when compared with the lithe sapling or tender germ, are but feeble emblems to typify the docility of childhood when contrasted with the obduracy and intractableness of man. In its infancy in our State (this was said in 1848), with a system so imperfect and administration so feeble, education has proved what it can do by glorious experiments. When its faculties shall be fully developed, when it shall be trained to wield its mighty energies for the protection of society against the giant vices now invading and tormenting it, against intemperance, avarice, war, slavery, bigotry, the woes of want and the wickedness of waste, then there shall not be a height to which these enemies of the race can escape which it will not scale, nor a Titan among them all whom it will not slay.

Original sin, the seven deadly sins, the sins crying to heaven for vengeance and a few other fashionable sins, and the Puritan knew well how widespread and deep they were in spite of religion and education, all these would vanish like the clouds dispersing rapidly when once opened by the giant sun. I wish that he were alive to-day, after fifty years of its development, and pass judgment on the angelic purity and unselfish principles of modern American life.

We must remember distinctly that the Deist and Unitarian agree in nearly all points, and their great aim was to break down all the Divine and human barriers of blood, nation and religion by substituting a new religion, aye, even a Biblical religion, to be common to all, and the common school was to be incubator of that religion. First Massachusetts had the old and positive Christian religion, distorted indeed, but in many points exact and true, as the spirit of its education. Then the same spirit, but in varied forms to suit the variety of people. Now it was to be a uniform spirit once more, religious even, but unsectarian, subterfuge for that other word they dared not use—Unitarian.

At the start, in 1825, the Catholics were so few in Boston or Massachusetts that they could be disregarded in the reckoning of forces. The State Board of Education was soon formed to champion the new "State worship." Horace Mann was its first secretary, and Harvard College became then, as it is to this day, the fountain source of its ideas and of its plans.

Horace Mann gave up literature, law and politics—and he would have made his mark in any one of them—started to rouse public opinion in favor of the "new public school" and to organize political forces in its favor. He went up and down the State talking on education in every possible phase, physical, moral, intellectual, religious; on school houses, schoolmasters, methods of teaching, courses of study, books, apparatus and every conceivable iota of educational value; called upon the people to desert the private school, as opposed to democracy and liberty, and to support the common school. This supposed danger or mythical bugbear of

developing classes and destroying democracy by education in private schools under State control was foreshadowed as early as 1795 by Governor Sam Adams. It was eloquently and exhaustively portrayed by a Mr. Carter, of Lancaster, Mass., who may be styled the advance crier of Horace Mann, but when the Board of Education was established in 1837 and Mann was made its first secretary, it was preached everywhere.

No one can read the account of his journeyings over the State and refuse to him the title of apologist, or victim, or some might say martyr of the "Non-sectarian Common School." Remember well that his plan called for religious instruction and devotion, but it was to be simply of the "Unitarian type," "nebulous and fragmentary," "formless and void" that suits the Non-Conformist of England and his cousin in New England, but nobody else.

He was aggressive, abusive, eloquent, some would say violent in speech and manner; his fluency of speech, with a wonderfully fertile imagination and a style of language which he acquired not by studying the rules of English grammar, but by analyzing and teaching Latin and Greek classics, made him all the more effective and interesting against enemies.

His descriptions of the slow, uncouth, unkempt, untaught, unteachable and unteaching schoolmasters is now an interesting historic page that does not look well on the fair and white records of Massachusetts. The schoolmasters, of course, defended their ways and means and retaliated, but had no champion able to cope with Horatius of Massachusetts. Mann hated the Orthodox or Calvinistic creed of his father and all cognate dogmatic forms that have any meaning, and he never cloaked his hope and aim of breaking down such degrading restraints upon human folly or liberty, as he would say. Hence the ministers especially attacked him and boldly maintained that the new reform was an attempt to take religious instruction out of the schools, eventually to secularize them, thus to destroy the very object for which they had been established, to remove the corner-stone from the foundation, to tear down the time-honored inscription over the doorway.

They abused him as a vandal and an iconoclast, opposed every measure that he advocated and united to thwart him even when the law was against them. The sequel will show, to-day more than ever shows, that the above fears and claims were well grounded.

After he had been secretary of the State Board of Education for five years, fighting, as he said, with lions and leopards, he made a trip to Europe in 1843 to examine the school systems in vogue. Scotland, England, Belgium, Germany were the chief places, with just a peep into France. On his return he published a full account

of his observations, and almost every line was a thrust at the schoolmasters of Massachusetts and a sword into the heart of the ministers, who now openly asserted that he wished to Prussianize and paganize Massachusetts.

In spite of all Mann's efforts, the religious instruction was maintained on denominational lines, and ten years after the law forbade it Horace found clear denominational teaching when he visited the schools.

(In 1848 he caught the political fever, aspired to and won a seat in Congress, to fight rum and slavery and all other iniquities. Four years of fighting at Washington with no visible sign of success, or even progress, and he was on the same day, September 15, 1852, nominated for Governor of Massachusetts and elected as president of Antioch College in Ohio. He accepted the latter, and strove to carry out his educational views in a coeducational institution. Trials, sorrows, scandals financial for the college and moral for the pupils followed in his pathway, and the college was bankrupt, almost ruined. It got a fresh start, and, wonder of wonders, Horace was obliged to subscribe to a formula of Christian faith against his wishes and protests, if he wished to remain at the head. Sickness that, in fact, had been his constant companion from his student days at Brown now rapidly undermined his constitution, and he died at the college in August, 1859, a life beautiful in one aspect, but from another point the victim of "private judgment in moral and religious matters" of imagination where judgment should guide, of false educational germs in his youth, of impossible ambition in his manhood and of well nigh general disappointment at Massachusetts, Congress, America and the world, which, as he said, "would be beautiful if it only had *fit* inhabitants."

When he closed his career in the State Board of Education in Massachusetts the ministers certainly believed that they would triumph, and in both press and pulpit the cry was: "We shall never abandon the religious instruction in the schools; rather let the whole public school system perish and let each denomination provide and pay for the education, secular and religious, of its children, or all be compensated by the State."

Amid these discussions and threats there came a new—what shall I call it?—cloud on the horizon, or a bright constellation in the firmament of Massachusetts.

Lest I should be considered too bold in speech, I will quote exactly the words of one who, in Boston and Massachusetts at this very day, is well known and understood, Mr. George Martin, a supervisor in the schools of Boston: "While this discussion was going on a new *danger* appeared, in the presence of which the opposing parties ceased their wordy conflict, and, combining their forces *against the common enemy*, solidified public opinion in support of the non-sectarian public school."

Who was the common enemy? No other than the Irish Catholics, who came in wave upon wave into Boston harbor about 1848, and have been coming since almost with every tide.

The "common enemy!" Not a very polite or friendly title, yet there it is in cold type, and, though long since and happily enlightened, no word better expressed the public mind of Boston at that

hour. The Irish had been coming in small numbers for nearly fifty years, and I have often wondered why, in the dismal years of famine in the Green Isle of the Ocean, so many of the people turned to Boston. There were many economic reasons and, a short time ago, I discovered that, in 1847, the Mayor of Boston, Hon. Josiah Quincy, collected and sent to Ireland in money or provisions the sum of \$150,000. Is it any wonder then that gratitude and love and a longing to see that wonderful place should have filled the hearts of the Irish multitude? To-day one of the poor Irish emigrant boys is Mayor of Boston.

However much friendship there was for them in Ireland, they were not welcome to the shores of Pilgrim and Puritan. The why and wherefore it is not our duty or right to discuss here, yet some allusion is necessary, and it is an important part of the story.

Education for himself and a generous share to all other races was a most striking trait, even instinct, of the Celt as far back as the sixth and eighth centuries, and the long privation of it from Cromwell, the tyrant, to O'Connell, the liberator, only made the hunger more acute.

How well then the common school, non-sectarian, would suit the new comers, Irish and Catholic! Ah! no, said the Puritan descendant, that mingling of the races would not do for us or our children! Ah! no, said the Irish Catholic; at home we scorned an education that meant the sacrifice of our faith; we have not come here to be disloyal to God and our Church, for any education, even the best in the world. The Bible, the Protestant Bible, is in your schools; that we will not have. Divide therefore the money as you have during so many years past, to support the schools; let us have the religious education that each believes the best, and then we will live in peace and unity as American citizens, faithful to God and faithful to country. Otherwise we will have and support our own schools, at whatever cost.

All these ideas and demands were put into formal propositions, and actually were put into operation in Massachusetts. In the city of Lowell, after several ineffectual attempts to get the Irish children into what were called "Yankee schools with Yankee teachers and Yankee text-books," the School Board authorized separate Catholic schools with Catholic teachers and all text-books subject to the approval of the pastor, and all expense, save the rent of the rooms, paid by the city treasury.

That was in 1835, before the great invasion of '48 and '49. When, however, the great influx came, a different spirit came over the Bostonians and Massachusetts men, as if some epidemic or barbarian horde was threatening ruin to the body and soul of the State.

How far Horace Mann, his lieutenants and enemies were promoters in this movement it is very hard to say. A contemporary and acquaintance of Mr. Mann, and still living, a convert to the Catholic faith, puts it on record that the system of non-sectarian schools was formulated in Massachusetts for the very purpose of making the children of the foreigners lose their Catholic religion as well as gain American patriotic and civic virtue, by education and liberty.

There is no doubt, either, that many of the priests who labored in Massachusetts from 1840 to 1860 have left this point clear, that the non-sectarian common schools were organized to break down the barrier of the Catholic faith in the children of the emigrants, while the efforts to build schools during that period, when the Catholic could scarcely exist, would seem to convey the same idea.

One fact, above all, is sure in my mind beyond even a suspicion of doubt, namely, that Horace Mann came back from Europe in 1843 a more avowed enemy and hater of all dogmatic belief and respecting the Catholic Church less than before. Justice prompts some strong words of condemnation in speaking of him, and duty towards the Church and Catholic truth urges a Catholic priest to show up the man who has maligned that truth and that Church. I judge him not from hearsay nor from any outside evidence, but out of his own mouth, his letters, his reports.

In his lecture on the "Historical View of Education," given in 1840, he gives his first appreciation of what the Church accomplished during the Middle Ages for education:

Shortly after the commencement of the Christian era all idea of general popular education and almost all correct notions concerning education itself died out of the minds of men. A gloomy and terrible period succeeded, which lasted a thousand years—a sixth part of the past duration of the race of men! Approaching this period from the side of antiquity or going back to view it from our own age, we come, as it were, to the borders of a great Gulf of Despair. Gazing down from the brink of this remorseless abyss, we behold a spectacle resembling rather the maddest orgies of demons than any deeds of men. Oppression usurped the civil throne. Persecution seized upon the holy altar. Rulers demanded the unconditional submission of body and soul and sent forth ministers of fire and sword to destroy what they could not enslave. Innocence changed places with guilt and bore all its penalties. Even remorse seems to have died from out the souls of men. As high as the halls of the regal castle rose into the air, so deep beneath were excavated the dungeons of the victim, into which hope never came. By the side of the magnificent cathedral was built the Inquisition, and all those who would not enter the former and bow the soul in homage to men were doomed by the latter to have the body broken or burned. All that power, wealth, arts, civilization had conferred upon the old world—even new-born, divine Christianity itself—were converted into instruments of *physical bondage and spiritual degradation*. These centuries have been falsely called the Dark Ages; they were not dark; they glare out more conspicuously than any other ages of the world; but, alas! they glare with infernal fires. What could education do in such an age? Nothing! Nothing! Its voice was hushed; its animation was suspended.

Such a display of ignorance, imagination or spleen merits contempt, ridicule or pity according as one reads with the eye of

charity or otherwise, for the most superficial acquaintance with English history and the names of Theodore, Bede, Alfred, Alcuin, Dunstan, Langton, Wolsey, More, not to mention Ireland, France, Germany and Italy, with their free schools and universities, would make any educated man blush to write such nonsense.

It prepares the way for more direct attack. In his report for 1843, p. 365 (Cambridge edition of 1867), after his return from Europe, he exalts Prussia, Holland and Scotland and reserves his sneers for France, Belgium and Austria: "Austria, impenetrable Austria, over which the black horizon of despotism shuts down like a cover, excluding as far as possible all light, intelligence and knowledge; Austria, true to the base and cowardly instincts of ignorance and bigotry, disallows the establishment of a free Normal School," etc.

Yet, strangely enough, Austria had a complete public school system before Prussia, and the latter country, as Horace Mann himself admitted in private conversation, adopted the methods and studies of the Catholic Austrian system. Then, too, in Massachusetts at that very time the establishment of Normal Schools was violently denounced and opposed.

Now, no one will be surprised at the following appreciations, taken from his "Life by his wife," second edition, Boston, 1865:

(a) P. 207. In Saxony:

I was introduced to a Catholic priest, the keeper of the King's conscience. I found him a most delightful man; full of generosity; a noble figure, fine head, the most charming expression of countenance. . . . If such a man can grow up under the influences of Catholicism, what would he be under a nobler dispensation?

(b) P. 211:

In Coblenz (on the Rhine) I heard a Catholic priest give a religious lesson to the children. A part of it consisted of an explanation of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and particularly of transubstantiation. He said: if Christ could turn water into wine (as He did at Cana), then why not turn wine into blood and bread into flesh? and I am sure I could not tell him why one was not as easy as the other. The children were obliged to sit for an hour, with their hands placed together in front, *and hear this nonsense*. They seemed uneasy and miserable enough. I went into the church, heard the mummeries, saw the genuflections and the sprinkling with holy water. The quantity of water did not seem to be material . . . and I am inclined to believe that such a homœopathic dose answered the same purpose as taking an entire bath.

(c) P. 217: After mentioning almost with regret that "a national system of public schools had just been decreed, with secular instruction under civil authority, moral and religious instruction under ecclesiastical authority and that religion and morals are proclaimed inseparable in the schools," he states the fact "that Belgium had schools for deaf, dumb and blind;" that he had witnessed "a great festival in Brussels in honor of the Queen of England; that

there was a vast crowd, beautiful decorations, a well behaved people and no disorder." Then he adds :

Here I saw many Catholics worshipping in the churches; *everything* which I have seen of them, *here and elsewhere*, impresses me *more and more deeply* with the baneful influence of the Catholic religion upon the human mind; and not upon the mind only, but even upon the body. The votaries are not *degraded* only, but *distorted*; not *only debased*, but *deformed*.

(d) In France he did not trouble himself to visit schools, which were in every respect equal to the best in Europe, and he took good care to say nothing in his reports about the magnificent struggle for liberty of education and of religion then going on, but in several places makes vanity and show the chief traits of the French nation and finally in one of his letters, written in 1853, quoted in his "Life," p. 446, says :

What do you think of France? Frivolity, sensuality and the Catholic religion—what will they not do for the debasement of mankind?

Such are the thoughts, words and judgments of the Mann that is rightly called the Father of the Non-Sectarian Public School System of Massachusetts.

Was all this from a lack of knowledge? Had he acquired too great fluency of speech in the use of harsh epithets, like unconscious swearing from bad habit? Perhaps it was an old Calvinistic germ in his blood. Then, too, he, like certain living educators and sociological leaders of present day Boston, may have thought himself the incarnation of wisdom, wiser than Christ Himself, more aged and infallible than all churches.

Was it from the rage of the conceited reformer, who has removed all the mole hills in his path, and then sees a real mountain of rock, whose summit goes up into the clouds and whose base is wide and deep beyond human vision?

I know not; it may have been something of all four, but for a man who posed as liberal, enlightened, far-seeing and knowing all things, as also the personal embodiment of all the excellencies of the ideal teacher of mankind, I will simply call him a paradox, harmless title, forbear to return abuse for abuse, and, mindful of the Church and her supreme dignity and of the priesthood in its exalted worth, say what the great French nobleman, Montalembert, once said to slanderers in a similar matter :

"The Catholic Church, during her long career of nineteen centuries, has always had vengeance and scored a victory over all her enemies. She had vengeance by praying for them. She scored a victory by outliving them."

In any case the anti-Catholic spirit rose high and clear and strong, became crystallized into a political party, popularly called the Know-Nothing party, and it chiefly centred around the question of religious instruction in the schools. In Massachusetts the records

of the years 1853, 1854 and 1855 are stained with Governor's inaugurals, press and pulpit invectives and legislative statute, all against the Catholics and Catholic schools.

A constitutional amendment was proposed in 1854 and passed again in 1855 and ratified on May 21, 1855, by the voters of Massachusetts: "All moneys thus raised by taxation in towns, or appropriated by the State shall never be appropriated to any religious sect for the maintenance exclusively of its own schools."

The Catholics demanded, if they must use the common schools, the exclusion of the Bible in the English or King James version, as a Protestant book in origin and doctrine and purpose and spirit. Not only was this refused, but the daily reading of the English Bible, which had been voluntary, though universal from the earliest Puritan days, was made compulsory. The lines were now fixed and the statute law and constitutional limits seemed to bar all hope of a return to the old system that had built up generations of loyal citizens and strong religious characters in Massachusetts. The Lowell system, rightly developed, improved and applied, would have met all reasonable wants, and the sturdy control of education by the people would have been blessed and supported by the maternal hands of the churches. Had the Protestant churches shown tolerance and given reasonable equality to the growing Catholic Church, the Christian denominational schools would now be established all over this country.

Instead of this, a bad spirit was aroused, could not easily be quieted, and quarrels were the natural outcome. There were no doubt many, but one in particular, in the city of Boston, almost caused a riot. It was in 1859. A young boy, Thomas Whall by name, had been told by his father and pastor that he was not to read the Protestant Bible nor the Protestant version of the Ten Commandments, which must have been in vogue, if not the rule. A lady teacher insisted, and the master discharged the boy for disobedience. He returned with the same instructions from his father, and refusing again, was cruelly scourged by the master. Then he and 400 boys were expelled from the Eliot School.

Whall's father entered suit against the city of Boston, and the boy's case was argued by the celebrated lawyers, Caleb Cushing, Fletcher Webster and Wilder Dwight. The indignation of Catholics and the more respectable Protestants was very great, but the case was decided in favor of the city against the boy, as all cases in those days when the Know-Nothing spirit was rampant and strong in Legislature, court and jury. It served, however, a double purpose, the gradual changing of the law or regulation on the Bible reading and it gave a very special impetus to the Catholic school

movement, as out of it was started the Boys' Catholic School at St. Mary's Church, North End, Boston, the first after the school in Holy Cross Cathedral, Franklin street.

The 400 boys, the gallant 400 as they were called, refused to go back to the public school, and the Jesuit Fathers opened the parish school, from which the present Boston College later took its origin.

The Civil War soon came to show how ill founded were the fears and prophecies of the "first men in Massachusetts," and the ignorance, or malice, or selfishness that conceived and brought forth the legislation of 1855 were to behold a loyalty, a courage, a heroism born of Irish blood and Catholic faith that ought to have brought the blush of shame and repentance to the cheeks of the legislators who voted those laws.

During and after the war attempts were again made to gain the good will and support of the State for religious schools, but to no purpose. The statute law was, however, modified in 1862 and again in 1880, so that "Bible reading is required, but without written note or oral comment; a pupil is exempt from taking any part in such exercises if his parent or guardian so wishes; any version is allowed, and no committee may purchase or order to be used in any public school books calculated to favor the tenets of any particular sect of Christians."

Thus was accomplished for the non-sectarian school system of Massachusetts, directly or indirectly, by the invasion and rapid demands of the Irish Catholics what Horace Mann strove, during twenty years, to effect by argument and invective. Aye, more, for the same statutes were also the germs of the very thing that he abhorred and abjured, and that the Orthodox ministers feared and prophesied, for the words "without written note or oral comment" and the exclusion of every book even calculated to favor the tenets of any particular sect of Christians, the *Unitarians* included, removed the last vestige of any positive religious instruction of any kind on the part of the teacher, began the secularization of the school, making them non-sectarian and also non-religious, thus completing the transformation in Massachusetts: first strongly and directly religious instruction; then religious through denominational instruction; then Unitarian nebulosity; finally no religious instruction of any kind.

Let me quote again Horace Mann. He and the whole Board had been viciously attacked as robbing the schools of religious instruction. In his last report, of 1848, he undertakes to defend himself, and thus puts himself on record. After some very beautiful though vague essays on moral and religious education, he says:

Moral education is a primal necessity of social existence. Practical morals:

is a blessedness never to be attained without religion, and no community will ever be religious without religious education. These are eternal and immutable truths.

A system of schools from which all religious instruction should be excluded might properly be called un-Christian or rather non-Christian, in the same sense in which it could be called non-Jewish and non-Mohammedan, that is, having no connection with either. I do not suppose a man can be found in Massachusetts who would declare such a system to be his first choice.

Such are his words, yet he was hardly cold in the grave when the Legislature of Massachusetts practically accomplished that very thing, and as the logical outcome of all his efforts.

The same result has been gradually but constantly going on, though indirectly, by the development of course of studies, text-books and by the personality of the teachers and pupils. The course of studies in secular branches has been enlarged and enriched by physiology, natural history, science, hygiene, temperance, while the religious exercises have remained at a standstill, have been made a mere formality, have been minimized or in many places entirely neglected. In a town of Massachusetts last year a new teacher in a public school tested her class of twenty-seven pupils on the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, and only ten of the twenty-seven had ever heard of it.

If you have a vessel containing half wine and half water, and you keep on pouring water without increasing the wine, it will not take long to utterly drown the wine, to take away its color, taste and vigor, and so it has been, the wine representing religion, the water secular knowledge, in the common schools of Massachusetts.

The same is true of text-books. When the Bible was the reading book and the spelling book and the grammar treasury, its spirit was gradually and constantly absorbed, while its letter was taught and remembered. That has all vanished, and the text-books that now flood our public schools, however excellent in their own special subjects, hardly mention the name of God, would seem to exclude the name of Christ, the Founder of Christianity, and in history as in geography or reading will hardly impress upon the mind of either teacher or pupil that this universe was created by God or is governed by Divine Providence or owes anything to the Christian religion above all others.

I have examined reading and geography and grammar books in numbers, and I would conclude that the authors had one sure aim among other obscure purposes, namely, to take care of never suggesting a thought about positive definite Christian truth of any kind. Yet the text-books are or ought to be for the child what literature is to a people, its teacher, its consolation, its inspiration.

I know that all this is said to be a practical necessity owing to the different races and religion among the teachers and pupils, but

it is leading inevitably and with rapidity to the absolute exclusion of all religious thought and Christian thought by a process of gradual elimination, hence the State, while not favoring any religion and protecting all, is really and surely fostering in the minds of the children that worst of systems, "absence of all religion." That eventually becomes the "worthlessness of all religion." That insidious and delusive sort of thing called non-sectarian religion means in its last stages no religion at all, and Massachusetts, in so far as it was possible for her to do it, has swung clear away to the other end of the arc from the law of 1642, when education was ordered to teach the children of all future generations the "principles of religion" first, last and always.

There are, indeed, some few rays of light and one clearly written fact that promise a return to a wiser and juster course in this all important matter. First of all, thoughtful and educated men show a restlessness and assert that something is wrong in our country on the side of ideals, civic, moral, social, political and literary, whatever satisfaction may come from commercial prosperity and war-like prestige. I do not mean the restlessness of enthusiasts or Utopian dreamers, like Horace Mann, who fail to recognize that in the child-man born to-day a new world and a human nature prone to evil is born, but the practical men in touch with life. They will not agree upon just what the something wrong is, though nearly all say lack of moral training, but that restlessness, like in the sinner's breast, makes them look more closely into fundamental sources of the nation's health.

Secondly, direct charge against public schools as responsible for the shortcomings of the nation. President Eliot said not long ago: "It is indisputable that we have experienced a profound disappointment in the results thus far obtained from a widely diffused popular education." Then he enumerates drunkenness, gambling, bad government from universal suffrage, robbery and murder, reading of the daily paper, demoralizing theatres, credulity of men and women in patent medicines, labor strikes, anarchy and rioting, spoils system, stunted moral and mental growth of individuals, etc. It is almost the identical wail of Horace Mann sixty years ago, only these vices were all to vanish under the giant sun of the common school. What is President Eliot's remedy? More money and more of the same teaching. With all due respect I would answer: let him bring back what the seal of Harvard College calls for, "Truth for Christ and the Church," and give out less of what one has recently been called: Eliot dicta and Eliotism.

Some do not perhaps realize that President Eliot is the sponsor by statute law for the moral education of the State of Massachusetts.

The statute of 1789 imposes the obligation of moral instruction upon all educators of youth, but upon the president of Harvard College the supreme responsibility for the moral education of the youth makes him the leader of them all down to the obscurest teacher of the lowliest children in the humblest school.

Now all the other States, including the great State of Pennsylvania, have taken their common school system from Massachusetts, hence who is surprised that he is the educational dictator of the present hour, makes a senior out of a sophomore by a stroke of his pen, determines what is culture and what is science and even what is religion; aye, more, recommends appointments by which he may regulate the school systems of the Philippines, of Cuba, Hawaii and Guam? God save the Commonwealth and the nation by a return to Christian education and morality!

Another ray of light comes from the attempt to get the Bible back into its former place in the schools, not now as a religious book or revealed doctrine or inspired word, but as a literature, Hebrew and Greek. That indirect way was suggested at an important meeting of educators, and has been sung and preached everywhere. I was present last October at a meeting of the New England Superintendents in Boston, and Dr. Harris, of Amherst, explained why and how the Bible could be introduced as literature. It was interesting and ingenious, but during the discussion one clear-headed gentleman arose and said: "Let us be honest with ourselves and say that we want to get the religion of the Bible back into the schools." On the other hand, the merest reading of the Bible in the schools has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of three or four States.

Again, a great many people are openly demanding more religious instruction in the schools and are ready to compromise. President Schurmann, of Cornell University, said in Boston last winter: "It is time for all honest Americans to recognize that there is really no moral education in our public schools, and of course no spiritual or religious instruction."

Quotations of a similar import are now so common and widespread that only the mention of the fact seems necessary.

Lastly, there is the big ray of light from the Anglo-Saxon Mother, that after thirty years of an experiment with undenominational religious instruction, "nebulous and fragmentary, formless and void," she has abolished the nameless thing and instead of juggling with words has established denominational schools for all who desire them, secular schools for the pupils of parents who prefer that kind, and has put all pupils on an equality before the law by paying for the secular education of all on the same basis.

Old England has thus set a shining example to her daughter, New England, but whenever one mentions that in Massachusetts or elsewhere, the editors and educators and politicians are deaf or turn their ears to sounds of revelry.

This restlessness, these protests and demands, these quack remedies and homœopathic doses to cure a sure and acute evil ought to give hope and courage. The respected president of Brown University, speaking in Boston last winter, stated the protest in a very clear and interesting lecture. In seeking a way to meet the protest he thought that fifteen of the most prominent educators, including President Eliot, Edward Everett Hale, Felix Adler and Archbishop Ireland, with others, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, agnostic, socialist and nondescript, might meet in conference and make out a "Text-Book of Moral Teaching" acceptable to all, suitable to the schools of the whole country, and thus bring on the millenium. Utopian dream of a bright, refined and affable mind!

It is clear, therefore, that the question has not been settled right, and our Declaration of Independence warrants us to cry out that no popular question is settled at all until it is settled right.

In presence of all these protests, demands and remedies, there is a fact, standing out as clearly as Bunker Hill Monument, and the silent witness of an idea as well known as the spirit that built up that granite shaft. The fact is a Catholic school system, 71,000 pupils with 1,300 teachers in forty cities and towns in about 100 parish districts, and doing the educational work of the State. It will save to the treasuries of the State, cities and towns this year about \$2,500,000, for, while not costing that sum to the Catholic people, it could not be given by the State for a lesser amount. What is the idea and spirit that gave rise and development and permanency to such a fact? Not disloyalty to the State idea. No more loyal and devoted pupils can be found. Not a want of patriotism. Nowhere are the true lessons of the starry banner inculcated with more constancy. Not because the secular education of the common schools is insufficient. The identical secular training is given, unless impossible conditions of language or place raise a temporary barrier. But because in the common schools the State authorities have refused to give or to allow the moral and religious training that the parents of these 71,000 children rightfully and consistently demand. Because the education of the common school is not a complete education, since it ignores the most important part of all education, namely, of the soul. Because the idea of education in the common school does not harmonize with the unchanging and unchangeable Christian idea of education. What is that idea? The cultivation of the child for life's destiny and life's

work. *The child.* Not some paper doll or waxen plastic model, nor indeed the beautifully imagined darling flower or ethereal sort of creature that we hear so much about in later days, but the child of flesh and blood, whose birth and life are so well pictured in the poet's line: "When a man child is born, a world is born, a world of passion, sorrow, sin and suffering as well as a world beautiful and fair to the eye of God, its Creator, as to the parents that gave it being. When a woman child is born, 'tis again the same world with perhaps some other deep and mysterious fountain of good and evil."

This child cannot be divided and separated into physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual parts, except by a purely mental or metaphysical process that has no corresponding reality, but everything that happens to the child, from its first breath, is cultivating or educating the child in all four aspects. One part cannot be given to the parent, another to the street, a third to the school, a fourth to the Church, but the whole child is cultivated by each one of these agencies, and the least lack of harmony between them in purpose or means has its effect upon the whole child.

Cultivation. That word seems to be the best of all, for it is natural; it is scientific; it expresses well the child's innate powers and the active influence of educational agents or factors; it is also in harmony with the most ancient and modern concepts of the germ expanding into a blade of grass, a tiny flower or a sturdy oak in the spiritual as in the material world.

For life's destiny. Once admit the Divine creation and Divine destiny the common non-religious school is bad, for as Ruskin once said: "It does not tell the child whence it came, whither it is going and how to get there." The whole view of education, of the value of one or other factor and method in education depends in a large measure upon one's concept of life's destiny. For the Christian there can be but one, expressed in those words of the Divine teacher: "I am the way, the truth, the life. I am the Light of the world. You are the children of your Father who is in heaven, hence sons of God. *For life's work.* Yes, the school must teach the child the dignity of work, cultivate, for work, all the powers of senses, mind, will and soul, and let it know that every look of the eye, every act of the will, every pulsation of the heart and every ambition of the soul either is in harmony with that destiny of life or draws the child farther away from it.

Such is the idea and spirit that explain and justify the fact. We plead for a school in which the atmosphere will be Christian; we plead for a school in which the teacher will be Christian and not neutralize, much less destroy, the influence of home and Church;

we plead for a school where the books will be Christian in tone, spirit and substance; we plead for a school in which the Bible, as a book of revealed religion and the inspired Word of God to mankind, may be read with note and comment and interest and instruction by one who believes in it as such.

We plead for a school where the emblems of patriotism and the heroes of our common country in statue or picture may be side by side with the emblems of Calvary, with the heroes of mercy, of charity, of sacrifice out of love for God and their fellow-men.

We plead for a school where the child will find the same instruction as in the good home or in the Church of his parents.

Revolutions, however, in education do not go backwards, and I remember the old adage, "Don't prophesy unless you know." If the State will so enlarge and beautify its system, like Mother England has recently done, we shall feel that justice and only justice shall have been accomplished. If it will not, then we shall go on, do the work of State, of the Church and of God in our school, educate our children for God and for country, awaiting the blessed hour when liberty of education shall be a fact as well as a title on the statute book.

In the meantime we may with a just pride look up and down the State of Massachusetts, and the same may be said of other States, and say: If Governor Winthrop, or Cotton Mather, or John Harvard or any of the many famous men of the early Massachusetts and other colonies were allowed, for the good of their spiritual health, to come back to the scenes of their manhood, they would look first of all for the great corner-stone of the foundation, for the beautiful inscription over the doorway of the school house: "To teach the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country." They would find them both, bright and strong and enduring, not in the State public schools, but in the Roman Catholic schools of Massachusetts.

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IMPRESSIONS OF FRANCE TO-DAY.

I LANDED in France last September after twenty years' absence from Europe. Even then my acquaintance with the country had been only a few weeks' residence in Brittany and an excursion through part of Normandy. I was to see Paris for the first time, and my visit had all the charm of novelty. Most of my life had passed in California, where practically a new nationality is being formed almost visibly from half a dozen different races of men. The comparison of the new life of California with the old civilizations of Europe, where one generation has succeeded another in the same spot for many centuries, offered plenty of interest and instruction. From boyhood I had been fairly familiar with the details of French life as it was in the days of Louis Philippe and Charles X. My father had spent many years there, and he was fond of telling me his old experiences in Normandy and Picardy long before the days of railroads and modern tourists. To compare these accounts with life in France to-day was a favorite expectation of mine for many years. It was now to be made actually.

Another subject excited my curiosity in another direction. The late legislation of the French Government against liberty of association for religious objects had caused a painful impression among Catholics in America before my departure. It seemed hard to understand why, in a country where the great majority professed themselves Catholics, the practice of the religious life should be treated as a matter dangerous to the administration of government. In Ireland I found like sentiments prevailing among most Catholics. Some took the view that the ministry of M. Combes was preparing to follow the ways of Robespierre and close up the churches through France. I heard strange accounts of hostile demonstrations against the Catholic clergy by the populace in some districts, though it must be owned the details were rather misty. Still it was a matter of deep interest to see how far the public sentiment of the French people really stood towards the Church. Acquaintance with the workings of political parties in legislation at home warned me that law makers do not always represent the public sentiment by any means. French history further taught the same lesson. The expulsion of the Jesuits by the ministry of the Catholic Louis XV., the laws against Catholic schools under Louis Philippe and other historic instances showed that French political methods were not safely to be judged according to American

standards either of principle or expediency. I wished to see for myself the temper of the French people towards the Church, and to make out clearly the scope of the legislation against religious associations and the motives which inspired it. How far it was likely to be effective of the objects of its framers was another interesting question. The fate of the English Ecclesiastical Titles act suggests that administrations even supported by parliamentary majorities often find it harder to execute intolerant laws than to vote them.

A short stop at Amiens was my first introduction to French life at home. The city is a place of respectable size—fifty thousand or so—but it has never been a capital like many other smaller French towns. It is a good type of the ordinary provincial small city of Northern France, and little more. It is, of course, of venerable age to American notions, and most of the houses on its narrow streets were built before George Washington first saw daylight. They are clean and well kept for all their age, and the narrow streets were filled with an active, though not a rushing population. The first thing that strikes a stranger from America is the absence of shoving or rudeness on a crowded street here. It is quite different in that point from New York. The number of tables arranged on the sidewalks before the cafés was another novelty. The French style in drinking is quite new to Americans or English people. It is done in absolute publicity, and coffee is at least as common a tipple as anything else. Brandy or other strong drinks are hardly ever called for, and few seem to consume more than a single glass of wine or beer at a sitting. There was no sign of drunkenness anywhere, and the bulk of the population when work was over seem to find ample recreation in strolling on the streets or maybe listening to street musicians.

There were many new buildings going up around the city and new boulevards have been lately laid out. The stone used is like the famous limestone of Caen and hardens on exposure to the air. While the new Parliament houses at Westminster are crumbling away after forty years, the churches and houses of Amiens keep even fine carving perfectly good after five or six centuries. The general good humor of the people was very noticeable to a stranger coming from across the Channel. There was not loud talking or gesticulation. The mutual respect of French people of all classes for one another also strikes a stranger from America or England. There is no sign of impatience, and one hardly ever hears an angry word or sees a quarrel on the streets. The workingmen nearly all wear blue blouses, and seem to regard them with as much respect as a soldier does his uniform. Soldiers were numerous on

the streets of Amiens, but they did not form a class apart, as in England. There a private soldier is strictly excluded from restaurants or places of amusement of any pretension. In France the relations between the soldiers and the population are very much the same as those between the militia in an American State and the general public. At the restaurant of my hotel an officer and two or three soldiers, two Christian Brothers and a priest all sat down to dinner in perfect equality. The number of priests in their cassocks on the streets, as well as of Christian Brothers and Sisters of Charity, was quite large at Amiens. They seemed to be treated with as much respect as in Ireland and certainly more than in most parts of England.

The Cathedral is the great feature of Amiens in every sense. Its huge mass, covering nearly two acres and rising three hundred and seventy feet in the air, dominates the flat city from every point of view. Town hall, barracks, railroad station and courts of justice, though all fine buildings of their class, are wholly dwarfed by the majesty of the great house of worship. One sees its pictures at every turn, in shops, in restaurants and private houses, and the pride of the whole population in their Cathedral is greater than that of the good folk of Washington in the National Capitol. The citizens of the French town have fairly good reason for their pride. Though raised by the efforts of a small town and three or four of its Bishops during a period of fifty years, no English-speaking country has raised any church to compare with this, either in size or beauty of execution, since the Protestant Reformation. St. Paul's, the only English Cathedral of Protestant origin, is not to be compared with this monument of a small French country town, though the wealth of the kingdom was freely spent on it during nearly as long a period as that between the foundation and the consecration of the Amiens Cathedral. The first stone was laid in 1222, and an inscription on the front window still in existence tells how the nave was completed in 1269.

It gives an ordinary American a certain shock to meet a building seven hundred years old which still serves its original uses as perfectly as the day when it was consecrated. So it is in Amiens. Masses begin every day at 5 A. M. and are continued up to 11, when the canons sing the Solemn Mass as they sang it before Columbus sailed to discover the New World. The daily Masses, I must say, were well attended at the time of my visit. Early rising is the universal custom in France. Nearly every one seems to be up before six in summer and in the country towns most stores are open by eight o'clock. It is very different from London, where one finds it hard to get anything in a store before nine. The peculiar

English habit of celebrating Sunday by lying abed late is unknown in France.

The daily use of the old Cathedrals through France is in marked contrast with English treatment of the similar buildings handed down to them by Catholic times. York or Salisbury minsters are as large if less artistic than Amiens, and they are objects of as much local pride to the people of their towns, but their value is nearly all of an antiquarian kind. They play no part in the daily life of the existing generation like the Cathedral of Amiens does. It is indeed regarded by both people and government as a historical monument of priceless value, but it is above all the Cathedral church of the diocese, where the Bishop holds his regular seat as pastor and high priest. Within the church he is the supreme authority, both in the eyes of the people and of the civil authorities. It is easy to understand that this preëminence of a churchman in the most important building of the city often tends to irritate the self-importance of State functionaries, especially those new in office. Within the Cathedral, be it Amiens or Notre Dame, the Christian Bishop is the highest in place. King or President will be received with proper respect for their functions, but they have to recognize a power which does not come from the popular voice or any human source as that which controls the Church. This feeling can hardly be understood in America, but it strikes an observer everywhere in the old Catholic lands. It may explain one cause of the feeling which is rather vaguely known as anti-clericalism, and which has existed under various names in France almost as far as history can trace.

The perfection of the sculptured figures which adorn the portals of Amiens is astonishing. The newspaper philosophy of America which imagines the thirteenth century workman a stupid serf is blown away like a soap bubble in front of this Cathedral. It is not merely that the figures and drapery are well proportioned, but each bears out the character of the individual saint with a fullness of sympathy on the part of the sculptor that one seeks in vain in the statues that decorate the streets of London or New York. Hermit and Bishop, King and Judge, martyr and teacher, and humble peasants, like Genevieve or Isidore, who have found favor before God and His Church, are each portrayed with most artistic feeling of character in feature and attitude. The piety of Charlemagne and that of Bernard of Clairvaux are very differently expressed on the features of each as represented in the porch at Amiens by the mason workmen of seven hundred years ago. It gives one new ideas of mental culture to think that most of these artists could neither read nor write except maybe in Latin. There

was no French language at the time, as far as literature properly so called goes, though documents and ballads were drawn up in the still unformed dialect of the country. At Amiens a brief inscription in this old French gives the name of the master builder who laid the first stone of the Cathedral. He bears no title of nobility, but is simply Robert of Luzarches, his native village. The scanty records kept in the Cathedral itself show how little use was then made of writing in common life. The names most prominent in the building of the new Cathedral are given on a plate of copper formerly imbedded in the middle of the floor. It tells in quaint old French verse how the blessed Everard was the Bishop of this diocese when the work was commenced, and that the King of France then was Louis, son of Philip the Wise. The master of the work was Master Robert of Luzarches, and after him came Master Thomas of Cormot, and after him his son Regnault, who put the plate in place in the year of the Incarnation 1288. It seems rather democratic for the thirteenth century to find three mechanics sharing the honors of construction thus freely with Bishop and King five hundred years before our own Constitution was evolved in Philadelphia.

The short stop in Amiens had certainly called up a long train of thoughts. The Bishop commemorated as its founder was laid to rest in 1225, but he was the forty-fifth occupant of the See of Amiens. The present Cathedral replaced one burned down two years before, and which itself was the third church which had occupied the same place. What a glimpse these facts give of the duration of the Christian faith here in France through the storms of centuries and the changing passions of successive generations. In front of the Chapel of St. Francis certain marks in the pavement commemorate a massacre of a number of worshipers here by a Huguenot mob in 1561. It took place a couple of years after the unsuccessful attempt of the Picard Protestants under the guidance of Le Renaudie, to seize Francis the Second and his Queen while traveling from Paris and inaugurate a Huguenot government in their name. There was a remarkable likeness between the methods of these early Huguenots and those of Danton and Marat two hundred and thirty years later. Amiens tells something on this head not usually known to the average Englishman or American who takes his historical ideas from encyclopædias.

Paris in September showed little signs of the approach of winter. The trees along the streets and river were still, most of them, in foliage, the gardens gay with blossoms and the sidewalks in front of the restaurants and cafés covered with tables where the clients dined or breakfasted in the open air. The contrast is

striking between the life of London and Paris. The buildings in the latter, while at least equally solid, are erected with an eye to external grace which is absent in London. It is satisfactory to know that for the last twenty years American architects are turning more and more to French rather than English ideas in architecture. The extent of outdoor life at meals, and generally through the day, is what strikes most strangers from America. Loafers or idlers are much fewer than in New York or Philadelphia. It is significant that France has no general poor law system like England. Each department has a "Consul d'Assistance," which gives help in cases of necessity, but abject poverty, like that of the crowds that one sees thronging the public soup houses of New York in the winter, seems unknown in France. I learned that of ten millions of adult Frenchmen seven and a half were owners of real estate, and rather more than another million possessed property of some other kind. The "submerged tenth," of which one hears so much in England, seems to keep fairly afloat in France.

The Mayor of a small Italian town told me quite seriously that the tramp evil was a growing one in Italy. His commune has about seven thousand people, and two years ago he received from two to three applications a week for aid from travelers who professed to be looking for work in vain. His patience gave out when one who had received a franc from the city funds on the strength of a plausible story, returned in two months with another equally plausible, and different clothes. I consoled with my Italian friend, but thought, with a chuckle, how a California police officer would receive his tale of sorrows.

Paris is, of course, a modern city in the sense that its population is familiar with modern thought and ways, but the relics of the past are deeply planted there also. The first church which I entered, quite accidentally, was St. Germain des Pres, on the Boulevard St. Germain and near my hotel. The tower and nave of this parish church were built in the tenth century, nearly a thousand years ago. It is strange how easily modern French life adapts itself in its daily practices to buildings of forty generations ago for public worship.

One cannot help remarking how closely the main features of plan of the Gothic churches of the thirteenth or twelfth centuries are retained in the newer churches of Paris. St. Eustache's parish church is a good example. It was built about the time that Henry VIII. was sweeping away the English monasteries, and by an easy step in advance, having himself declared by Parliament the infallible Head of the Catholic Church within the limits of English rule. The French Church architect adopted the details of the new classical architecture which had come into fashion in France with the inva-

sions of Italy by Charles VIII. and Francis I. The planning and forms of St. Eustache's Church are, however, absolutely Gothic. A cruciform plan, with aisles running all around the central cross, behind the altar as well as on its sides, and a further row of aisles, divided into chapels of different saints, beyond these on the sides of the nave, is found in almost every old French church from the twelfth century, and it is retained in the new construction. One can find the same planning in the more modern churches like the Sorbonne and the Madeleine, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively. It is kept to in the churches of our own time. St. Augustine's and La Sainte Trinité are noble churches of the last fifty years, and are quite classical in their details, but the essential parts of their planning are the same as Notre Dame, which has towered over the city for nearly seven hundred years. Even in architecture, left free to its actual professors, the unchanging character of the worship and ritual of the Church proclaims itself in clear words in France to-day.

Masses begin very early in the Paris churches, and those before the parish Mass are, I should say, the best attended. The parish Mass is usually about nine or half-past nine, and is accompanied by a sermon and the organ, but the High Mass par excellence comes generally about eleven. It is sung by three priests and is fairly well attended, though not as densely as some of the earlier Low Masses. The latter continue up to one o'clock P. M. in Paris. Considering the very large number of churches, it is quite a revelation to one who has been told by some pessimistic friend that religion is dying out in France to see the crowds at early Masses. The number who approach the altar rails is also very large, and on Saturdays the confessionals are well thronged in most churches. The respectful behavior of the congregations generally is very marked, especially at the High Masses. Decorum in church seems to be a point of education early taught to the children in France. The clergy carry out the services with an impressive solemnity which seems new though not overdone to an American Catholic. The High Mass is preluded by chanting in the choir and the celebrant, preceded by the Suisse, as the sacristan is universally styled in France, makes a procession through the passages to sprinkle the congregation with holy water before Mass. The uniform of the Suisse is usually gorgeous, with cocked hat and plume and occasionally even with sword on side. He announces at intervals to the congregation the important parts of the service, the collections for the poor and for the church building and the beginning of the sermon. He is, in fact, the ecclesiastical police officer now as in former times, and his presence seems to Frenchmen of every class

quite as natural in a church as that of a gendarme on the street. His dependant, however, is on the parish priest, not on the civil authority, though the latter recognizes his authority within the church building, and in cases of tumult or accident the city police will obey the call of the Suisse for assistance as they would that of one of their own body on duty outside.

Two among the churches in Paris attracted my special attention, though one of them has been taken possession of by the government as a State monument removed from clerical control. These are the Chapel of the Invalides and the Pantheon. The first contains the tomb of Napoleon, and forms part of the Hotel des Invalides, a purely military institution like the Soldiers' Home at Washington. I entered it a few days after my arrival in Paris with a lingering idea that in State institutions, at least, the mention of religion would be as carefully excluded as in the United States. To my surprise, I found a fine painting of the Mass at Bolsena, with the miraculous bleeding of the Sacred Host in the hands of an incredulous priest, in the court before the church and forming part of the soldiers' promenade. The whole court was filled with Catholic paintings, many of which seemed to bear witness very directly against the acts of the existing Administration, but which the officials seemed powerless to remove. The Victory of Constantine over the pagan Licinius was very conspicuous, as likewise scenes from the life of St. Martin of Tours, the champion monk and apostle of old Gaul. One could not but ask what effect such lessons would have on the minds of the old soldiers who pass by them day after day. Most of those I met certainly admired them as works of art, and I heard no word of unbelief or disgust at the subjects portrayed such as one almost invariably hears when three or four Protestant tourists from England or America find themselves face to face with scenes of Catholic history. One finds a good many soldiers, it may be added, at Mass in the churches of France. The feelings of the army do not seem to be in accord with the present majority in the Legislature on the subject of religion.

The Pantheon is still more suggestive. Originally built as a votive church to receive the shrine of St. Genevieve, the patroness of Paris since the fifth century, it was just completed when the Jacobin mob of Paris assumed control of the government of France. The building was seized as State Pantheon to receive the bodies and statues of the new line of great citizens which the orators of the Reign of Terror believed would begin with their new calendar. Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau found entrance there on account of their hostility to Christianity, and a few heroes of the hour like Mirabeau and Marat received the same distinction. The Cath-

olic dedication, "Deo Optimo Maximo sub invocatione Stae Genovefae" was cut out and replaced by "A Grateful Country to Its Great Men," and the cross was cut away from the crown of the dome. The Madeleine at the same time was turned to almost a similar purpose and other churches were utilized for hay-barns.

The attempt to make a new worship like the new system of weights and measures came to an end with its first high priest, Robespierre, but the Catholic churches still were held by his successors in power until Napoleon, when First Consul, restored the public exercise of religion in France. Even then the Church of St. Genevieve was partly kept under State control as a kind of temple of Napoleonic glories. Mass was again celebrated there, but the public celebrations were limited to four in the year and the occasions of burials within the crypts. These were decreed as privileges to the marshals and high officials of the new empire and about forty found burial there during the First Empire.

On its downfall the government of Louis XVIII. restored the Pantheon to the ordinary jurisdiction of the Church. The original inscription on the pediment was replaced, and for some years the basilica did not differ from any other Paris church. The revolutionary leaders who placed Louis Philippe on the throne in 1830 again secularized it, and the inscription "A Grateful Country to Its Great Men" was once more graved on its front and the cross removed from its cupola. Twenty-two years later Louis Napoleon, as President of the second Republic, restored the building to the Church, and again, after thirty-three years more, it was seized by the State under the inspiration of Gambetta. The attempt to remove the cross this time, however, failed for some cause not clearly known, and it still crowns the majestic dome.

The attempts of the politicians of three generations to found a temple to humanity as distinct from its Creator have had a strange result. During the time between the first and second State seizures St. Genevieve's Church had been nobly decorated with works of the first artists of France. Puy de Chavannes, Meissonier and Laurens had told the life and deeds of the shepherdess who has been the chosen patroness of the capital of France for fourteen centuries. Baron Gros had covered the ceiling with her enrolment among the blessed in heaven. Other artists had filled the rest of the walls with figures of the chief saints of France and elsewhere and told the story of how religion had been linked with every advance of the French people. The infidel ministry on seizing the church and proclaiming it a temple of humanity did not dare to remove these masterpieces, and there is no room for others beside them. Accordingly, on entering the Pantheon, under the inscription which

tells of its dedication by a grateful country to its great men, one is met by the statues of St. Denis, St. Martin, St. Remy, St. Eloy, St. Gregory of Tours, St. Bernard, Vincent de Paul and St. John de la Salle. The walls tell the story of the conversion of Clovis, the deeds of Charlemagne, St. Louis and Joan of Arc for France under the inspiration of religion, and show a solemn procession to the shrine of St. Genevieve, which the Jacobins burned on the streets of Paris with the inauguration of their new cult. The interior of the building is an apology of the noblest kind for the Christian faith from whose service the temporary rulers of France have tried in vain to remove it. Their work recalls that undertaken of old by Balaam and its results.

The shrine of St. Genevieve destroyed by the Paris mob has been replaced since by another modeled on its pattern. The stone coffin in which the remains of the saint rested for fourteen hundred years escaped destruction. It is now kept at St. Etienne's until such time as it may once again return to the Pantheon. The shrine is a marvel of artistic metalwork. The walls of the chapel in which it is kept are literally covered with votive offerings. It would seem to show that devotion to the humble nun has not by any means died out in modern Paris. The Church of St. Etienne is itself one of the most interesting in Paris. Its foundation goes back to the days of the Roman Empire, and the tomb of St. Clothilde, the wife of Clovis, who founded the French monarchy, and of the second Bishop of Paris, who died in the year 500, are still preserved within its precincts. The existing church, however, was rebuilt in the sixteenth century in the picturesque style then ruling in French architecture. In its nave two slabs mark the graves of Racine, the greatest of French poets, and of Blaise Pascal.

A run out of Paris through Touraine, in the beginning of October, gave a good opportunity to compare the country life of France with the ways of the capital and likewise with country existence in other lands. I took the train to Orleans and thence walked a good deal of the way to Tours and back to Vendome. A small waterproof satchel and cape were all the baggage needed for a week, and they offered no difficulty in packing on foot. Orleans is a well built city, but its architecture generally offers no special features of its own such as one meets in other French cities even smaller. The houses are mostly high, with square windows and doors something of the type which it has become the fashion in America to style colonial. The Orleans houses are mostly plastered outside, which gives a dingy effect on general view. The features of the population show a more southern type than that common in Paris, and the men seem taller and stronger. They seem to care less for

foreign visitors than at Amiens, and modern improvements in the hotels are fewer, though the city has some street car lines and is well paved and lighted by electricity. White coal, by the way, is a popular name in France for electric power. The coal supply of France is comparatively small, and for domestic use wood is chiefly used.

At Orleans, as at Amiens, the Cathedral is the most important building of the city. Its two towers are finished without steeples, and the front is not by any means equal to Amiens, yet the whole is noble and impressive. The portals have little statuary in their decoration. The Huguenots of the sixteenth century destroyed the images of saints with an iconoclastic hatred like that of the Scotch Calvinists in their land. Henry IV., after his reception into the Church, undertook the restoration of the half-ruined Cathedral, and in consequence many of its details are classic, though the original Cathedral is Gothic. However, the union of the two styles is not uncommon in France and is generally managed with good taste. The interior is rich in stained glass, many of the windows being devoted to the deeds of Joan of Arc for the deliverance of France from the English invaders and her judicial murder at their hands at last. Each window has a legend in old French explaining its meaning, but most of the glass seems new. The heroine of France found no more favor with the Huguenot fanatics than the shepherdess patroness of Paris did with the worshipers of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. History repeats itself under various names when one gets a chance to study it on its own ground.

From Orleans a walk of a few hours brought me to a monument of another kind. The Chateau of Chambord, built by Francis I. in the middle of a forest in the sixteenth century, is kept up by the government as a national monument. It is very impressive in its solitude, with only a few guardians to care for its interior and the forest all around. The old French monarchs and nobles, like some of the wealthy of strenuous turn of mind in our own times, seem to have regarded hunting wild animals as the highest pleasure of life. All the royal residences in the country have forests close by, and Versailles itself is as completely surrounded by its woods as Amboise. It makes one muse to see how churches and other buildings devoted to religious uses continue to serve their purpose indefinitely in Catholic lands, while the other public buildings have largely become only museums to show the life of the past. The Chateau of Chambord and the Cathedral of Amiens are an interesting contrast to-day.

A curious construction near Amboise draws attention from a distance. It is a brick tower of several stories about two hundred

feet high and built as an imitation of the Chinese pagoda tower of Nanking in the eighteenth century. It was a caprice of the Duc de Choiseuil, the Minister of Louis XV., who was the chief agent in the war on the Jesuits which led to the temporary suppression of their order. Choiseuil's tower is built with comic ignorance of Chinese forms. Its details are simply Greek, and its resemblance to Chinese work is something like that which Fluellen found between Macedonia and Monmouth.

From Chambord to Blois is only about ten miles. The first part lay through the forest of Loigny, which in old days furnished an abode to the deer and boars whom the courtiers loved to slay. At present its chief use is to supply the country around with firewood. What are called forests in France are rather large plantations of young trees, few being allowed to live long enough to reach a foot in diameter. Some old ones, however, are saved, more as a matter of ornament than commercial profit. The care for preserving the forests shown in France is very unlike the ruthless waste with which our noble American forests are destroyed. The cutting and replanting even on lands of private ownership are strictly regulated by law, and forest land may not be stripped of trees at the whim or avarice of a proprietor. The woodchoppers and charcoal burners form a large element in the French rural population. It is curious to an American eye to note the huge bundles of fagots of branches everywhere along the forest roads. The French seem to have a hatred of wanton waste quite distinct from the idea of money-making by thrift. It has become a part of their nature through centuries of training, and nowhere does it show itself more than in the care with which the smallest products of the forests are made useful for human life.

After leaving the forest the country looks like a landscape of Claude Lorraine. There are no hedges anywhere and vineyards, meadows, pasture, orchards and woods all pass one into the other as forests mix with prairie in the uncultivated districts of our own land. The Loire, a wide, shallow stream, flows through the orchards and grass plots as free from banks or roads as any American river in the far West. The whole country was well cultivated and at every mile or two small villages, each with its church spire towering over the farmhouses, showed against the sky. The cultivation was of nearly every kind. Rows of vines alternated with potato furrows and patches of grass where children or old men watched the cows or sheep to see they did not foray on the crops near by. The spade seemed in constant use, and the manure heaps near every cottage showed the old traditions of farm work almost unknown in America. The whole country is divided into small properties, fif-

teen or twenty acres being quite a large farm. As it was the vintage the whole population, men, women and children, were all at work abroad with a good deal of singing and laughter among them. I could not but think with a smile of the lament of some American society menders over the degradation of the farm laborer and the hard lot of the "man with the hoe." The French peasants of Touraine certainly did not seem to know their woes or their privation of journalistic cultivation.

The persistence of old ways of life in the country parts of France is well worthy of note. The need of water is still met by draw wells, often with handsome surrounding walls. The people come to fill their buckets at these with a blissful indifference to the value of windmills or pumps, though both have existed here for centuries. The farmhouses seem, most of them, to have been built long before the Revolution, and many are evidently three or four hundred years old. The average French farmer preserves the house of his father and grandfather as he keeps his Sunday suit, partly through the thrifty habit and partly through sentiment. This continuance of the old dwellings strikes an American keenly in France. It would seem to suggest that the changes popularly supposed to have been made in the condition of the French working classes are almost pure romance. Outside France people take the rhetoric of the French politicians and romance writers more seriously than they are taken at home.

Measured by the popular American standard Blois would be little more than a large village. It has only twenty-four thousand people, who seem comfortable, but not specially given to commercial enterprise. Blois, however, has played quite a large part in French history, and its public buildings are most interesting. The chateau, once the royal residence of the French Kings, from Louis XI., before the discovery of America, to Henry III. and his mother Catherine de Medicis, is kept in perfect condition as a national monument. Its interior is in the same condition as it was three hundred years ago, and the guide shows the place where the Duke of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, were slain by order of the excited King, who a little afterwards was himself to die by the hand of an assassin. There is also a large gallery of historic portraits in the chateau. The building itself is most attractive to the student of architectural history. One portion built in the Gothic of the fifteenth century is credited to Louis Onze, the old French statesman who first substituted political statecraft for military prowess as the mainstay of government. Another wing is in the combination of Gothic and classic forms introduced to France in the next century after the invasions of Italy by Charles

VIII. and Francis I. Still another portion is of the time of Louis XIII. and was the work of his brother, Gaston of Orleans. Each builder added in the style of his own day, but none thought of removing the older work to any serious extent. This temper seems universal in France in church as well as in secular buildings.

Blois has at least four handsome churches, including the Cathedral. Like that of Orleans this fared badly at the hands of the Huguenot vandals of the sixteenth century. The empty niches in the portals and the mutilated heads of angels and saints in the arches tell plainly the story of the spirit that was abroad in France during the last sixty years of the sixteenth century. One realizes how formidable was the party which aspired to supremacy in France with a Huguenot King at the close of the sixteenth century and which had given such sanguinary earnest of its hostility to the Church in Beam, in Nimes and in Orleans. Yet the Huguenots are now but a name in France, while the desecrated churches are still filled with worshipers as they had been for centuries before Calvin and Coligny. The churches certainly were all well filled on the Sunday I passed in Blois, and the Vesper services in the afternoon only little less attended. If religion is dying out in France, as I have seen it prognosticated in some American Catholic journals, the fact is not evident to any intelligent traveler in France. The politicians certainly raise occasional cries of war, as various sections do in our own land, but the general population shows no desire to forsake the worship so intimately bound up with its daily existence.

From Blois I paid a visit to Amboise, a picturesque village on the Loire, with another royal chateau scarcely less famous than that of Blois. I found an old church near by still serving which evidently had been built in the twelfth century, or before the Cathedral of Amiens. The Capets, the Valois and the Bourbons, the Albigenes, the Huguenots and the great Revolution have all come and gone while successive generations at this little town have worshiped uninterruptedly in this old building. It makes one wonder what will be its fate when M. Combes and the existing majority of the day have gone the way of all flesh. I found another village church of the same date a few miles further at St. Martin le Beau. The good people of the village inn knew well how old their church was, but saw nothing remarkable in the fact. The indestructibility of the Catholic Church as a whole is a matter on which they seem to have no more doubts than about the daily return of the sun. They find it quite natural that a village church well built should last six or seven centuries.

From Amboise to Tours is a delightful trip in the autumn months.

The view after leaving St. Martin, where the old church stands, is an ideal one for pastoral scenery. As the road approaches the Loire it is bordered by steep limestone bluffs, in many of which the population has dug out cellars and stables. Even some dwellings are formed in these rocky fronts, which run a distance of some miles, from eighty to a hundred feet high. A very handsome little Gothic church rises on top of one of these bluffs. Its tower and nave are of the same period as Notre Dame at Paris, but a new front in Gothic style has been recently added at public expense and bears the words "Republique Française" on its pediment. It seems strange that the very ministry which is trying to expel the Catholic teaching orders from France should find itself forced as a matter of necessity to repair the churches and construct new ones where demanded by public opinion. Just at the time of my stay M. Combes, the author of the measure against the teaching orders, made an official visit to Clermont, in Auvergne. The Bishop urged some needed repairs to the Cathedral and Combes promised to do all he could to have them promptly executed.

Tours is a name of importance through France, though its population seems small to American eyes. It has less than seventy thousand people, perhaps half that of Syracuse or Rochester. Yet its name has gone forth to the ends of the earth. It dawns upon one after a moment's thought that time counts in human work. Tours has been a city for fifty generations of men, and each generation has done its work and left much of it to live after during the centuries when only the beasts of the forests or a few Indian warriors occupied the sites of New York and Philadelphia.

The citizens of Tours feel as much pride in their city and its history as Chicago does in its stockyards of unequaled dimensions. They delight to honor the names of famous citizens. On entering the city across the bridge one is confronted by statues of Rabelais and Descartes, and a little further by that of Honore Balzac, the Walter Scott of France. Whatever one thinks of the philosophy of Descartes or the personal character of Rabelais, there need be no question of the intellectual greatness of these three sons of Tours. Within the city, however, they are dwarfed by the name of one now fourteen centuries in the grave, but whose memory still holds sway over the city. Martin of Tours, the soldier, monk, bishop and apostle, is the name above all others honored everywhere in Tours. His relics, like those of St. Genevieve at Paris, were burned by the Huguenots in the sixteenth century, but a small part has been saved. A great new basilica of St. Martin has been built quite recently, largely by the help of M. Dupont, who is commonly known here as "the saint" of Tours. Two miles from the city the old Abbey of

Marmoulrier, where St. Martin spent his first years in the monastic life and where St. Patrick came to prepare for his mission to Ireland, still stands. Over its portal is an old equestrian figure of Martin while still a soldier dividing his military cloak with a shivering old man by the roadside. The action in itself seems an ordinary one, but its memory somehow has kept fresh through fifteen hundred years. One asks what particular deed of the nineteenth or twentieth century can best look for a like memory? It will hardly be the vote of the French Assembly against monks as teachers.

Tours itself has a great secular history. It was here that Charles Martel, three hundred years after St. Martin's death, hurled back the great Mahometan army of invasion which aspired to make Christian France subject to the Calephs by the Euphrates. The strenuous life was the chief article in the Mahometan creed then as now, and the growth of the Saracen Empire within a century surpassed in extent that of the United States to-day. From Spain to India the successor of Mahomet ruled with absolute mastery, and the Mediterranean was scarcely more than a lake within his dominions. Tours has seen the first great check to the spread of Mahometan conquest, but it was seven hundred years before Isabella and Ferdinand won back the last patch of Spanish soil from the invader. Through all those years and changes the memory of the ancient monk St. Martin has never grown dim in the city by the Loire, where he lived and worked so faithfully in the fifth century.

The Loire at Tours is wider than the Seine at Paris, but much shallower. Many sand bars show in its channel and give it the look of an American river in the far West. The number of anglers along its banks was enormous, as indeed I found it everywhere on the rivers near French cities. The French angler seems to be the perfect type of patience. I watched him individually and in crowds along the Seine, the Somme, the Loire and the Rhone, but I must confess that I never was rewarded by the sight of a single capture. The nearest approach to such an occurrence was at Tours. A fisherman with a rod of the smallest dimensions actually hooked a good-sized fish. I watched the captive on the surface of the water for a couple of minutes. The angler was unfortunately located on a steep bank about five feet above the swift current. He made a desperate effort to haul up his prey with a rod about the thickness of a fancy cane, which bent like a whip with the weight of the fish until the hook finally broke. I was left without any further opportunity of discovering what kind of fish the anglers of France pursue so constantly. The only further information I received was from a brilliant article in the *Patrie* on the best methods of catching

"gudgeon." The average length of that choice fish is about three inches, and a dozen make a fair breakfast dish.

Tours is a better looking city in regard to its buildings than Orleans. The Prefecture, the Museum and the School of Fine Arts are very imposing along the river front. They all belong to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, but seem to serve their purposes to-day perfectly well. The work of tearing down, which furnishes so much employment in many modern cities, seems to be unknown in Tours. The Hotel de Ville and Palace of Justice are also fine buildings, but the Cathedral towers above them all conspicuously, and the new Basilica of St. Martin is scarcely smaller.

The castle of Luynes, on the other side of the Loire, a couple of miles down, was nearly as important at one time as Amboise, but is now only tenanted by a guardian. It is a good example of a mediæval fortress before the use of artillery, and from the top of its walls the view is very fine over the rich valley of the Loire and the adjoining city. The remains of an old Roman aqueduct near by tell of still earlier times when Tours was still a city. The Abbey of Marmoulier is up the river on the same bank, but in an opposite direction from the bridge. It must have been of great extent in old days from the detached fragments of old walls and towers scattered around for nearly half a mile along the river's side. Only a few buildings are still in good preservation. They are enclosed in the grounds of a convent. It brings strange feelings to an Irishman to stand on the spot where St. Patrick dwelt and prayed before he heard the mystic call from the children of the wood of Focluth by the Western Sea.

Vendome, a small town of Touraine, was my next stopping place. I left Tours early and purposed to spend some time at Chateau Renault, another of the historic castles of Touraine. On getting there, however, I was rather taken aback to find the distance to Vendome was twenty-five kilometres instead of fifteen, which I had expected. It was two o'clock, and as the sun would set at half-past five there was nothing for it but to hurry on without stop to Vendome. The road was the national highway from Paris to Bayonne and nearly as straight as an arrow, with rows of poplars stretching along both sides as far as the eye could reach. It was dark when I reached Vendome, and I hunted up a hotel at once. After dinner, as it was moonlight, I wandered around to see what I could of the town. Vendome is only a place of ten thousand inhabitants, but like larger French towns it has a public place, with the statue of a distinguished son of the city to adorn it. I looked to see who it might be that Vendome had delighted to honor and felt a curious thrill when I read "*Rochambeau*" by the moonlight. The colleague

of Washington at Yorktown was a native of Vendome, and his effigy stands in its public place. I had seen the statue of Cornwallis already in St. Paul's Cathedral. I confess I felt kindly towards him, and thought as an American citizen that if his countrymen gave him a statue for his surrender I had no objections to offer. Did not Paul Jones once promise to make a duke of the captain of the *Serapis* in case he got a chance to take him in again? It was with a very different feeling that I examined the statue of Rochambeau by moonlight in that quiet French village.

I spent the morning in examining the buildings of this French village. There was an old chateau on a hill near by, but now nearly ruined. The ground around it is laid out as a park, and from its summit a glorious view of the country is to be had. The Mairie of the town is a curious Gothic building of the fifteenth century. A large building of the time of Louis XIV. is now used as a public museum. The town also has a fine public hospital and a large barrack, all more than a hundred years old. There was an abbey here in former days, of which only detached parts yet remain. One of these is a lofty clock tower on the Place de Rochambeau.

There are three or four churches in Vendome. The largest is nearly the dimensions of St. Patrick's Cathedral, in New York, but has only one tower. The windows are, many of them, still filled with quaint old stained glass of the fifteenth century or earlier, though there are also many new windows. Like the Sainte Chapelle at Paris this Vendome church seems to have escaped the vandals of the brief Jacobin rule which was particularly destructive to the old stained glass of the churches. The buildings, both secular and ecclesiastical, are certainly remarkable for a country town which has never held any higher place in history. The steady industry of a population, continued through many generations, seems capable of effecting really great things in France.

The visit of the King and Queen of Italy to Paris happened after my return from Touraine. The reception was very friendly. There had been bad blood between France and Italy for the last twenty years owing to the Triple Alliance. Latterly since the exit from office of the late unlamented Crispi, the statesmen of both countries had been gradually becoming more friendly. A new commercial treaty was recently concluded, and the French public seemed to use the visit of Vittorio Emanuele III. as a good occasion to cultivate further friendly relations between the two countries. It was wholly a matter of business, and in this respect was not unlike the reception given Edward VII. in Dublin a couple of months earlier. The display of illuminations in Paris was considerable, and the Crown of Italy was freely displayed among other motives. It does not

seem as if the French people have any wild hatred of monarchy in the abstract at present, though all classes seem to agree that republicanism is the only form of rule suited for France just now. The Italian King and Queen, it may be added, publicly attended Mass on Sunday. There seems no desire in Italy to cut loose from the Catholic Church, however anxious some of its rulers may be to cultivate the friendship of non-Catholic nations.

The strike at Armentieres was an incident of nearly the time of the visit of the Italian sovereigns. It was preceded by strikes in some smaller towns which did not differ much in details from like occurrences in the United States. The workmen demanded shorter hours and more pay, the employers declared they could not grant the demands and resist foreign competition at the same time. At Armentieres, according to the Paris papers, the Mayor of the town was a pronounced socialist, and when a deputation of the strikers called on him he assured them that it was not a strike, but a revolution, which was on hand, and he was not about to oppose. The strikers thereon burned a dozen or more houses without interference until finally troops were sent to protect the lives and property of the citizens. The Mayor received no censure from the ministry, and the whole affair caused much alarm among the business community. As more than four-fifths of the heads of families in France are property owners, militant socialism is looked on with grave apprehension by the bulk of the population quite independent of their other feelings on its morality. The occurrences at Armentieres seem to have given a severe shock to the composite party combine or "Bloc" which M. Combes has formed among the politicians of the Assembly and Senate. The "Bloc" is comparatively new in French politics and has given its deviser a longer lease of power than falls to the lot of most French ministries. One may gather from the journals that its majority is secured by the adherence of two elements usually disposed to act on their own initiative, but which now in American terms have "pooled their issues" with the Prime Minister for a certain share in the offices and the adoption of certain planks in his party platform. The Masonic body, which though not numerous has much financial influence through its Jewish members, and the socialists form these two elements in the following of M. Combes. The attack on the teaching orders is credited by the French Catholic press chiefly to the Masonic section. The socialists joined in it merely as a part of their general desire for a total remodeling of society. The price of their adherence to the Prime Minister's policy was mainly of another kind. It was the appointment of a certain number of the party to office and allowing them to profess revolutionary teachings with the apparent

approval of the government. It was on this understanding, it is said, that the Mayor of Armentieres was allowed impunity in his encouragement of lawlessness. How long the combination of these elements will continue it is not easy to say, but certainly it has not the elements of stability in its own nature. For the bulk of the French people to-day it is safe to say that there is no special hostility to the Church or its doctrines of recent growth or its members. There are many indifferent, but also a very large number of practical and devout Catholics in France to-day. The Catholic religion is bound up with the life, the habits, the morality and the traditions of the population to a degree which an American finds it hard to realize if only familiar with the public indifference to religion of his own government and the variety of sects which claim its authority at discretion. It does not seem likely that a political combination in the Parliament of to-day will succeed in a task where Huguenot and Jacobin have failed so signally—the destruction of the Church in France.

B. J. CLINCH.

Florence, Italy.

A NOTED PIONEER CONVERT OF NEW ENGLAND:
REV. JOHN THAYER, 1758-1815.

THAT eminent historian of the Church, Rohrbacher, in the twenty-eighth volume of his great "*Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique*," devotes a number of pages to the conversion of Father John Thayer, of Boston; but, for want of necessary data, the interesting narrative ceases with the first Synod of Baltimore, which assembled on November 7, 1791, and which was attended by Father Thayer on November 10. The prominence and importance attaching to the life, services and example of this early and distinguished convert will enhance at the present time the interest of American Catholics in a more detailed account of him, especially as his conversion at Rome, in 1783, at the time of the death of St. Benedict Joseph Labre, was influenced by the example, the virtues and the miracles of that humble and holy man, who, in our own day, has been canonized as a saint by the Church.

John Thayer was the third son of Cornelius Thayer, and was born in Boston about the year 1758. His family enjoyed high social position and easy circumstances, and was one of the oldest and most widely connected in New England. His early years were not

studious years, for he refused to study until about his sixteenth year, when he entreated his parents to send him to school. Under the Rev. Dr. Chauncey, that celebrated Puritan minister, he made great progress, both in letters and Puritan training, and on the conclusion of his studies he was made a minister of the Puritan or Congregational sect. After his ordination in that communion he served for two years as chaplain to the Governor of Massachusetts at Castle William, and devoted himself chiefly to preaching and to the study of Sacred Scripture.

In 1781 he was providentially seized with a desire to go abroad and to travel in Europe. In his own account of his proposed travels he thus writes: "I felt a secret inclination to travel. I nourished the desire and formed a resolution of passing into Europe to learn the languages which are most in use, and to acquire a knowledge of the constitution of States, of the manners, customs, laws and governments of the principal nations, in order to acquire, by this political knowledge, a greater consequence in my own country, and thus become more useful to it. Such were my human views, without the least suspicion of the secret designs of Providence, which was preparing for me more precious advantages."

The religious atmosphere in which he lived may be judged from the facts that prior to our Declaration of Independence and during the colonial period under Great Britain there was scarcely a colony in which the Catholic religion was not proscribed in one form or another, Pennsylvania and Maryland being the only colonies where a Catholic priest was even tolerated. In his native city one of the citizens had attempted with his sword to cut out the cross of St. George from the British flag, and was applauded.

The story of the attempt to cut the cross of St. George from the British flag, which is an authenticated historic occurrence, was no doubt one of the early traditions that tended greatly to form the character of that idle and listless boy, whose mind was wafted away from serious and useful study by the more fascinating literature of the New England nursery and the Puritan folklore of the eighteenth and preceding centuries.

But there were other historic legends, such as the stories of the misfortunes and sufferings of the exiled Acadians, which were in universal vogue in the boyhood of young Thayer, and which tended greatly to increase his religious aversions.

During the colonial period, under the severe rule of the Puritans, there was no admission for Catholics as voluntary comers or immigrants. Catholic immigration was most strictly prohibited. The only Catholics the ancestors or even the parents of our convert ever

saw were some unfortunates sold to New England masters as slaves, or others at later periods bound to them in service as redemptioners. It is a fact of official record that whenever any of these unfortunate Catholics, either as servants or as sailors, had an opportunity on board a vessel to visit Canada, the first words they uttered on landing were to ask for a priest, that they might receive the sacraments of confession and communion. And thus an English-speaking priest was stationed on the request of French officials at St. John's, as stated in the French official documents as quoted by Father Fitton, "for the benefit of the Catholics of Boston."

The military authorities and the soldiers and militia of Massachusetts had taken an active and, in fact, a leading part in the conquest of Nova Scotia by the English, which led to the cruel exile of the Acadians. Two New England officers, Colonel Winslow and Captain Mallay, and their fellow-officers, soldiers and the New England militia, by orders of the colonial and home governments, had been effective agents in that bad chapter of history, which relates to that sad catastrophe, the exile of the poor and unfortunate Acadians. Taken by surprise, the peaceful and harmless Acadians, while driven from their houses, saw their villages and farmhouses and crops plundered and then burned and themselves and their families, to the number of eighteen thousand, at different times, carried off into the most cruel exile and forced upon the cold charities of unwilling New England populations. These sad and cruelly treated exiles, reduced suddenly from the station of independent farmers and proprietors to that of paupers, were landed at different points along our coasts in a condition of utter poverty and misery, destitute even of the consolations of their religion and of the ministrations of its apostolate.

Of the numerous colonies of expatriated Acadians, who were ruthlessly dropped along the shores of New England and other more southern communities, many died of hunger, cold, suffering or of a broken heart. The young children of these were left even more destitute, if possible, and bequeathed to strangers, speakers of a different language, supporters of a different faith and hostile and alien to their race, sympathies and traditions; and other some escaping to the woods, struggled amid every suffering and privation of worn foot travelers until they arrived at Nova Scotia or reached Canada or Madawaska. At Madawaska, on the waters of the Madawaska river and other affluents of the St. John, they founded a colony which survives to the present time. To the Acadians the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, all Catholics and the descendants of Catholic forefathers of consecutive centuries past, in New England, the ministrations of their priests were for-

bidden; for Catholic priests were not allowed an entrance into the Commonwealths, where now, under the progress of more enlightened thought, Catholics abound. The lives and even the deaths of the exiles were destitute of every corporal and spiritual comfort.

The exile of the Acadians from the land of their birth, their homes, their traditions, their race and their religion was principally accomplished by the two New England officers, Winslow and Mallay, in 1756, two years before the birth of young Thayer, but his sixteen years of listless, impressionable and uneducated youth were nourished with the current tales of Acadian worthlessness, ignorance, bigotry and superstition. If as late as 1835 Williamson, the historian of Maine, published his anathema, as unhistoric as it is untrue, that "The Neutrals," for such was the name they bore in connection with the political struggles of Nova Scotia, "are still ignorant, bigoted Catholics, broken-spirited, poor and ignorant," what must have been the prejudice and aversion with which young Thayer, in common with his contemporaries, viewed them and all Catholics.

Whatever political reasons England may have supposed justified the harsh measure of expatriating the entire French population of Acadia, consisting of eighteen thousand souls, there can be no excuse for the cruel manner in which it was carried out. The Acadians were compelled to give up their property; their homes and crops were burned before their eyes; they were hurried on shipboard so precipitately that families and friends were separated entirely, and many forever, and few escaped the evil days by fleeing to the woods. They were actually dumped by shiploads along the coasts of New England and to the south as far as Georgia. Williamson's estimate was that in which all Catholics were then held in New England. Such were the traditions inherited by the youth of New England. An idle and unstudious boy like John Thayer partook largely of the inheritance.

The first act of retributive justice was the conversion of the young New England boy, who witnessed the second stage of this cruel tragedy in his native State of Massachusetts and city of Boston, and whose fathers and kindred, as prominent Boston families, had, no doubt, taken an active part in its execution.

The second stage of retributive justice was the beautiful poem of Longfellow, New England's unofficial poet laureate, which immortalized the "Land of Evangeline" and sang of the sisterly love, self-sacrifice, the suffering, the griefs, the travels and the agonies of the beautiful and good Evangeline, Acadia's fairest daughter, in her drear search through many vast lands and among many strange peoples for her exiled and lost brother, Gabriel—a most touching

and sad instance of the frequent separation and breaking up of families, with cases of which the wholesale exile of the Acadians is replete. While the poetry of "Evangeline" possesses the true Olympian beauty of creative sentiment and classic expression, there is more true history in Longfellow's poem than can be found in Mr. William Durkee Williamson's "History of Maine" on the subject of the Acadians, whose author did not leave his native England until half a century after their exile was effected. When John Thayer subsequently wrote that of "the Catholic faith the majority of Americans have so mistaken an idea," he sounded the first note of the second stage of retribution. Now here is Longfellow's ideal view of the "Land of Evangeline," the true Acadia, of the stern and fiery measure that separated brother from sister and broke up their families and sent them into exile, and of the love which the Acadians bore to one another.

SCENES FROM "EVANGELINE."

THE LAKES OF THE ATCHAFALAYA.

Water-lilies in myriads rocked on the slight undulation
 Made by the passing oars, and, resplendent in beauty, the lotus
 Lifted her golden crown above the heads of the boatmen.
 Faint was the air with the odorous breath of magnolia blossoms,
 And with the heat of noon; and numberless sylvan islands,
 Fragrant and thickly embowered with blossoming hedges of roses,
 Near to whose shores they glided along, invited to slumber.
 Soon by the fairest of these their weary oars were suspended,
 Under the boughs of Wachita willows, that grew by the margin,
 Safely their boat was moored; and scattered about on the greensward,
 Tired with their midnight toil, the weary travellers slumbered.
 Over them vast and high extended the cope of a cedar.
 Swinging from its great arms, the trumpet-flower and the grape-vine
 Hung their ladder of ropes aloft like the ladder of Jacob,
 On whose pendulous stairs the angels ascending, descending,
 Were the swift humming-birds that flitted from blossom to blossom.
 Such was the vision Evangeline saw, as she slumbered beneath it.
 Filled was her heart with love, and the dawn of an opening heaven
 Lighted her soul in sleep with the glory of regions celestial.

Nearer and ever nearer, among the numberless islands,
 Darted a light, swift boat, that sped away o'er the water,
 Urged on its course by the sinewy arms of hunters and trappers.
 Northward its prow was turned, to the land of the bison and beaver.
 At the helm sat a youth, with countenance thoughtful and careworn.
 Dark and neglected locks overshadowed his brow, and a sadness
 Somewhat beyond his years on his face was legibly written.
 Gabriel was it, who, weary with waiting, unhappy and restless,
 Sought in the Western wilds oblivion of self and of sorrow.
 Swiftly they glided along, close under the lee of the island,
 But by the opposite bank, and behind a screen of palmettos,
 So that they saw not the boat, where it lay concealed in the willows,
 All undisturbed by the dash of their oars, and unseen were the sleepers.
 Angel of God was there none to awaken the slumbering maiden.
 Swiftly they glided away, like the shade of a cloud on the prairie.
 After the sound of their oars on the tholes had died in the distance,
 As from a magic trance the sleepers awoke, and the maiden
 Said with a sigh to the friendly priest: "O Father Felician!
 Something says in my heart that near me Gabriel wanders.
 Is it a foolish dream, an idle and vague superstition?
 Or has an angel passed and revealed the truth to my spirit?"
 Then, with a blush, she added: "Alas for my credulous fancy!
 Unto ears like thine such words as these have no meaning."
 But made answer the reverend man, and he smiled as he answered:

"Daughter, thy words are not idle, nor are they to me without meaning. Feeling is deep and still; and the word that floats on the surface is as the tossing buoy, that betrays where the anchor is hidden. Therefore trust to thy heart, and to what the world calls illusions. Gabriel truly is near thee; for not far away to the southward, On the banks of the Têche, are the towns of St. Maur and St. Martin. There the long-wandering bride shall be given again to her bridegroom, There the long-absent pastor regain his flock and his sheepfold. Beautiful is the land, with its prairies and forests of fruit-trees; Under the feet a garden of flowers, and the bluest of heaven Bending above, and resting its dome on the walls of the forest. They who dwell there have named it the Eden of Louisiana." With these words of cheer they arose and continued their journey. Softly the evening came. The sun from the western horizon Like a magician extended his golden wand o'er the landscape; Twinkling vapors arose; and sky and water and forest Seemed all on fire at the touch, and melted and mingled together. Hanging between two skies, a cloud with edges of silver, Floated the boat, with its dripping oars, on the motionless water. Filled was Evangeline's heart with inexpressible sweetness. Touched by the magic spell, the sacred fountains of feeling Glowed with the light of love, as the skies and waters around her. Then from a neighboring thicket the mocking-bird, wildest of singers, Swinging aloft on a willow spray that hung o'er the water, Shook from his little throat such floods of delirious music, That the whole air and the woods and the waves seemed silent to listen. Plaintive at first were the tones and sad; then soaring to madness Seemed they to follow or guide the revel of frenzied Bacchantes. Single notes were then heard, in sorrowful, low lamentation; Till, having gathered them all, he flung them abroad in derision, As when, after a storm, a gust of wind through the tree-tops Shakes down the rattling rain in a crystal shower on the branches. With such a prelude as this, and hearts that throbbed with emotion, Slowly they entered the Têche, where it flows through the green Opelousas, And, through the amber air, above the crest of the woodland, Saw the column of smoke that arose from a neighboring dwelling; Sounds of a horn they heard, and the distant lowing of cattle.

THE FINDING OF GABRIEL.

Then it came to pass that a pestilence fell on the city, Presaged by wondrous signs, and mostly by flocks of wild pigeons, Darkening the sun in their flight, with naught in their craws but an acorn. And, as the tides of the sea arise in the month of September, Flooding some silver stream, till it spreads to a lake in the meadow, So death flooded life, and, o'erflowing its natural margin, Spread to a brackish lake, the silver stream of existence, Wealth had no power to bribe, nor beauty to charm, the oppressor; But all perished alike beneath the scourge of his anger; Only, alas! the poor, who had neither friends nor attendants, Crept away to die in the almshouse, home of the homeless. Then in the suburbs it stood, in the midst of meadows and woodlands; Now the city surrounds it; but still, with its gateway and wicket Meek, in the midst of splendor, its humble walls seem to echo Softly the words of the Lord: "The poor ye always have with you." Thither, by night and by day, came the Sister of Mercy. The dying Looked up into her face, and thought, indeed, to behold there Gleams of celestial light encircle her forehead with splendor, Such as the artist paints o'er the brows of saints and apostles, Or such as hangs by night o'er a city seen at a distance. Unto their eyes it seemed the lamps of the city celestial, Into whose shining gates ere long their spirits would enter.

Thus, on a Sabbath morn, through the streets, deserted and silent, Wending her quiet way, she entered the door of the almshouse. Sweet on the summer air was the odor of flowers in the garden; And she paused on her way to gather the fairest among them, That the dying once more might rejoice in their fragrance and beauty. Then, as she mounted the stairs to the corridors, cooled by the east wind, Distant and soft on her ear fell the chimes from the belfry of Christ Church, While, intermingled with these, across the meadows were wafted Sounds of psalms that were sung by the Swedes in their church at Wicaco, Soft as descending wings fell the calm of the hour on her spirit; Something within her said, "At length thy trials are ended;" And, with light in her looks, she entered the chambers of sickness.

Noiselessly moved about the assiduous, careful attendants,
 Moistening the feverish lip and the aching brow, and in silence
 Closing the sightless eyes of the dead, and concealing their faces,
 Where on their pallets they lay, like drifts of snow by the roadside.
 Many a languid head upraised as Evangeline entered,
 Turned on its pillow of pain to gaze while she passed, for her presence
 Fell on their hearts like a ray of the sun on the walls of a prison.
 And, as she looked around, she saw how Death, the consoler,
 Laying his hand upon many a heart, had healed it forever.
 Many familiar forms had disappeared in the night time;
 Vacant their places were, or filled already by strangers.

Suddenly, as if arrested by fear or a feeling of wonder,
 Still she stood, with her colorless lips apart, while a shudder
 Ran through her frame, and, forgotten, the flowerets dropped from her
 fingers,
 And from her eyes and cheeks the light and bloom of the morning.
 Then there escaped from her lips a cry of such terrible anguish,
 That the dying heard it, and started up from their pillows.
 On the pallet before her was stretched the form of an old man.
 Long, and thin, and gray were the locks that shaded his temples;
 But, as he lay in the morning light, his face for a moment
 Seemed to assume once more the forms of its earlier manhood;
 So are wont to be changed the faces of those who are dying.
 Hot and red on his lips still burned the flush of the fever,
 As if life, like the Hebrew, with blood had besprinkled its portals,
 That the Angel of Death might see the sign, and pass over.
 Motionless, senseless, dying, he lay, and his spirit exhausted
 Seemed to be sinking down through infinite depths in the darkness—
 Darkness of slumber and death, forever sinking and sinking.
 Then through those realms of shade, in multiplied reverberations,
 Heard he that cry of pain, and through the hush that succeeded
 Whispered a gentle voice, in accents tender and saint-like,
 "Gabriel! O my beloved!" and died away into silence.
 Then he beheld, in a dream, once more the home of his childhood;
 Green Acadian meadows, with sylvan rivers among them,
 Village, and mountain, and woodlands; and, walking under their shadow,
 As in the days of her youth, Evangeline rose in his vision.
 Tears came into his eyes; and as slowly he lifted his eyelids,
 Vanished the vision away, but Evangeline knelt by his bedside.
 Vainly he strove to whisper her name, for the accents unuttered
 Died on his lips, and their motion revealed what his tongue would have
 spoken.

Vainly he strove to rise; and Evangeline, kneeling beside him,
 Kissed his dying lips, and laid his head on her bosom.
 Sweet was the light of his eyes; but it suddenly sank into darkness,
 As when a lamp is blown out by a gust of wind at a casement.

All was ended now, the hope, and the fear, and the sorrow,
 All the aching of heart, the restless, unsatisfied longing,
 All the dull, deep pain, and constant anguish of patience!
 And, as she pressed once more the lifeless head to her bosom,
 Meekly she bowed her own, and murmured, "Father, I thank Thee!"

It is a curious and interesting circumstance, not generally known to Bostonians now and not known to any of them until, in 1875, when one of Boston's most distinguished and brightest citizens, Edward Everett Hale, published this fact gathered from his own researches, that Boston actually has a patron saint, after whom the city is named—a saint of the Dark Ages, so often discarded upon by New England writers and orators; a saint of the seventh century. This is St. Botolph. "The original name of Botolph's town, given to the town in Lincolnshire in which the noble Church of St. Botolph stands," as stated by Mr. Hale, "has been corrupted to Boston. That name has been brought across the water to this

city; but St. Botolph, whose saint's day in the calendar is June 17, is still the godfather and patron saint of Boston. St. Botolph and St. Adolph were two noble English brothers. They were educated in Belgic Gaul; and Adolph became Bishop of Maestricht. His saint's day is June 17 also. St. Botolph returned to England, where King Ethelmund gave him the wilderness of Ikanho on which he founded an abbey. Here he lived and here he died in the year 655. A part of his relics are at Ely, a part at Thames, a part at Westminster and a part at Peterborough, four parishes in London, and a great many in other parts of England bear his name." It is also mentioned by Mr. Hale "that the great battle (of Bunker's Hill), fought within what are now the limits of Boston, was, by an interesting coincidence, on the saint's day of St. Botolph, whose name Boston bears."

There was another event of annual occurrence throughout New England, and especially in Boston, which is most expressive of the animosity entertained at that time against Catholics and their Church and creed, and a most significant example of the anti-Popery influences under which the subject of our story was reared and educated. Other facts and declarations connected with his life prove that these falsely educational influences had created and nourished a strong prejudice against the Catholic faith and against Catholics in the character of young Thayer. I allude to a most curious custom, during the eighteenth century, in this country, of celebrating what was known as "Pope Day." This discreditable practice prevailed not only in New England, but its annual observance extended southward as far as Georgia.

The celebration of "Pope Day" in New England had its origin in the celebration of "Guy Fawkes' Day" in England. The historic story of Guy Fawkes is too well known to readers of history to need more than a passing mention. In the reign of King James I. Guy Fawkes was the leader of a conspiracy to blow up with gunpowder the King and Parliament, and the conspirators and their leader, altogether few in numbers, though their numbers were greatly exaggerated by the alarm which the attempt created, were deluded and misguided Catholics, who were led to hope that the destruction of the King and the Parliament would release them from the intolerable penal laws under which the English Catholics suffered at that day, or would at least mitigate their sufferings or improve their condition. They are believed by many to have been led on to their own destruction by governmental detectives. The discovery and defeat of the plot and the condign punishment of the conspirators were followed by great outbursts of joy with the whole nation, and resulted in the establishment of a national holiday,

observed annually on the 5th of November, which was called "Guy Fawkes' Day."

But the people of New England had sympathized with Cromwell and the Commonwealth, for it was English Puritans that hurled from his throne and decapitated Charles I., the son of James I. But now the restoration of the royal family of the Stuarts had taken place in the person of Charles II., and the celebration of "Guy Fawkes' Day" was revived in England. Feeling the inconsistency of continuing the celebration of "Guy Fawkes' Day," the New Englanders devised "Pope Day" in its stead, thus avoiding all inconsistencies, while at the same time giving a forcible expression to a hatred of Catholics, a common ground upon which all could consistently stand as from the Protestant standpoint, though from the Mohammedan and Buddhist standpoint there was not much consistency in the hatred of Christians by Christians. Guy Fawkes had failed in the attempt to shed the blood of the Protestant King and Parliament; the Puritan protector and Commonwealth had subsequently reaped an abundant harvest of royal blood and royal victims. The celebration of "Pope Day" as a substitute in New England for "Guy Fawkes' Day" was regarded as a happy method of expressing an anti-Papal sentiment common to all. The same day that had witnessed the celebration of the one was selected for the other, and the same street songs answered the purpose:

Let's always remember
The fifth of November.

It will be an historical amusement now to recall some of the incidents and methods of celebrating "Pope Day," in which Boston took a leading part. The celebrant rabble prepared an effigy of the Pope, and usually one of the Devil, and these two effigies were made companions on a platform carried by the crowd in procession through the streets amid the liberal discharge of firecrackers and pistols and guns. The platform was mounted on wheels and bore in front a large transparency, on which were inscribed hostile mottoes and sentences expressive of the prevailing feeling and temper. The effigies were made to turn on their feet, to face the houses, gesticulate and amuse the crowd by means of strings carried by boys beside the platform. The procession was headed by a grotesque personage on foot, who constantly rang his bell and loudly bawled out his song, whose refrain was always the same:

Don't you hear my little bell
Go chink, chink, chink?
Please give me a little money,
To buy my Pope some drink.

The residents on the route of the procession were boisterously

called upon to "give a little money" for the expenses of the celebration. Those who refused or hesitated, if a few there were, had their windows broken or their houses battered. Such was the procession that passed through the streets of classic Boston during the eighteenth century. It usually paraded through Boston Common, in front of the State House, and usually wound up at Copp's Hill; and here the effigies were dumped and burned in the bonfire prepared for the purpose. That such a procession should have been, as it was, described by the current newspapers as having been conducted "with great decency and decorum," gives us a poor estimate of the refinement of that day.

But sometimes there were rival and hostile processions with rival and hostile Popes and Devils. It thus turned out on one occasion that the North End of Boston and the South End bristled in hostile array against each other, because of some offense given or imagined by one party against the other. The rival processions met in Union street, fought desperately each to take as prisoners the Pope and the Devil of its opponents. The North Enders, if victorious, would burn the Popes on Copp's Hill, while the South Enders would have them cast into the bonfire blazing on Boston Common.

The celebration of "Pope Day" which took place on November 5, 1745, called for the severe strictures from the New England journals of that day and protests from some of their subscribers. The *Weekly Post-Boy* of November 18, 1745, furnishes us with the following extracts:

Tuesday last being the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, two Popes were made and carried thro' the streets in the evening, one from the North, the other from the South End of the Town (Boston), attended by a vast number of negroes and white servants, armed with clubs, staves and catlashes, who were very abusive to the Inhabitants, insulting the persons and breaking the windows, etc., of such as did not give them money to their satisfaction, and even many of those who had given them liberally; and the two Popes meeting in Cornhill, their followers were so infatuated as to fall upon each other with the utmost Rage and Fury. Several were sorely wounded and bruised, some left for dead, and rendered incapable of any business for a long time, to the great Loss and Damage of their respective masters.

A letter from one of the subscribers of the *Post-Boy* reads as follows:

I hope you will not suffer the grand fray, not to say bloody, that happen'd before your Door last Tuesday evening to pass off without a public rebuke; and such an one as becomes a person zealous as well for the Peace and Good Order of the State as the Church. What a scandal and Infamy to a Protestant Mob, be it of the rudest and lowest Sailors out of Boston, or even of the very Negroes of the Town, to fall upon one another with Clubs and Catlashes in a Rage and Fury which only Hell could inspire or the Devil broke loose from chains there could represent! Is this a meet or sufferable show of Protestant zeal against Popery? Is this to honor the Protestant religion to the few French prisoners of war that are left among us? Or can our children or servants be safe in the streets at such a time if such Rioters be permitted? Or, in a word, what madness must seize the two mobs, united Brethren, as they would appear against Popery, to fall upon each other, break one another's Bones or dash one another's Brains out?

Why this enormity above all others should be winked at, and the Inhabitants of the Town with their Dwellings left to the mercy of a rude and intoxicated Rabble, the very Dregs of the People, black and white, and why no more has been done to prevent or suppress such Riotous proceedings, which have been long growing upon us, and as long bewailed by all sober persons, must be humbly left to our betters to say.

Ten years later, 1755, other and new companions were given to the effigies of the Pope and Devil, and it became quite common to introduce into the celebration and parade of "Pope Day" other public, political or governmental characters obnoxious to the people or to the politicians of New England—characters which received more especial attention from the rabble than even the Pope or the Devil. Thus the "Pretender," or unpopular or obnoxious English statesman taking part in the enactment of laws in Parliament which the colonies did not like were added; and even as far south as Charleston, South Carolina, we find from contemporary publications that in that city, as late as 1774, Lord North and Governor Hutchinson were joined with the Pope and the Devil on the same platform, and perished in the same bonfire.

In 1755 we have an account from the *Annapolis Gazette* of December 4, in which it is stated that at Boston "the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender at night were carried about the city on a bier, three effigies hideously formed and as humorously contrived, the Devil standing close behind the Pope, seemingly paying his compliments to him, with a three-pronged pitchfork in one hand, with which at times he was made to thrust His Holiness on the back, and a hawthorn in the other, the young Pretender standing before the Pope, waiting his commands."

"In their route," continues the *Annapolis Gazette*, "through the streets they stopped at the French General's lodgings (General Dieskau, who was then lying wounded and a prisoner in Boston), where a guard was ordered to prevent mischief by the mob. The General sent down some silver by the carriers, with which, after giving three huzzas, they marched off to a proper place and set fire to the Devil's tail, burning the three to cinders."

During our Revolutionary War the celebration of "Pope Day," after an interval, was again revived. This revival of a discreditable custom is attributable to the passage by the British Parliament of what is generally known as the "Quebec Act," by which England in good faith guaranteed to the Catholics of Canada and of the Territories northwest of the Ohio the free exercise of their religion as fully as they enjoyed it before the conquest by England and the cession of those countries by France to England. In 1774 we hear of "Pope Day" again at Newburyport, Massachusetts, as appears from the following account taken from the "History of Newburyport:"

The last public celebration of "Pope Day," so-called in Newbury and Newburyport (Mass.), occurred this year. To prevent any tumult or disorder taking place during the evening or night, the town of Newburyport voted, October 24, 1774, "that no effigies be carried about or exhibited on the 5th of November, only in the daytime." Motives of policy afterwards induced the discontinuance of this custom, which has now become obsolete. This year (1774) the celebration went off with a great flourish. In the daytime companies of little boys might be seen in various parts of the town, with their little popes dressed up in the most grotesque and fantastic manner, which they carried about, some on boards and some on little carriages, for their own and others' amusement. But the great exhibition was reserved for the night, in which young men as well as boys participated. They first constructed a huge vehicle, varying at times from 20 to 40 feet long, 8 or 10 wide and 5 or 6 high, from the lower to the upper platform, on the front of which they erected a paper lantern, capacious enough to hold, in addition to the lights, five or six persons. Behind that as large as life sat the mimic Pope and several other personages, monks, friars, and so forth. Last but not least stood an image of what was designed to be a representation of old Nick himself, furnished with a pair of huge horns, holding in his hands a pitchfork and otherwise accoutred with all the frightful ugliness that their ingenuity could devise. Their next step after they had mounted their ponderous vehicle on four wheels, chosen their officers, captain, first and second lieutenants, purser, and so forth, placed a boy under the platform to elevate and move around at proper intervals the movable head of the Pope.

The celebration also took place this year in Boston, where two rival mobs and processions united in the festival, and they carried what they called a "Union Pope" in their combined procession.

And from the *New York Journal* of December 15, 1774, we learn that the revived celebration of "Pope Day" was vigorously observed, and the effigies of the Pope and the Devil had as companions on the platform other distinguished personages, one from England and another a Colonial Governor: "We had great diversion the 5th instant in seeing the effigies of Lord North, Governor Hutchinson, the Pope and the Devil, which were erected on a moving machine and after having been paraded about the town all day, they were in the evening burnt on the Common with a large bonfire, attended by a numerous crowd of people."

But now the good influences were at work and the providential man was at hand,

Arma virumque cano,

whereby this odious celebration was to be brought to an ignominious end. While the revived celebrations in different parts of the country, following the enactment of the "Quebec Act," were quite generally observed and were marked by great enthusiasm, the days of religious intolerance were ended and the days also of religious liberty and equality were at hand. The year 1774 had now witnessed the last of "Pope Day" celebrations, but not the last attempt.

The year 1775, the year preceding the Declaration of Independence, saw the thirteen American colonies in actual war with the mother country in defense of rights and liberties guaranteed to all Englishmen and to all the English colonies by Magna Charta and by the British Constitution. Now for the first time Catholics and

Protestants were marching to the music of the Union. George Washington was Commander-in-Chief and was then at the head of the American army, encamped at Boston, and in that gallant army were many Catholic soldiers and patriots from Maryland and Pennsylvania. Thoughtless of this fact, the fanatic mob proposed and had issued calls for the celebration of "Pope Day" on the 5th of November, 1775, and there were New England officers and soldiers in Washington's army who were more or less in the scheme. From the headquarters of the army Washington issued the following order of the day, which is to be found in his published works and which happily put an end forever to this celebration of "Pope Day" throughout the United States:*

November 5.—As the commander-in-chief has been apprised of a design formed for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be officers and soldiers in this army so void of common sense as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this juncture; at a time when we are soliciting and have already obtained the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada, whom we ought to consider as brethren embarked in the same cause—the defense of the Liberty of America. At this juncture and under such circumstances to be insulting their religion is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused; indeed, instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to express public thanks to these our brethren, as to them we are indebted for every late happy success over the common enemy in Canada.

Boston has frequently been called the Athens of America, a distinction which she has well merited, but one to which she has become chiefly but not wholly entitled since she passed from the colonial status to that of American Statehood. But even before this change that beautiful and cultivated city bore a resemblance to Athens, where the education of the people did not take place mostly in such schools, academies and colleges as are known to our modern life. Athenian education was rather in the public assemblies, the Olympic and other games, the temples, the oracles and in that unique Athenian institution, the Public Academy, the garden or villa of Plato. Even Harvard was either a guide or a reflex of public opinion. To a boy of John Thayer's temperament and idle youth, the streets of Boston were likewise the principal sources, besides his father's house, of all he learned of history, or of Rome, or of the Pope, or of the ancient faith of Christendom. We do not know the fact, but he may have been one of the idle boys that pulled the strings connected with the effigies on "Pope Day." We cannot doubt of his having seen the processions, nor of the impressions his mind and character received therefrom. But even "Pope Day"

*Many of the details of this account of "Pope Day" have been derived from Dr. John Gilmary Shea's article in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine* of January, 1888, in which are cited as authorities the *Weekly Post*, November 18, 1745; *Annapolis Gazette*, December 4, 1755; "History of Newburyport," page 249, and *New York Journal*, December 15, 1774.

left much good in his life and character, as it has left Boston to become one of the model Catholic cities of America.

In 1791 Bishop Carroll visited Boston, and after his return to Baltimore thus gave his impressions of the place, of its hospitality and of its more moderate feelings towards Catholics: "It is wonderful to tell what great civilities have been done to me in this town, where a few years ago a Popish priest was thought to be the greatest monster in creation. Many here, even of their principal people, have acknowledged to me that they would have crossed to the opposite side of the street rather than meet a Roman Catholic, some time ago. The horror which was associated with the idea of a Papist is incredible; and the scandalous misrepresentations by their ministers increased the horror every Sunday."

With such experiences of Boston in 1791, what would be the impressions of Archbishop Carroll if he could now, in 1903, see that same good city with its Catholic Archbishop and Auxiliary Bishop, the metropolitan see of a Catholic ecclesiastical province containing in New England an archdiocese and six suffragan dioceses with their Bishops, priests, churches and institutions; while the Archdiocese of Boston itself contains about four hundred and fifty Catholic priests, over seven hundred churches, one hundred and fifty religious and teaching Brothers, sixteen hundred religious and teaching Sisters, a diocesan seminary, with nearly one hundred students aspiring to the same ministry that Father Thayer embraced over a hundred years ago, three Catholic colleges, with about four hundred and fifty students, seventy-five parochial schools, with nearly forty-five thousand pupils, eight female academies, with nearly one thousand girls trained to higher education, and with orphan asylum, school for deaf mutes, hospitals and homes, with nearly nine hundred resident patients and over fifty-five thousand three hundred outpatients, nearly forty-nine young persons under Catholic care and a Catholic population exceeding six hundred and fifty thousand?

What would be his surprise at learning that the city of Boston was now ruled by a Catholic Mayor, whose administration was so correct and beneficial that he was re-elected by the free choice of a majority of the whole population of the city, after having represented Boston for several terms in the National House of Representatives?

May it not also interest the citizens of the noble city of Boston, with all its Puritan traditions, to know now what few of them may be aware of, that Boston itself bears the very name of a Catholic saint?

Trained under such influences from his childhood, young John

Thayer, then a Congregational minister, left home with no sympathies for the Catholic Church, and his conversion cannot be regarded in any other light than as a special Providence conveying supernatural grace to his soul. His only companion on this interesting voyage was his angel guardian, true guardian of his soul.

He arrived in France towards the end of 1781 and spent ten months there studying the language, reading the best French authors and acquainting himself with the government and national characteristics and manners of the people. A severe illness overtook him while here, and he says of himself, in alluding to it: "My first concern was to forbid that any Catholic priest be suffered to come near me, such was my attachment to my own sect." He next spent three months in England, and made a careful study of the English Government and people. In England he accepted an invitation to preach in an English Protestant church, and when it was remarked that his doctrines did not agree with those of his hearers, members of the English Church, he replied: "I have taken them from the Bible."

Thence again passing through France, he visited Rome and continued there, as in France and England, to study the government and the people. At this time the infidel philosophy of the French Revolution was fashionable in all other parts of Europe, and all classes were paying homage to the memory and principles of Voltaire and Rousseau, then recently deceased. At Rome everything was Papal and Catholic, and he studied the religion of Rome as he would have studied that of Mahomet at Constantinople, or of Buddha in India. His residence in France had removed partially or slightly some of his prejudices against Catholicity; now the gentle manners and cordial reception of the Italians, contrasting as they did with his Puritan reserve, pleased him much. Without doubting his own faith he studied Catholicity for information. At Rome a priest startled him by suggesting that he would say the Lord's Prayer for light and grace, but he gently though doubtfully complied. Gradually, but slowly, his mind became convinced that his own was not the true religion, and still more slowly he began to see reason and truth in the Catholic faith. Yet he resolved not to become a Catholic. Even after his mind became convinced he resolved not to make an abjuration in Rome, for fear of precipitate action, but to delay and consider. At this time a beautiful book on the Angel Guardian deeply impressed him. The Angel Guardian was now quickening his steps.

While he was in Rome the event of a century took place. The holy Benedict Joseph Labre died, and his life, virtues, poverty and miracles were the topics of universal admiration and wonder. Some

scoffed, while many venerated his life. A young Frenchman of good education had been led to leave home, and in the spirit of penance had adopted the life of a poor pilgrim and ragged mendicant. In our day he would have been driven from every door as a tramp. He had lived several years in Rome, and had become universally known as "the holy beggar." His death occurred on Holy Wednesday, 1783, and a sudden and startling rumor spread through Rome that a saint had died. There was an atmosphere of awe pervading the Eternal City. Before and after his funeral the church where his remains were deposited was so thronged with pious people that soldiers had to guard his tomb. Eighty thousand small pieces of the rags which had but partially covered the holy beggar's person were distributed among the good people of the city. His fame extended to every continent, and many miracles were wrought on the application of his relics or on invoking his intercession.

Our young Puritan was at first repelled by this extraordinary and to him distasteful spectacle; he could not, however, refrain from thoroughly investigating the matter. He saw "the holy beggar's" confessor, and visited four persons said to have been miraculously cured. He became, after calm and long continued investigation, convinced of the extraordinary virtues of the deceased saint, and of the truth of the alleged miracles as stated by Dr. John Gilmary Shea: "He joined others in ridiculing the miracles of Labre till, it is said, a gentleman challenged him to go and investigate some of the cases. He did so, and to his astonishment found the evidence such as would have decided a case in any court of justice."

Providentially a little book, in which another convert gave an account of his conversion, fell into his hands, and was earnestly read. He now began to say constantly the beautiful prayer for light, which is familiar to our readers from its uniform publication in the prayer books in common use in this country. As usual, after all other difficulties were overcome, there loomed up in his mind his family and their apprehended displeasure; his being a Protestant minister and having for years preached Protestantism, and a thousand other social and temporal aspects of the situation and the dreaded change. But he could not refrain from reading and praying. As usual, great agitation of mind came on, then tears in abundance, and next followed his conversion, when he exclaimed: "My God, I promise to become a Catholic!"

The two following passages are from Father Fitton's "History of the Catholic Church in New England:"

Mr. Thayer had nourished a bitter prejudice against Catholicity and the nations who professed it; hence the Italians were to him objects of holy horror, his prepossessed mind viewing them in the most odious light, as

the most superstitious of men. However, he must see Rome, that great metropolis of the arts; he must visit the tombs of Virgil and Dante; he must drink at that living fountain of letters and science. In his passage from Marseilles to Rome he was obliged to remain several days in a small harbor called Port Creol  . The Marquis d'Elmoro, Mayor of the place, received him with fraternal affection and kindness, though a perfect stranger. His house, his table, his library, all were at his service. At his departure he made him promise to keep a continued correspondence with him. Mr. Thayer, in the account of his conversion, to which we have alluded and from which we glean these facts, tells us that he afterwards met with many Italians whose kindness and cordiality towards a stranger and a Protestant dispelled the bitterness of his early prejudice and prepared his soul to receive the light. As soon as he entered Rome his first desire was to visit the principal monuments of antiquity which are attractive to strangers. The Rotunda or Pantheon, a temple formerly consecrated to the worship of all the heathen deities, and now dedicated to the One God, under the invocation of the Virgin Mother and all the saints, was in an especial manner the object of his admiration. While he regretted that the superstitions of Catholics should have entered it, the sublime thought of elevating the Crucified over the idols of the nations and establishing the empire of God on the ruins of the kingdom of the "strong one armed" seemed to him to be truly heavenly, and in the fervor of his heart he prayed for the benighted men who knew not the true gospel of Christ and remained plunged in the darkness of former errors.

He had of the Jesuits the opinion entertained by many Protestants, deeming them men of deep cunning, political craft and subtle reasoning. He had never seen a member of the Society of Jesus, and knew the Jesuits but from the calumnies of their enemies. While visiting some of the public monuments he met two ecclesiastics whose simplicity and conversational charms pleased him exceedingly, and great was his astonishment when they told him they were Jesuits. The Catholic religion was soon introduced as the subject of their conversation by Mr. Thayer himself, who wished to acquire some knowledge of it, as he would have desired to learn what were the tenets of Mahometanism had he been in Constantinople. The examination of the dogmas of the Catholic Church was long and serious; considering, on the one hand, that unerring sameness through the ages of the Church of Rome, on the other, the wavering instability of all the Protestant sects, he became convinced that Protestantism was not the religion of Jesus Christ.

He had consulted Jesuits, Augustinians, Roman doctors and a great number of others, and his inquiries, doubts and difficulties, his earnestness, his prayers and his blunt Puritan honesty had attracted much interest to his case. Time and space prevent our going into greater details; but the Blessed Virgin, whose intercession he invoked, joined hands with the Angel Guardian, and these finally led him by the hand into the one fold.

He was received into the Church on May 25, 1783, at Rome.

His case created much interest and sympathy. The Holy Father gave him several interviews, and bestowed upon him a crucifix, which Father Thayer always preserved and greatly prized through life. He wrote and published in 1787, after his conversion and his return to Boston, a very brief account, which gives the steps and investigations, the trials and consolations through which he passed in his journey from Puritanism to Catholicity. The "holy beggar," whose taggard relics were eagerly sought in 1783 at Rome, was canonized on December 8, 1881, and he is now St. Benedict Joseph Labre.

It is quite an interesting circumstance that the fame of "the holy beggar," Benedict Joseph Labre, was spread through many Catholic lands even before his death, and more especially at the signal

moment of his saintly death at Rome. In Catholic Maryland the fame of the future canonized saint was so great that many children coming into the world before or at or about the time of his death received the name of Benedict Joseph. The present writer has known in his own family connection several such cases, which show that these two joint names, first bestowed about 1783, had become family names among the descendants of those who were the first to bear the name of Benedict Joseph. Having mentioned that the saint's fame had spread in many lands even in his lifetime, I will mention the case of Benedict Joseph Fenwick, who was born in Maryland the year before the saint's death, and while his reputation was far and near, and who providentially afterwards became the second Bishop of Boston, and became somewhat identified with the life and labors of Father Thayer, derived his name from this source and in honor of "the holy beggar."

The history of his own conversion, interesting, though limited and imperfect as a whole, was written by Father Thayer, at the request of many, in English and French. It was translated into several languages, in Baltimore in 1788, in Hartford in 1790, in Spain and other countries, and was reproduced in the *Ave Maria*, of Notre Dame, Indiana, in the numbers of June 23 and 30, 1883. It was also published in Dublin in 1809. Rev. Mr. Nagot included the "Account of the conversion of the Rev. John Thayer, lately a Protestant minister at Boston, in North America," published apparently at London in 1787, and in France at Paris in his "Recueil de Conversions Remarquable nouvellement opérées dans quelques Protestans," published at Paris 1790. It was also published in Spanish and in Canada.

We are now able to give a more comprehensive history of his life in the light of aftermath and its good results.

Father Thayer returned to France. He was by vocation a preacher, a missionary, a champion of religion. Being now a layman, he sought in the Church, through Holy Orders, the authentic mission of the apostles. He entered the College of Navarre and was received by the Archbishop of that see into the Institution for Recent Converts. Confirmed in his desire for Holy Orders he next entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice, where he met and enjoyed the counsel and direction of Rev. Mr. Nagot, the superior of St. Sulpice, who afterwards led the Sulpicians to America and founded St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore, where he spent the remainder of his life in rearing priests for the American mission. Father Nagot saw and admired the zeal and devotion of his pupil and took a deep interest in his welfare. To some extent Father Thayer imitated the example of St. Benedict Joseph Labre. He spent his vacations

from the seminary in pilgrimages; he made a pilgrimage to La Trappe, where he spent a considerable time. He was, however, too fond of preaching to seek the permanent companionship of the austere and silent Trappists. He also made a pilgrimage to Amath, the home of St. Benedict Joseph Labre, whom he also imitated by traveling on foot and entering the churches and shrines on the way-side to pray and to receive the Blessed Sacrament. Indeed he was sometimes taken for a "holy beggar" himself, for not unfrequently he was refused Holy Communion by parish priests, who suspected him of being what we now call a tramp or adventurer. And yet during these days of humble preparation for the sacred ministry he did not lose sight entirely of the world nor of his Boston friends. While at St. Sulpice he paid a visit to John Adams, the representative patriot of Boston, then with his family at Anteuil, as mentioned by Mrs. Adams in a letter of January 18, 1785, to Rev. John Shaw. After a course of three years ecclesiastical studies he was ordained in the Catholic priesthood by the Archbishop of Paris, in 1787, for the American missions. He of course was most anxious to return to his own home and labor for the conversion of his countrymen to the true faith which had been vouchsafed to him. He thus expressed his feelings in the history of his conversion :

This is the prevailing wish, this is the only desire of my heart to extend as much as lies in my power the dominion of the true faith which is now my joy and comfort. I desire nothing more; for this purpose I wish to return to my own country, in hopes, notwithstanding my unworthiness, to be the instrument of the conversion of my countrymen; and such is my conviction of the truth of the Catholic Church and my gratitude for the signal grace of being called to the true faith that I would willingly seal it with my blood, if God grant me this favor, and I doubt not but He would enable me to do it.

I entreat all those who shall peruse this narrative to pray with fervor to the Father of lights and God of mercies to bless the designs of His unworthy servants, and to open an easy access to the faith in my country and to cause it to shoot forth and fructify in a land in which it has been as yet imperfectly known. Perhaps—and I dwell with pleasure on the consoling thought—perhaps, I say, He who raises up and casts down empires as He pleases, who does all for His elect and for the interest of His Church, has only permitted and brought to an end the surprising Revolution (the independence of the United States) of which we have been witnesses in order to accomplish some great design and much more happy revolution in the order of grace. Amen.

At this day such words seem truly prophetic. At the time these lines were written the Catholic population of the United States was estimated at about twenty-five thousand. There were twenty-four priests, no Bishop had been appointed and the infant American Church was governed by Very Rev. John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic. Father Thayer did not return to the United States until after a Bishop was appointed in the person of Dr. Carroll, but in the meantime he awaited orders from him as Prefect-Apostolic. During this delay Father Thayer employed himself in the most ardent, humble and successful missionary labors, first among the English in London and in Paris, and then again in London, where he used

for his chapel an old factory in the poorest part of the city. He succeeded by his zeal, piety, good example and familiarity with Catholic dogmas, a field which he had so recently and so successfully gone over himself, in converting many Protestants.

Dr. Carroll having been appointed first Bishop of Baltimore in 1790, Father Thayer returned to America in that year. After a voyage of eleven weeks he arrived in Baltimore in February of that year, and was most kindly received by Bishop Carroll, with whom he soon afterwards traveled to Philadelphia, and thence proceeded to his native city, Boston, where he was appointed by the Bishop pastor of the only Catholic church, the membership of which numbered sixty souls.

The Church in Boston had had only misfortune. In 1788 Dr. Carroll, then Prefect-Apostolic, had given faculties to Rev. Claudius Florent Bouchand de la Poterie, a priest from the Diocese of Angers, who, however, soon began to disclose his real character by announcing his advent to Boston in a presumptuous and printed "Pastoral Letter," in which he announced himself by a multitude of pompous titles.

The French Huguenots had preceded the Catholics in Boston by obtaining a church in School street, the title of which by the deeds of conveyance could only be vested in Frenchmen. This church was obtained by the Abbé de la Poterie for the Catholics of Boston and dedicated on All Saints' Day, in honor of the Holy Cross. This dedication has given to the Archdiocese of Boston a traditional devotion to the Holy Cross, as witnessed by the title born by the next built church in Boston, which was the Cathedral of its first Bishops, and by the title of the present magnificent Cathedral of the Holy Cross, and by the title of the College of the Holy Cross at Worcester, which at the time of its foundation was in the Diocese of Boston. Abbé de la Poterie, who was a man of address and education, succeeded in obtaining subscriptions to the new church in New England and also in Canada, and the Archbishop of Paris, on the request of this sparse and poor congregation, donated to the church an outfit of sacred vessels, vestments and other ecclesiastical articles. The first note of alarm came from this prelate, who informed the Catholics of Boston that de la Poterie's faculties had been withdrawn from him at Paris on account of his misconduct. Dr. Carroll in the meantime received tidings of him as an unworthy priest at Paris, Naples and Rome. Rev. William O'Brien, the Dominican, of New York, was sent to Boston by Dr. Carroll to withdraw the faculties of de la Potiere, who before his departure for Canada issued an abusive pamphlet against the Prefect-Apostolic and Father O'Brien entitled "The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci."

At the time of Father Thayer's advent to Boston the Rev. Louis Rousselet was there as pastor, and he had proved to be no improvement on his predecessor. Father Thayer was not long in discovering Rousselet's conduct to be scandalous; his faculties were withdrawn by Dr. Carroll, and he departed after some time for Gaudeloupe. Captured by the French, he with many of his countrymen afterwards perished by the guillotine in France. But it must be said in his favor that at this extreme hour his faith sustained him; he appealed to the consciences of his fellow-prisoners, and heard their confessions. Yet he said: "But as for me, I must go into eternity without having the efficacious graces of the sacraments applied to my poor soul."

Colonel B. U. Campbell, in his articles on "The Early History of the Catholic Church," speaking of Boston, says: "Many of his fellow-prisoners embraced the opportunity, made their confessions to Rousselet and together with the poor penitential priest were launched into eternity."

At the time of Rousselet's appointment Dr. Carroll expected Father Thayer, and intended to appoint him to assist Rousselet and finally to make him pastor at Boston. In one of his letters Bishop Carroll writes: "Mr. Thayer will have much to do to repair the scandals committed by this man," alluding to Abbé de la Poterie. But Father Thayer had to repair by his good example the scandals of both Poterie and Rousselet. The following account of Father Thayer's reception at Boston is from a letter of his own dated at

Boston, July 17, 1790.

I reached Boston on the 4th of January last, and have everywhere been received with the most flattering attention. My own relatives expressed the greatest joy at my return. The Governor of the State, whose chaplain I formerly was, has promised to do all in his power to forward my views and favor the work for which I have been sent to Boston. I have received nothing but kindness and attention from the ministers of the town. Many of them have visited me and evinced a degree of cordiality which I had little reason to expect. The officers of the custom house have also carried their politeness so far as to be unwilling to take anything for the many large boxes which I had procured from France and England, having looked upon their contents as things designed for sacred purposes.

On the first Sunday after my arrival I announced the word of God, and all flocked in crowds to hear me. A great degree of curiosity is manifested to become acquainted with our belief, and the free toleration allowed here has enabled me to enter into a full exposition of it. But I was not long in a position to satisfy the curiosity of the people of Boston. I had been only a fortnight in the town when it pleased Almighty God to afflict me with a sickness that kept me confined to my bed for a month. The danger appeared to be so serious on one occasion that I requested the Holy Viaticum of a French clergyman with whom I am associated in the work of the Lord and His Church. My health was restored by degrees, and as soon as I had recovered sufficient strength I availed myself of the privilege allowed me to celebrate Mass in my chamber. When my health was sufficiently restored, I resumed my functions of preaching, confessing and visiting the few sheep that composed our little flock.

On every occasion the Protestants evinced the same eagerness to come and hear me; but they contented themselves with that. The indifference and philosophy which prevail here, as much as anywhere else, are an obstacle to the fruit of preaching which it is exceedingly difficult to remove—an obstacle, however, which does not in the least discourage me.

I have had the pleasure of receiving a few recantations, and our dear

neophytes afford me great consolation by the sanctity of their life. About one hundred Catholics, consisting of French, Irishmen and Americans, are what constitute at present our Church. About one dozen of them can attend Mass daily. I am engaged in instructing a few Protestants whom I hope to restore shortly to our common Mother. I recommend our mission most earnestly to your prayers. We are in want of laborers for the cultivation of the immense field which has been so long abandoned in the United States.

THAYER.

Father Thayer was the third pastor of the Church of the Holy Cross at Boston. His zeal was unbounded. His devotion to every duty was untiring, and he never confined himself to mere routine duty, for this does not make a real priest of God. He set no bounds to his labors. Scarcely had he been in Boston three weeks when he published in one of the newspapers that he would preach on the evenings of the week in any of the neighboring towns, and announcing his readiness to answer the objections any gentleman would wish to make, either publicly or privately, to the doctrines he preached. The following was Father Thayer's published announcement:

Mr. Thayer, Catholic priest of Boston, fully persuaded that he has found the inestimable treasure of the Gospels, is greatly desirous of imparting it to his dear countrymen. For this purpose he offers to preach on the evenings of the weekdays in any of the neighboring towns. If any persons desire to hear the exposition of the Catholic faith—of which the majority of Americans have so mistaken an idea—and will furnish any place for the accommodation of hearers, Mr. Thayer will be ever ready to attend them. He will also undertake to answer the objections any gentleman would wish to make, either publicly or privately, to the doctrine he preaches.

Father Thayer publicly declared:

It is no vain presumption on my own learning and abilities that prompts me to this step; my only motive is the glory of God in the salvation of poor souls. My entire trust is in the strength of my Redeemer and the goodness of my cause.

Soon after the publication of this notice Rev. George Leslie, the Congregational minister of the church at Washington, New Hampshire, interpreting it as a challenge, came forward in behalf of the clergy of New England and made answer thereto, almost in the style of ancient knights at their tournaments, as follows: "As the gauntlet is thrown down by Mr. Thayer, it is taken up by George Leslie."

These discussions were printed under the title of "Controversy Between Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary at Boston, and the Rev. George Leslie, Pastor of a Church in Washington, New Hampshire. To which are added several other pieces."

Mr. Leslie commenced the discussion of the question of the infallibility of the Church, to which he stated his objections. The Catholic champion answered in an argument characterized at once by able arguments and good temper; but his antagonist never returned to the charge. Many other antagonists entered the field, and, although their attacks were marked by coarseness and bitter raillery, Father Thayer replied to them all with ability, dignity and charity. Next a prominent lawyer, Mr. John Gardner, who, forgetting his

legal training, indulged in abuse rather than argument—a sure sign of a weak cause, for it is a proverb among lawyers that when an advocate has a bad cause before the court and jury, he is sure to commence abusing his adversary's client. To this tirade of Mr. Gardner the Catholic pastor responded in a truly scholarly and Christian style. His adversaries were silenced. But he continued his controversial lectures twice a week in his little church on School street, to which he invited all lovers of truth and seekers after salvation. The little church now became crowded by the best citizens of Boston, attracted either by curiosity to hear their late colleague and co-religionist, now gone over to Rome, or through a desire for information. The congregation at this time was estimated at one hundred and twenty-five souls; so increased under Father Thayer from sixty. From obscurity the little church became a noted place of attraction, and Father Thayer became a lion among the dwellers in the Beacon street of that day. All respected his sincerity, his ability and his Christian deportment. The little Catholic body grew in the esteem and respect of the whole community of Boston.

Father Thayer never relaxed his labors, his mortifications, penances and austerities. He said Mass every day, frequently preached, was constant in the confessional, catechised the children, visited the sick and administered the sacraments.

Not only did Protestants take interest in his lectures; lukewarm Catholics in that little flock now became zealous. His evening lectures rewarded his zeal with consoling results. He made a practice of visiting adjacent towns and villages to carry the consolations of religion to any Catholics he might find and to announce the faith to the Puritans. Although he did not make in the rural districts any signal conversions, he allayed much prejudice. In Boston he made many converts, and the congregation of the Holy Cross continued greatly to increase. After the faculties had been withdrawn from the unworthy pastor, Rousselet, he tarried some time in Boston and opened an opposition church, was followed by some of the French members of the congregation of the Holy Cross, and Father Thayer had to endure the sorrow of seeing his little flock disunited. So grave were the difficulties of the situation that Bishop Carroll visited Boston in May, 1791, and did much by his wisdom and prudence towards healing the disasters of the Church of Boston. We have already quoted the Bishop's impressions of Boston at this time. I will add here the interesting circumstance that Dr. Carroll accepted the invitation to their annual dinner celebration of "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company" of Boston, at which he pronounced the thanksgiving at the end of the banquet. This was

the same Ancient Military Company that recently in 1903 invited and received as their guests "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company" of London, which attracted much admiration in Boston, New York and Washington and were received by the President at the capital.

Both church factions united in recognizing Father Thayer as their pastor. Arrangements were made under the Bishop's prudent guidance for paying off the church debts, even those of the opposition and including some debts contracted by the Abbé de la Poterie, and regulations were made for renting the pews of the church, the best one being reserved for the French Consul. The success of Father Thayer's noble efforts were somewhat defeated by the scandals of his two predecessors. The work of the little missionary church was also embarrassed by his own inexperience in business and in handling a congregation.

Father Thayer in November, 1791, attended the first Diocesan Synod of Baltimore, which was composed of all the priests in the United States, who were very few in number. How strange it would seem to a Boston priest of this day, when three metropolitan sees and their suffragan dioceses exist north of Baltimore, to receive a summons to a diocesan synod at Baltimore! Bishop Carroll now associated the good and noble Abbé Matignon with Father Thayer at the church in Boston, for the latter's impetuous zeal, outspoken language, quaint manners and inexperience scarcely fitted him for the management of a congregation. We have no accounts of the effect this movement had upon him, but in 1794 he was stationed at Alexandria, Virginia. But he was unhappy there, chiefly owing to his inability to reconcile himself with the institution of slavery; and in 1796 Father Thayer visited New York, where a hundred and twenty-one members of St. Peter's congregation signed a petition to Bishop Carroll for his appointment as assistant to Father O'Brien. However, Father O'Brien was unwilling to have as his assistant one of such marked peculiarity of views and methods, and Bishop Carroll was unwilling to force upon the pastor of St. Peter's an unacceptable assistant. Father Thayer was not a parish priest by vocation, temperament, training or habit; he was an exceptional personage, suited for good and great efforts and noble results, not in the way of the world, but in the way of the Cross. His saintly character, with its idiosyncrasies, perhaps eccentricities, did not harmonize with men of the world. His life was always more or less flavored with the methods and manners of St. Benedict Joseph Labre, and also with his sanctity, but this in the saint, had he been a priest, would not have harmonized with the human side of the Church, and did not so harmonize in the case of Father Thayer. Discouraged at his ill

success at parochial service, Father Thayer asked permission to retire from the diocese, which was co-extensive with the whole United States at that time. Bishop Carroll, knowing and appreciating his virtues and his services to religion, reluctantly consented. But the zealous priest then went, with Bishop Carroll's consent, to Kentucky to assist the celebrated missionary of that State, Father Badin, and here he labored for two years in the missions of Kentucky. But in Kentucky Father Thayer encountered the same difficulties; he could not accommodate himself to regular parochial work nor to the institution of slavery, and his eccentric methods of life did not accord with the severe views of Father Badin. Bishop Carroll then, finding no other course to adopt, advised him to leave Kentucky.

Father Thayer was the first native of this country that exercised the holy ministry in the State of Kentucky. Of the four years he spent in that State only two were devoted to the active duties of the ministry. His colleagues in the priesthood condemned "his intemperance of speech;" his life was eminently irreproachable, and "in London and Limerick he was revered as an apostle." Great as may have been the difficulties his fellow priests found in living or working with him, there is a place for such men in the great economies of Providence and in coöperation for the special interests of religion and of the Church. This was illustrated in the subsequent success of Father Thayer in originating the movement for founding the beautiful and useful Order of the Ursulines in New England, a great work of exalted zeal, in the prosecution of which the ridicule or criticism of his opponents never caused him to falter. In 1803 Father Thayer, with Archbishop Carroll's consent, left Kentucky, and in the same year sailed for Europe, realizing, as Archbishop Spalding said, "that no prophet is received in his own country." But Father Thayer was received as an apostle in other lands than his own.

Before leaving America Father Thayer announced his intention of undertaking the founding of a community of religious ladies in the United States. He spent four years preaching in London, and from 1803 to 1809, in which latter year we trace him at Dublin, he was no doubt zealously engaged in making collections for the religious foundation in America. In 1811 he took up his residence permanently in Limerick, where he spent the remainder of his life, which was justly regarded as that of a saint and where it was universally said that he died in the odor of sanctity. He had no parish in Limerick, though it is supposed that he went there under the patronage of Right Rev. Bishop Young. Here he devoted his life to the good work; he preached, as before, controversial sermons,

taught catechism to the children, visited the sick, heard confessions, and not a few of the children whom he instructed there afterwards became useful priests of the Irish Church. His labors were chiefly at St. Michael's and St. John's, where his controversial sermons did much good in a community in which in those days such sermons were much needed, for very many people were giving up their faith, being wearied out with persecution or obscurity; for this was before Catholic Emancipation. He heard confessions every day at St. Michael's from seven until eleven, fasting, and then said Mass. He then took his only daily meal, keeping a perpetual fast, and never ate either meat or eggs. During his frugal repast one of the students from Park College would read to him by permission of the Bishop, in order that he might lose no time. He never allowed a fire in his room, nor sat by one. At night he used to take a little dry bread and one glass of wine. He heard confessions nearly all day, and when the churches were closed he continued to hear confessions in certain houses and especially at his own lodgings. It is said that when he first went to Limerick not only was faith weakening, but confessions were rare, except at Easter, and he, by his sermons and spiritual counsels, induced many to confess monthly and others more frequently. He had a great number of penitents, and so remarkable were they for their piety and exemplary lives that they were called "Thayerites," as the Irish Redemptorist, Father Bridgett, writes, "by those who did not relish a piety superior to their own." He had about two hundred of his penitents to make their meditations daily, and they never failed in this. He was devoted to the poor; he was not only their benefactor, he was their companion, their brother. "He had learned this from Blessed Benedict Joseph." His patrimony he had long since given to the poor, and shortly before his death he sold his watch in order to relieve the poor. He died so poor himself that he left not a penny towards purchasing for himself a grave, a circumstance that astonished a people, one of whose peculiarities is to stint themselves in life in order to provide for themselves in death "a decent funeral," by which, of course, they meant a truly Catholic one.

Father Thayer having, with the approbation of Bishop Carroll, gone to Europe with the view of introducing a female religious community into Boston, Bishop Fenwick, second Bishop of Boston, himself named Benedict Joseph, in honor of the sainted Labre, as was then the custom in Catholic Maryland at the time of and for many years before and after his death, writes in his memoirs: "The plan was at this time ridiculed by some, laughed at by others and even the most friendly to the undertaking thought it never could

succeed. Father Thayer heeded not the inconsiderate language and views of some of his late colleagues in the American mission, but persevered with unbounded zeal."

At Limerick, "in order to lead them (the Catholics of Limerick) more effectually to God, Father Thayer endeavored to make himself all to all, and formed a kind friendship and social intercourse with several families whose children he enlightened with higher views of piety, leading them to the practice of meditation and frequent communion." His lodgings were first over the shop of a Mr. Bourke, the glover, in Patrick street, and afterwards over the store at Messrs. Ryan Brothers, cloth merchants, at the sign of the Golden Eagle, in Patrick, opposite Allen street. He visited many families and instilled piety into the inmates wherever he went. We will soon see that his residence with the Ryan Brothers led to important results for the American Church.

By his personal exertions and labors Father Thayer accumulated between eight and ten thousand dollars towards founding the projected religious community at Boston, a purpose he always kept in view and which was only interrupted by his death. Among many others he was an ever welcome visitor in the family of Mr. James Ryan, whose two sons and five daughters were among the most edifying of his many penitents. He had applied to the Ursuline Convent at Cork to undertake the new foundation of their order in Boston, but they declined the offer. In Mr. Ryan's family all were edified by the accounts he gave of his former life, his conversion, his labors in America and of his intention to introduce the Ursulines into Boston. His words on this last subject deeply touched the pure hearts of two of his gentle hearers, daughters of Mr. Ryan, but neither of these communicated to the other her intention to offer herself to Father Thayer's holy purpose. The two sisters, Mary and Catharine Ryan, had been educated at the Ursuline Convent at Thurles, and both were fitted naturally by education and by grace for the task. Each sister, unknown to the other, offered to join Father Thayer's convent. But the good father moved slowly. He had found in all his projects the greatest efficacy in prayer. After long and earnest prayer and frequent offerings of the holy Mass, Father Thayer at last wrote to Bishop Cheverus, first Bishop of Boston, and sent him the letters of self-dedication of the two pious sisters. Rev. Richard Walsh, of Limerick, also wrote and assured the Bishop that they were chosen and providential instruments for beginning the projected monastery. Bishop Cheverus and Dr. Matignon, his friend and zealous and able assistant, joyously accepted the proposals, and immediately wrote for the good sisters, Mary and Catharine Ryan, to come to Boston, promising that every

preparation should be made for their reception, and that arrangements would be made for them to make their novitiate in the Ursuline Convent long located at the French settlement of Three Rivers, in Canada. Each of the sisters received the tidings with joy; but their rapture was unbounded when each sister discovered that she was to have the other for her sister and companion in religion. Father Thayer's joy was greater even than that of his daughters in religion. He busied himself in making every preparation for their voyage to America. But he was at this time made sensible of an insidious disease that was undermining his health, and his noble purpose was delayed, but not defeated, by his own death.

Another generous purpose of Father Thayer for the conversion of his own American countrymen was to introduce into Boston learned ecclesiastics of religious orders, whose houses were suppressed by the Reign of Terror and the revolution in France and by the disasters of the times throughout Europe. He thus addressed on this subject a letter to the Abbé Matignon at Boston, dated at London, June 3, 1805, from which we take the following passage:

The funds of the Scotch Benedictines of St. James, Ratisbon, have been lately seized by the elector. In this house there are four monks, viz., F. M. Graham (aged 38), an universal genius; F. B. Sharp (30), F. B. Dessen (27) and F. McIver (26), all learned and pious. There are also three or four other Scotch monks at St. James, Wirceburg. All these, together with many other German religious suppressed, might by activity and exertion be obtained. You know that I am not easily discouraged, and that no efforts of mine will ever be wanting while life remains, and all without fee or reward. Exert yourself, my dear friend, and get the good Cheverus to do the same. There is a most glorious prospect before us; lands for establishment might surely be obtained cheap, or for nothing, from General Knox, from the holders of Waldo's and other patents in Maine, in New York from Cooper, etc., in Connecticut and Vermont from scattered Catholics. Mr. Salmon, Mr. Cheverus' friend, at Brompton, near Chatham, might be obtained for the mission by a line from him.

These latter plans of Father Thayer for the founding of a missionary establishment in America were never carried into effect; but his projected Ursuline Convent was founded even after his death. On May 4, 1817, Mary and Catharine Ryan, those good daughters and followers of his, sailed from Limerick in the ship Victory, and reached Boston in safety. Received with open arms and paternal benedictions by Bishop Cheverus and Dr. Matignon, the latter conducted the pious novices to the Ursuline Convent at Three Rivers. In 1818, when their novitiate had expired, he went to Three Rivers and brought the two Sisters, whose names in religion were Sisters Mary Joseph and Mary Magdalen, to an humble but comfortable convent, which Bishop Cheverus had prepared for them near his Cathedral in Boston.

It was this religious community of pious Ursulines which in its

prosperous days was renewed and established by Bishop Fenwick at Mount Benedict (and here the name of St. Benedict Joseph Labre, being also the name of Bishop Fenwick, was again adopted), at Charleston, and here the convent was destroyed by fire by an infuriated and bigoted mob of Boston on the night of August 11, 1834, the sad accounts of which are given in our Catholic histories.

In 1815 Father Thayer's health began to fail under the dreadful disease of dropsy. He had by his wise and prudent management nearly doubled the funds he had collected for the long-desired foundation of an Ursuline Convent at Boston. He bequeathed these funds and his noble purposes to the faithful care of Doctors Cheverus and Matignon. His death was most saintly, and during his illness he was faithfully and gratefully nursed by his religious friends and future Ursulines, Mary and Catharine Ryan. Though suffering excruciating pains, he suffered with patient cheerfulness and joy. He continued to hear the confessions of his dear penitents while confined to his bed and suffering every pain, and this he continued to do even on the very day of his death. Father Thayer, venerated and beloved by the people of Limerick, expired in sanctity on February 17, 1815.

The following notice of his death is from a Protestant paper, the *Orthodox Journal*, London, February, 1815: "On Friday, the 17th February, the Rev. Mr. Thayer breathed his last at his lodgings at Limerick, in the 57th year of his age. This lamented and much esteemed individual was a native of Boston, in America, of respectable parents, gifted with great genius, a liberal mind and unbounded love of study. He lived and died in the communion and ministry of his adoption, in a manner worthy of his eminent virtues and pious simplicity—he decked religion in mildness, and he reclaimed the wanderer by captivating the heart. In the social circle he was completely the gentleman, the scholar and the wit—he had an even gaiety of temper, a clearness and aptness of expression and facility of anecdote, rarely equaled, certainly never exceeded. No wonder his death is lamented—but his is the death of the just."

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New York.

FACE TO FACE WITH CHRIST?

THE eighteenth century was largely occupied with the international struggle for the temperate zones, or the areas of the earth's surface best fitted for colonization by the white races of mankind. But towards the end of the same century a new political ambition began to develop. The struggle for the tropics and their trade has since then constituted a large part of international diplomacy. "The completion of this World Process," writes Mr. Bryce,¹ "is a specially great and fateful event, because it closes a page forever. The conditions that are now vanishing can never recur. The civilized and semi-civilized races cannot relapse into their former isolation. It is hardly too much to say that for economic purposes all mankind is fast becoming one people, in which the hitherto backward nations are taking a place analogous to that which the unskilled workers have held in each one of the civilized nations. Such an event opens a new stage in world-history, a stage whose significance has perhaps been as yet scarcely realized either by the thinker or by the man of action."

Now it is precisely at this critical period, when the civilized world is assuming, in a manner, the responsibility for the proper development of the lower races, that we are brought face to face with the person and the teaching of Christ more closely than ever before. No period of time has ever been subjected to such a minute scrutiny as that of Christ's earthly life. The textual critic and the higher critic, the historian and the antiquarian vie with each other in their search for light from every scrap of evidence that bears on the life of Christ. The publishing houses of Berlin and London, of Paris and New York are issuing whole libraries of literature concerning the same theme. Meanwhile, the theodolite and the surveyor's chain, the pickaxe and the shovel are in constant requisition to give us a fuller knowledge of the Holy Land, past and present, while the painter's brush and the tourist's kodak draw attention to the more minute features of place and scenery which otherwise would escape the student's eye. In consequence, the historic person and the human character of Christ have been set into such clear light that in hardly any century, excepting perhaps in that of our Lord Himself, have men been as well acquainted with Jesus of Nazareth as we are. Nor can it be said that this knowledge of Christ is confined to the learned and the few. Our sermons and our catechetical instructions, our popular lives of Christ and our

¹ *Romanes Lecture*, p. 8 f.

magazine articles with their excellent illustrations have contributed their full share to the spread of the knowledge of Christ. Not only our men of the learned professions, but our artisans and workmen too are more than ever face to face with Jesus the Christ.

And what can the knowledge of Christ contribute to the development of the lower races who have now become "the burden" of the white man? This question will be answered, at least in part, by the words of Keshub Chunder Sen: "If you wish to secure that attachment and allegiance of India, it must be through spiritual influence and moral suasion. And such indeed has been the case in India. You cannot deny that your hearts have been touched, conquered and subjugated by a superior power. That power, need I tell you, is Christ. It is Christ who rules British India, and not the British Government. England has sent out a tremendous moral force in the life and character of that mighty prophet, to conquer and hold this vast empire." The moral influence exerted by the knowledge of Christ over the great masses of mankind is described still more clearly in Max Göhre's recent volume entitled "*Drei Monate Fabrik-Arbeiter*." He first sets forth the inner life of that formidable democracy growing up in modern Germany, alienated from all social order and from all religious form. The picture of the workmen in the Chemnitz factory is especially dark, since it presents the lapse from all definite Christian belief. "One thing only has remained in all of them," the author adds, "esteem and reverence for Jesus Christ. Even the most outspoken Social Democrat and hater of faith has that; yes, assuredly, he has it in greater measure than many a man not devoted to the Social Democratic propaganda." After developing this statement at some length, the author concludes: "They all hold themselves in thoughtful silence before this great Personality."

In spite of the omnipotent moral influence attributed to a knowledge of Christ, it is not the whole Christ that has been brought face to face with either the castes of India or the Social Democrats of Germany. The apparition in which these men are interested is human, not divine. What wonder, then, if many regard this Christ as a dreamer, "a beautiful but ineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain." Their attitude to Christ is one of admiration, no doubt; perhaps of religious awe; but it is not the subjection of faith. And worse still, it is not only the pagans of India and the Social Democrats of Germany that are in our days brought face to face with a partial Christ. The whole Christian world seems to be exposed to the temptation to regard only the human side of Christ. All the labors and efforts of the last sixty years are calculated to emphasize more and more the person and

character of the Son of man; hardly any new light has been thrown on Jesus, the Son of God.

And the end is not yet. The divinity of our Lord has not only been neglected in the literature of recent time; in many cases it is either directly or indirectly denied. Modern science, comparative religion, and historical criticism have joined forces against a true life of Christ. In the elements that enter into the life of Christ we may distinguish three formalities: their supernaturality, their evidence, and their historicity. Modern science tends to imperil their supernaturality; comparative religion invalidates their evidence; historical criticism denies their historicity. We do not say that these branches of learning necessarily produce these effects. On the contrary, if their true principles be adhered to, they will rather aid than impede the student of the life of Christ. We merely maintain that, in point of fact, our present-day science tends to make of Christ a perfect man; comparative religion leads toward Christian agnosticism; historical criticism inclines towards making of Christ a legendary hero.

1. We said that modern science tends to lead us away from faith in Christ's divinity, because it tends to destroy the supernatural element in the life of the Master. Not as if the best scientists denied the possibility of miracles. Such a position would be too hard to defend. But our scientific bent leads us to seek for a natural explanation of even the most extraordinary phenomena. A recent writer who professes to be a believing Christian describes the situation in these words: "The miraculous element in the Gospels is a very serious crux. This is a burning question, on which both caution and candor are necessary. Primitive man lives among miracles; he expects them, and he finds them. . . . In unscientific ages belief in miracles is not a sign of piety. Everybody shares it; it puts no strain on the conscience of men; it is simply the most obvious and natural way to account for anything unusual. . . . These are indications of a state of things so different from our own that we cannot be surprised if the religious symbols of that age do not appeal to us quite as they did to the first Christians."²

The Bishop of Ripon endeavors to show his readers how they may believe in the veracity of the inspired writers, and still disbelieve their reports of miraculous occurrences: "In the course of our Bible study we meet not only narratives of certain events which took place, and certain phenomena which were observed, but also with the contemporary interpretation of the event or of the phenomenon. The judicious student will not feel bound to accept the writer's interpretation of everything which he narrates. In

² "Contentio Veritatis," p. 87.

fact, phenomenon or event is one thing; the interpretation which the narrator puts upon these is quite another. In his interpretation he is limited by the knowledge current in his age. We may put the matter this way. We moderns, seeing such phenomena, would not describe them as the ancients did. This would not mean that we discredited the fact or existence of the phenomena, but that being what we are, and knowing what we know, we must describe them in one way, whereas the earlier writers, no less honest than ourselves, being what they were, and knowing what they knew, were constrained to describe them as they did."³ After this the Bishop illustrates his meaning by an appeal to John v. The evangelist ascribes the stirring of the water and the consequent healing power to the presence of an angel, while a modern writer would speak of the pool as a medicinal spring. The fact remains the same, at least it does so according to the view of His Lordship, only its description differs.

According to these principles the only true miracles of healing worked by Jesus must be reduced to those cures "which even at the present day physicians are able to effect by physical methods as, more especially, cures of mental maladies." Others seemingly miraculous narratives are in reality only figurative expressions. Thus at the death of Jesus darkness, *i. e.*, sorrow, spreads over all the earth;⁴ graves, *i. e.*, the bonds of human misery, open;⁵ the veil in the temple, *i. e.*, the separation between God and his people, is rent in two.⁶ Similarly, the withering fig-tree is a figure of the decaying Jewish people; the feeding of the multitude represents the teaching of Christ; the walking on the water and the stilling of the tempest are concrete representations of Christ's words: "If you have faith as a grain of mustard seed, etc." In a word, to-day's scientific bent of mind inclines the student of the life of Christ to seek for a natural explanation of those phenomena that are represented as miracles by the inspired writers of the New Testament.

Even the greatest miracles, Christ's virgin birth and resurrection, are not exempt from this general leveling tendency. Of the former a natural explanation is suggested by the Dean of Ripon, and published in the *Contemporary Review*: "In Darwin's book on 'The Changes of Plants and Animals Under Domestication' he points out that parthenogenesis is found much higher than is generally known in the organized creation, and he asks why the operation of the male is required, the germ or ovum of the female being com-

³ The Temple Bible, p. 50 f.

⁴ Mk. xv., 33; Mt. xxvii., 45; Lk. xxiii., 44.

⁵ Mt. xxvii., 52.

⁶ Mk. xv., 38; Mt. xxvii., 51; Lk. xxiii., 45.

plete in itself. He answers that he can give no reason except, probably, that force and energy is thus added. If, then, the accounts in the Gospels—that is, Matthew i. and Luke i.—are true literally, the meaning of my suggestion would be that the yearnings of a young Hebrew woman, longing with intense and holy desire to be the mother of the Messiah (which longings were the direct action of the Holy Spirit), excited and quickened the germ within her, and produced in this case what is usually produced by the action of the male.”⁷ The writer then goes on to say that unless this explanation be adopted, the word “miracle” must be invoked. Now, this must not be permitted. For, on the one hand, it is nothing but a confession of our ignorance; on the other, “miracle” in this sense is neither a Scriptural word nor a Scriptural idea.

Archbishop Temple writes in the same strain concerning our Lord’s resurrection: “It is quite possible that our Lord’s resurrection may be found hereafter to be no miracle at all in the scientific sense. It foreshadows and begins the general resurrection; when that general resurrection comes we may find that it is, after all, the natural issue of physical laws always at work. There is nothing at present to indicate anything of the sort; but a general resurrection in itself implies not a special interference, but a general rule.”⁸ In what follows, His Grace reasons that if the machinery which brings about our resurrection implies nothing miraculous, there ought to be no miracle in the fact that the same machinery effects the resurrection of our Lord.

We quote these attempts to naturalize the virgin birth and the resurrection of Jesus Christ as instances showing the general tendency of non-Catholic writers to drift away from the miraculous. If then every supernatural event be reduced to the order of nature, is it probable that the incarnation alone will escape? True, attempts have been made to base the incarnation on a moral miracle instead of proving it from a physical wonder. Dr. Bruce, *e. g.*, writes in his interesting book entitled “The Miraculous in the Gospels:”⁹ “To the faith of the Church Jesus Christ is sinless in spirit and conduct, unerring in spiritual insight, original as a religious teacher; in the strictest sense a moral miracle. His character is the one miracle vitally important to faith. Believers could part with the physical miracles of the Gospels if science or exegesis demanded the sacrifice; but if a sinless Christ were taken from us on the plea that the moral order of the world knows only of imperfect men, all would be lost. Nothing less than a sinless, infallible, incomparably original man is demanded by the titles and func-

⁷ August, p. 236.

⁸ Bampton Lectures for 1884, ed. 1903, p. 196 f.

⁹ Fourth ed., 1894, p. 320.

tions ascribed to Christ. The Son of God must be holy, as God is holy." Mr. Inge's view of the case does not differ materially from that of Dr. Bruce. "The sinlessness of Christ," he writes, "is the one of His divine attributes which we cannot afford to part with. We might dispense with the belief in His power over nature whilst He lived as man amongst men, but to give up His divine character is to sever the most precious link in the chain which binds heaven and earth together."¹⁰

But Dr. Bruce has been the first to see the inconsistency of such a view. "All the miraculous must go," he says, "if any goes on speculative grounds. The moral miracles must be sacrificed to the Moloch of naturalism not less than the physical."¹¹ Besides, the sinlessness of Christ, in a manner, presupposes His divinity. If Christ be not acknowledged as God, such wonders as the Gadarene miracle and the withering of the fig-tree are hardly consistent with perfect human sinlessness. Again, the perfect human character of Christ presupposes His divinity. "In His case," writes the Bishop of Ripon, "the dilemma is put forward somewhat in this fashion. Either Jesus Christ knew or He did not know the great laws of the universe. If He did know, He is open to the charge of allowing people to continue in great and harmful errors; if He did not know, what becomes of the claim that He is one with God?"¹² The horns of this dilemma are quite innocuous to him who supposes that Jesus is one with God, who supposes that Jesus has the same wise grounds for withholding the erudition in question from men which God Himself had for concealing it from His reasonable creatures. But what will he answer who reverences in Christ only the Son of man?

The tendency of minimizing the supernatural element in the life of Christ has made itself felt even in the works of some Catholic writers. Not to mention other instances, Professor Schell has contributed to the historical series "*Weltgeschichte in Charakterbildern*" the volume entitled "*Christus, Das Evangelium und seine weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung*."¹³ The very fact that a monograph on Christ is published among purely profane character sketches seems to imply a certain amount of a naturalizing process of the supernatural element in the life of Christ. It is in keeping with this antecedent suspicion of ours that Jesus finds but scant recognition in Professor Schell's work in as far as He is our Redeemer and our God. It is only accidentally, as it were, and in passing that these chief characteristics of Christ are brought before the

¹⁰ "*Contentio Veritatis*," p. 97.

¹¹ "*The Miraculous Elements in the Gospels*," p. 12.

¹² *The Temple Bible*, p. 52 f.

¹³ Mainz, 1903, Kirchheim.

reader. Schell defends the supernatural character of the exorcisms attributed to Christ, and in this point he contrasts most favorably with several other modern writers. At the same time he believes that St. Mark personifies the interior affections and passions in their strife against the dictates of reason and the promptings of grace. Here he appears to yield a point to modern naturalists; or does not the alleged personification imply a denial of the reality of immediate possession? Our exceptions to the features of Christ as drawn by Professor Schell may appear trifling. But they are of prime importance in so far as they show that the author fails to bring us face to face with the whole Christ.

2. While the scientific tendency of our age tends to naturalize the supernatural elements in the life of our Lord, and thus to imperil the faith in His divinity, comparative religion denies the evidence of all supernatural facts, and thus undermines the very foundation of Christian apologetics. We will not here insist on the vagaries of those writers who draw the life of Christ within the range of comparative mythology. They find in pagan myths and legends parallels to the preëxistence of the person of Jesus Christ, to His miraculous conception and birth, to His offices of Redeemer and divine Legate, to His passion and death, to His descent into hell and His resurrection, to His ascension into heaven and his sitting at the right hand of the Father, finally to His second coming and His apocalyptic nuptials.¹⁴ These extreme views are still repudiated by the greater part of rationalists. In fact, men like Zimmern and Gunkel are the worst foes of rationalism. For, on the one hand, their theories are dreams rather than scientific hypotheses; on the other, they are the legitimate outcome of rationalistic principles.

M. A. Canney states the views of comparative religion concerning Jesus Christ and His teaching in a more sober way.¹⁵ "Comparative *mythology* shows that man has given explanations of the universe which indicate that the mind moves everywhere along very similar lines. Comparative *religion* teaches that even when men had attained to no small degree of general culture they still demanded outward and visible signs of the efficacy of their faith. The sage, or the founder of a religion, who claimed to enlighten his fellows, was expected to produce evidence, apart from his teaching, that he was endowed in a peculiar and extraordinary

¹⁴ Zimmern, "Kellinschriften und Bibel," Berlin, 1903, p. 39 ff.; Zimmern in Schrader's "Kellinschriften und das Alte Testament," 8te Aufl., Berlin, 1903, pp. 377-394; Gunkel, "Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments," Göttingen, 1903; Wille, "Die Christus-Mythe als monistische Weltanschauung," Berlin, 1903.

¹⁵ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iv., col. 5352.

way. As a witness to his superiority, he was expected to perform wonders. And as such a one was in most cases, owing to his superior knowledge, on a higher level than his contemporaries, he was, no doubt, often as a matter of fact able to do things which to them appeared wonderful; he may often have been able to cure diseases, perhaps even to restore to life a body that was to all appearance lifeless; he was, no doubt, often able to exercise a remarkable influence over men's minds, and perhaps to cure certain mental diseases. It is difficult to calculate the effect that such a display of power would have on those who did not understand its nature. It is easy, on the other hand, to understand that such evidence of a power out of the common having been furnished, wonders of a different nature would also be ascribed to the Master by His disciples, especially after His decease. His works and His teaching would seem to combine to suggest that He did not belong to the life of the earth; He must be a favorite of one of the deities, or of the Deity, or a son of one of the deities, or of the Deity, or even an actual deity come in the flesh."

The reader has noticed throughout that Mr. Canney develops his system in such a way as to make it applicable to our Lord. And as if the writer were afraid that Christ might not be lowered to the level of the other religious founders, he adds such characteristics that are applied to Jesus exclusively: "The wonders with which He would now be accredited would no longer be relative and natural, but absolute and supernatural. It would be represented, especially after his decease, that the manner of His appearance in the world and of His disappearance from it when His mission had been accomplished, were alike remarkable; that if His mother was human, His Father was Divine; that if He seemed to die like other men, it was not so in reality. He would no longer be described as merely healing diseases, physical and psychical, by natural, but little understood, means. He has become superior to the laws of nature. He walks upon the sea and stills its waves, commands the wind and the storm, cures instantaneously the deaf, the dumb, the blind, brings to life those who have actually died."

The tenets of comparative religion have thus far found little favor among believing Christians. Still, they are spreading, and they find their way into the works even of Catholic writers. In fact, men like the Abbé Loisy present the views of comparative religion so systematically and clearly that they make more converts than the prime originators of the theory could hope to make. We must not be misunderstood. When we speak of system and clearness in Loisy's book, we use the terms in a relative sense, not in their absolute meaning. Loisy is much clearer in his use of the

expressions "Christian conscience" and "experience of faith," *e. g.*, than the Protestant writers among whom these phrases are household words. At the same time, there is nothing more difficult to grasp than the sense in which Loisy endeavors to "catholicize" these expressions. Among Protestants they denote the internal principle of immediate inspiration as distinct from and opposed to the external authority of the Church; but what can be their Catholic meaning? And let not our reader grow impatient at our criticism of a laborious priest censured by his ecclesiastical superiors and humbly submissive to this censure. From the first, Loisy's letter to Cardinal Richard contained no disavowal of his opinions as an historian; it was an act of respectful deference in conformity with ecclesiastical discipline. And now the writer's respectful silence has lasted long enough. He has published his ultimatum, as it were, in the form of a collection of letters entitled "*Autour d'un petit livre.*" It is to the pages of this publication that we shall refer in the following paragraphs.¹⁶

Loisy leads us back to the fundamental ideas of "revelation," "revealed religion," and "Christian revelation." The beginning of revelation, we are told, consists in the perception of one's relation to God, *i. e.*, of the relation between the self-conscious subject and the God present under the world of phenomena. The progress of revealed religion consists in the deepening and broadening of this same perception. In other words, revealed religion develops in proportion with the number of relations man perceives to exist between himself and God, and in proportion with the clearness and perfection of the same perception.¹⁷ Now, God reveals Himself to man according to the capacity of man. Hence the development of faith keeps pace with man's intellectual and moral development. And this for the simple reason that revelation can be nothing else than man's consciousness of his relations to God. Even Christian revelation, in its beginning, is nothing else than Christ's perception of His relation to God, and of men's relations to the heavenly Father.¹⁸ This is somewhat clearer, indeed, than the language of the comparative religionists. Their revelation is said to be the awakening self-consciousness of our religious instinct; the perception of the divine inside and outside of ourselves; the spontaneous ebullition of our feelings in the presence of physical or moral beauty and the instinctive outcry, "God, oh God."

There is a serious difficulty in this simple explanation of revelation, and religion, and faith. How can their supernaturality be

¹⁶ Cf. *Études*, Nov. 5, 1903, pp. 305-325.

¹⁷ P. 196 f.

¹⁸ P. 195 f.

accounted for? Man's perception of his relation to God does not imply anything supernatural. Between Christian revelation and Mosaic revelation, on the one hand, and the revelation of Manu, and Buddha, and Confucius, and Mahomet, on the other, there is a difference of degree only, not of kind. In other words, Jesus Christ perceived His relations to God more completely and more thoroughly than any of the other religious founders; but there was no difference of kind between His insight and that of His predecessors or followers. The Abbé Loisy has felt this difficulty; hence, he endeavors to explain the supernatural element in revelation. The perception of religious truths, he tells us, is not the work of reason alone. It is an intellectual activity performed under the impulse of the heart, of our religious and moral feeling and of a sincere will for the good. Such a continuous activity becomes unintelligible unless one sees in it the work of God Himself. Man seeks, but God incites him to do so; man sees, but God enlightens him. It is for this reason that both object and efficient cause of revelation are supernatural, seeing that they are one with God.¹⁹ But this explanation is not sufficient to account for a difference of kind between supernatural and natural revelation; in both God is object and first efficient cause.

Totally unconscious of the inadequacy of the explanation he gives of revelation, and religion, and faith, Loisy goes on to square his system with Christian dogma. He freely acknowledges that the term "dogma" conveys to the heart of the Catholic a truth as unchangeable as God Himself.²⁰ Now, he says, this may be true in the light of faith, but it is radically false in the light of reason. The truth within us is something necessarily conditional, necessarily relative, always open to increase or diminution.²¹ Nor is the Abbé at a loss how to reconcile his relativity of dogma with our Christian faith. The ecclesiastical formulas are not absolutely true, since they do not define the full reality of the truth they represent. They are, nevertheless, the symbols of absolute truth; they are its best and safest expressions until the Church shall think it well to modify them by explaining them. And what do the faithful believe, in the meantime? They believe, we are told, intentionally at least, the full and absolute truth symbolized by the imperfect and relative dogmatic formulas.²² In other words, the faithful believe to-day what the Church does not yet believe, but what she will believe perhaps to-morrow if she happens to drift that far in the fluctuations of human knowledge. Perhaps the expressions of

¹⁹ P. 197 f.

²⁰ P. 188.

²¹ P. 191.

²² P. 206.

Loisy are susceptible of a more favorable explanation; but those who appeal from the present Church to the Church of the future are usually defenders of the theory of absolute truth symbolized by relative formulas.

It seems then that we must admit a two-fold order of truths, those of reason and those of faith. The former are knowable and known; the latter are unknowable and believed. Whatever satisfies our religious instinct, whatever is suggested by our religious conscience and experience, is true in the light of faith. But may not this truth be false in the light of reason? May not faith say yes, where science says no? In point of fact, Loisy's theory seems to introduce into the sphere of Catholic theology Ritschl's so-called value-judgments with their total opposition to the existence-judgments of science. These latter deal with facts, with things as they are; they belong to the domain of science. The value-judgments view things as they are related to personal emotions and volitions, they deal with values; they belong to the domain of religion.

For our present purpose, it is of little importance whether Loisy strictly adheres to the theory of the older Ritschl, or prefers the modifications introduced by Ritschl's most eminent pupils, Herrmann and Kaftan; again, whether he follows Otto Ritschl's explanation of his father's system, or prefers the expositions of the theory given by Max Reischle and Max Scheibe. In any case, the law of scientific exegesis differs from the law of ecclesiastical interpretation. What is more, scientific exegesis is pronounced wholly independent of the Church, of the Pope and of the Councils.²³ Loisy's historian regards *faith* in Christ as the founder of the Church; his theologian believes that *Christ* Himself has founded the Church.²⁴ The historian sees in the primacy of the Roman Pontiff a *development* coördinate with that of the Church; the theologian, again, believes that *Christ* intended the primacy from the first.²⁵ For the historian, Papal infallibility is the outcome of ecclesiastical centralization; for the theologian, the same prerogative was designed by God Himself, and conferred by Jesus Christ.²⁶

In the light of these statements one has reason to feel disturbed at Loisy's contention that neither Christ's resurrection nor His Divinity are truths belonging to the historical order.²⁷ Of course, we have the writer's explicit profession of faith in Christ divinity.²⁸ At the same time, the writer believes that as soon as a truth is an

²³ P. 52.

²⁴ P. 172.

²⁵ P. 176.

²⁶ P. 182.

²⁷ Pp. 162, 169.

²⁸ P. 18.

article of faith, it is no longer a matter of demonstration. The passion and death of Christ, His resurrection from the dead, the divine institution of the Church, are articles of faith; hence they cannot be proved.²⁹ History therefore pronounces the verdict "not proven" concerning one and all of these facts.³⁰ Scientifically speaking, all of them are doubtful. And what would be the condition of our faith if a more profound scientific study should result in the verdict "fiction?" The Abbé seems to have foreseen this difficulty. The wonderful power of the idea of the kingdom of God and the actual personal experience of the same are, he assures us, a sufficient groundwork and stay of our faith.³¹ The decrees of the Vatican Council may differ from Loisy's views and theories; but the dogmatic formulas drawn up by the Council may be changed when the faith of the Church shall catch up to the rapid pace of her devout child. Who knows?

3. The scientific trend of mind is inclined to minimize the supernatural element in the life of Christ; the comparative religionists of the present day introduce a state of agnosticism into the region of Christian faith; but both are outdone by the modern historical critic. The first foe touches, after all, only the supernaturality of the facts in question; the second denies only their evidence; but the third simply brushes them out of the realm of realities. Professor Paul W. Schmiedel, who has contributed the article entitled "Gospels" to the "Encyclopædia Biblica,"³² divides the contents of the Gospels into two classes: absolutely credible passages, and doubtful matter. The absolutely credible passages are reduced to nine, five of which refer to Jesus Himself, and four to His miracles. These, we are told, are the historical foundation-pillars for a scientific life of Jesus. And what a life they would furnish. The question "why callest thou Me good?"³³ the three statements that blasphemy against the Son can be forgiven;³⁴ that Christ's relations held Him to be beside Himself,³⁵ and that the Son of Man does not know "of that day and of that hour,"³⁶ together with the invocation "my God, my God; why hast thou forsaken me?"³⁷ are to be the only certain elements in the life of our Lord. Perhaps the four absolutely credible passages concerning miracles will add more consistency to this vague picture of Christ; in reality they add

²⁹ Pp. 161, 162, 169.

³⁰ P. 8.

³¹ P. 116.

³² Vol. II., col. 1761 ff.

³³ Mark x., 17.

³⁴ Matt. xii., 31.

³⁵ Mk. iii., 21.

³⁶ Mk. xiii., 32.

³⁷ Mk. xv., 34; Mt. xxvii., 46.

darkness rather than light. Jesus declines to work a sign;³⁸ He is not able to do mighty works in Nazareth;³⁹ He identifies the feeding of the multitudes with His teaching them,⁴⁰ and finally He sends an answer to John the Baptist, again identifying His miraculous works with the internal effects of His teaching;⁴¹ such are according to the interpretation of Professor Schmiedel the only reliable passages of the Gospels concerning the miracles of our Lord. And what becomes of the rest? It must be confessed that the professor is too generous to relegate everything else to the region of fiction. Much is assigned to the range of the doubtful. This generosity is amply rewarded; for even what is historically doubtful is perfectly innocuous from an apologetic point of view.

We do not say that all critical historians go the full length of Schmiedel's position; nor do we maintain that all attain only negative results. The reader is, no doubt, acquainted with works of this class that truly deserve our praise in many respects. Some of them have elicited during the last few years almost a specific literature of their own. We need mention only Harnack's "*Wesen des Christentums*" to conjure up in our minds a picture of successive editions each consisting of thousands of copies, of pamphlets and books, and magazine articles, and lectures, and sermons even, all advocating or attacking or expounding the Berlin professor's theory of Christianity. Whatever Harnack may have taken away from Christ, he has vindicated His originality and His claim to be the Son of God in a special manner. He thus insists that the Gospel is more than a merely social programme of the Jewish nation, or a political code; Jesus is more than the mere Messiah of the Jews. Moreover, according to Harnack, the death of Christ was looked upon even by the first Christian community as a sacrifice for the remission of sin; it was not St. Paul who first introduced this belief in the sacrifice of atonement.

We have drawn attention to the foregoing points in Harnack's theory in order to emphasize the contrast between the Protestant critic and the Abbé Loisy. The latter distinguishes three strata, as it were, of ideas concerning the person and the work of Jesus Christ. First, we have the views of Jesus concerning Himself; secondly, we have the faith of the earliest Christian community; thirdly, we have the Christology of the New Testament. In illustrating and explaining these three strata we shall have occasion to refer to Loisy's former work entitled "*L'Evangile et l'Eglise*." This cannot be considered unfair after the author's so-called subjection

³⁸ Mark viii., 12.

³⁹ Mk. vi., 5 f.

⁴⁰ Mk. viii., 14-21.

⁴¹ Mt. xi., 5; Lk. vii., 22.

to the verdict of his ecclesiastical superiors, since he does not retract anything contained in the book itself.⁴²

Jesus suspected in Himself nothing supernatural except that He was destined to become the Messiah, or God's principal agent and vicar in the kingdom of heaven. He identified the title "Son of God" with that of "Messias;" in this sense He suspected or knew that He was destined to become the Son of God.⁴³ The kingdom of God He identified with the Messianic kingdom expected by the Jewish nation. The coming of this kingdom He placed in the immediate future, so that He had no idea of His own death, no thought of a church, much less of a ceremonial. It was only at the last moment, when the immediate coming of the kingdom became evidently impossible in the Jewish world, that Jesus began to conceive another coming of the kingdom by means of the death of the Messiah.⁴⁴ Similarly the Abbé reasons in his recent publication:⁴⁵ "Jesus did not reveal His divinity; He was not really conscious of it. He shared the prejudices, the illusions and even the errors of His contemporaries. Only the consciousness of His intimate relation to God and of His future Messiasship distinguished Him from the rest of men. We do not now say that the hypostatic union implies Christ's inerrancy as essentially as it involves His substantial sanctity. Nor do we maintain that a denial of His inerrancy implies a denial of His divinity as necessarily as the latter would be implied in a denial of His sinlessness. Still, a Christ without the prerogative of a supereminent knowledge is not the whole Christ either for the Catholic theologian or for the devout layman.

The second stratum of ideas concerning Christ and His teaching is that found in the earliest Christian community. In Loisy's theory of development of Christian doctrine this stratum is a necessary step between Christ's own view of Himself and the character given to Him in the writings of the New Testament. To begin, then, it is plain that the first Christian community believed that Jesus had become the Christ or the Messiah by virtue of His resurrection; similarly, He had become the Son of God in the sense that He had become the Messiah. Again, His Messianic coming was expected to be imminent, since His first appearance in the flesh could not be regarded as a Messianic advent.⁴⁶ Thus far we have not even an implicit faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ; how can we account

⁴² Cf. *Revue biblique*, Avril, 1903, pp. 292-313; *Zeitschr. f. Katholische Theologie*, IV., 1903, pp. 684-701.

⁴³ Pp. 53, 54, 57.

⁴⁴ Pp. 26, 31, 51, 181.

⁴⁵ "Autour d'un petit livre," p. 130, 139.

⁴⁶ "L'Évangile et l'Église," pp. 55 ff.

for its development? Christian piety, Loisy tells us, kept on elevating Christ higher and higher, seeking God in Him and finding God.⁴⁷ Its starting point was Jesus invested with the Messianic dignity by virtue of His resurrection. Through Him, and in Him, and with Him, the earliest Christians prayed to the heavenly Father, and insensibly they commenced to pray to Christ Himself. It is quite inconceivable to the Abbé Loisy that Christianity should not have implied the worship of Christ, and it does not appear rash to him to say that this worship of Christ preceded, and sustained, and inspired the line of Christian thought concerning the person of the Redeemer.⁴⁸

The third stratum of Christological ideas we find in the writings of the New Testament. Thus far it is Christ's resurrection that is regarded as the starting point of Jesus' Messiasship and divine Sonship. According to Loisy, the more thoughtful Christians must have asked themselves whether Jesus had been anything more than other men before His resurrection. In other words, what was Jesus independently of His Messiasship acquired by virtue of His resurrection? This question began to be answered by St. Paul, and kept on being more fully treated till it found its final settlement in the writings of St. John. First, St. Paul looked at the off side of the resurrection, and discovered in the death of Christ a meaning and an efficacy quite independent of His rising from the dead.⁴⁹ And still, thus far, only Christ's resurrection had counted for anything in the faith of Christians.⁵⁰ Hence, St. Paul argued, there must have been in Christ living on earth something more than human. Loisy is of opinion that the Paulinian theory of salvation was necessary in its time in order that Christianity might not remain a mere Jewish sect without any future.⁵¹ St. Mark, indeed, speaks of man's redemption by the death of Christ; but the Abbé sees in this passage a mere trace of Paulinian influence on the second evangelist. The next great step in the development of Christian doctrine is due to St. John. The fourth evangelist took up Jesus constituted Christ by virtue of His resurrection, called Son of man or Son of God by reason of His Messiasship, elevated to the dignity of Redeemer of mankind by the apostle St. Paul, and pronounced Him the Word made flesh.⁵² If the divinity of Christ had been believed in before St. John, St. John's expression would be nothing but a new way of saying an old thing. But, according

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 206 ff.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 73.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 189.

to Loisy, the Christian community had not as yet begun to believe in the divinity of our Lord. What then can have been the motive of conferring on Jesus this new dignity? However great a step in Christian thought may be implied in St. John's language,⁵³ it was the only suitable way of translating the Hebrew Messianic idea into Greek thought.⁵⁴ Here then you have St. John's motive for calling Jesus "the Word made flesh;" he wished to make Christianity, which up to His time had been only a Jewish movement, based on the idea of the Messianic kingdom, acceptable to the Græco-Roman world and to humanity in general.⁵⁵ We may note in passing, that Loisy religiously derives the whole of Christian dogma from the writings of the New Testament, after he has said enough to shake the faith of his readers in all the contents of the New Testament.

Abstracting now for a moment from all the sins against faith and reason committed by our Christian naturalists, and agnostics, and historical critics, what after all does the image of Christ amount to which they paint for us? We may describe it in the words in which one of our most eminent foes describes Christ's image represented in the Gospels: "One may perhaps venture to compare the process with that of a photographer who prints from many negatives of the same individual on the same paper. There is produced in this way an 'average' likeness which when viewed from some distance seems satisfactory enough, but when it is more closely viewed the vagueness of its contours is at once discovered." What shall we say in answer to all that is advanced by this "spirit that dissolveth Jesus?" They prove no more than the false witnesses did in our Lord's trial before the ecclesiastical authorities of the Jews. Our Lord taught us that silence was the most effective answer in His case. In fact, argument against the theories we have described would resemble Don Quixote's fighting the windmills. It is quite plain, too, that our modern theorists do not bring us face to face with Christ. Only the Catholic Church says now what St. Paul wrote to the Philippians⁵⁶ at the very dawn of Christianity: "I esteem all things to be but loss, for the excellent knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord."

A. J. MAAS, S. J.

Woodstock, Md.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, cf. p. 137.

⁵⁴ P. 140.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵⁶ III., 8.

Scientific Chronicle.

BACTERIA AS SOIL FERTILIZERS.

Quite commonly bacteria are looked upon with suspicion, if not directly condemned as positively injurious to man. Science, however, is vindicating the claim of many of these little animalculæ to our respect and gratitude. Among these the Radiocola or "nitrifying" bacteria which enable plants to secure the necessary supply of nitrogen, even when the soil is poor, must be classed.

In *Harper's Magazine* for November last Mr. Ray Stannard Baker gives an interesting account of the work of Professor Nobbe, of Tharandt, in Saxony, in this direction.

The chief constituents of all vegetable substances are oxygen, carbon, hydrogen and nitrogen. Nitrogen is the all-important element in the growth of the plant. Other elements required, like potassium and phosphorus, are usually present in abundance in the soil or can be supplied by many well-known fertilizers. If there is a deficit of nitrogen, it is much more difficult and expensive to supply it.

When land is said to be worn out, it is because the amount of these three elements necessary is not present in the soil. To supply the nitrogen then is the important point. The first step in the solution of this problem was made when it was proved that plants drew much of their nourishment from the air as well as from the earth.

This conclusion was reached by a series of experiments that proved that in a soil very poor in nitrogen certain plants that contain in their composition a large percentage of nitrogen grew to full maturity, taking the necessary nitrogen from the atmosphere. The familiar experience of the farmer who, when he finds that his land is run down by the overcropping with wheat or oats, for instance, which draw heavily on the earth's nitrogen, sows in other crops that grow luxuriantly and then ploughs them in and so restores the fertility of the land so that it will bear again crops of wheat and oats and other nitrogen-demanding plants, confirms this point. The crops that restore the soil are clover, lupin and other leguminous plants, including beans and peas. The growing and seeding down of a field of clover is familiar to all those who know anything about farming.

The next step in the investigation was the inquiry why do clover and lupin and beans flourish on worn-out land when other crops

will not? The first faint response to this question came in the discovery of the fact that these plants that flourish in this worn-out soil had their roots covered with small round swellings or tumors, to which the name nodules had been given. At first these nodules were put down as a disease of the plant, and no further attention was given to them until Professor Hellriegel, of Burnburg, took up the work. From his investigations he found that lupins that had nodules would grow in soil that had no nitrogen, while those that had no nodules would not grow. The conclusion drawn from this discovery was that these nodules in some unknown way enabled the plant to utilize the nitrogen of the air.

The next announcement was that these nodules were the result of minute bacteria found in the soil. Professor Beyerinck, of Munster, gave these bacteria the name of *Radiocola*. It was just at this time that Nobbe took up the work. He argued that since these bacteria were in the soil when the crops grew well, it might be possible to introduce them artificially in worn-out soil and thus make it productive. He went so far as to claim that even pure sand, such as that of the seashore, could be thus inoculated so that beans and peas planted there would form nodules and draw their nitrogen from the atmosphere.

In 1888 Professor Nobbe began a series of experiments in order to discover a practical method of soil inoculation. He gathered the nodule-covered roots of beans and peas, crushed them and made an extract of them in water. He then made a gelatine solution, to which he added some of this extract. Immediately millions of bacteria of many kinds began to grow. He separated the *Radiocola* from the other bacteria and made a clean culture of these in gelatine. This is why he wanted to inoculate the soil, and now began the test as to whether this could be done or not. The test was a severe one. A quantity of pure sand was selected, and to make sure that it contained no nitrogen or bacteria of any kind, it was perfectly sterilized by heating to very high temperatures three different times for the space of six hours each time. The sand was then placed in three jars and to the sand in each jar was added a small quantity of mineral food. To the first jar no nitrogen of any kind was supplied; the second received nitrogen by fertilizing it with saltpeter; the third was inoculated with some of his bacteria culture. He then planted beans in each jar. Small quantities of pure sterilized water were added to each jar in equal amounts.

The seeds sprouted in all three jars and for one week they were the same in appearance. Soon after that, however, they changed. The young shoots in the first jar, having no nitrogen and no inoculation, turned pale and finally died. The beans in the second jar

grew about as they would in a garden supplied with artificial fertilizer. In the third jar the plants showed a marvelous growth. Although the sand in this jar was just as free as that in the first from nitrogen, still the plants attained a vigorous and healthy growth, and when analyzed showed a high percentage of nitrogen. It was in this jar only that the nodules formed on the roots of the plants, thus showing beyond a doubt the possibility of soil inoculation, at least in the laboratory. Other plants were tried with suitable soil inoculation and with the same successful results.

Professor Nobbe called his bacteria culture "Nitragen" and he prepared separate cultures for each of the principal crops. They were put upon the market in 1894 and had a considerable sale. They are now manufactured in one of the great commercial laboratories on the Main. The cultures are put up in small glass bottles marked with the name of the crop from which it is especially adapted. In each bottle the yellow gelatinous mass in which the bacteria grow is covered with a moss-like scum resembling gray mould. This is nothing else than an accumulation of innumerable millions of these little oblong bacteria. A bottle of this culture costs about fifty cents and contains sufficient to fertilize about one-half an acre.

The method of applying the culture is very simple. The contents of the bottle are first diluted with warm water and then the seeds which have first been mixed with some earth are treated with this solution and thoroughly mixed with the soil. Then the mixture is partially dried so that the seeds may be readily sown. When sown the bacteria begin to propagate in the soil, their natural home, and by the time the seed sprouts and puts forth roots they are ready to form the nodules and extract, in some as yet unknown way, the necessary nitrogen from the air.

The United States Department of Agriculture has lately conducted a valuable set of experiments on an improved method of distributing the bacteria. Instead of a moist culture the bacteria are put up in a small dry mass that resembles a yeast cake. All that is required is a little soaking to prepare it for use, and in this form it may be shipped to greater distances without fear of deterioration. Plans are now under consideration by this department for the introduction of these cultures in localities in which the nodule-forming germ is deficient.

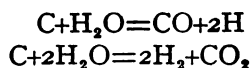
Another interesting point in connection with plant growth is the claim of Professor Nobbe that contact with the soil is not necessary for the growth of a plant. This he has proved experimentally. Just outside his greenhouse the professor has a row of trees, some of them from eight to ten inches in circumference at the base of the

trunk. These trees are growing in clean water without a sign of any kind of soil. They are suspended in glass jars surrounded by wooden cases, and when these cases are opened the roots may be seen hanging in the clear water. The oldest of these trees is from a seed that was immersed in water in 1878. Leaves and blossoms have come regularly each spring and in the winter the water and the roots froze hard all these years, and yet the second and the third generation has been grown from these trees under precisely the same conditions. To reach this result it was necessary to keep the trees supplied with food. This food was prepared in the laboratory, and every four weeks a small quantity of a solution of chlorate of potash, sulphate of magnesium, phosphate of potassium and a nitrate was added to the water of the jars. This result seems to indicate that there is in the soil no element necessary for plant life that man cannot manufacture and apply artificially.

These results seem to answer the rather gloomy views of Sir William Crookes and others, who lately wrote in a rather pessimistic strain about the world reaching the limits of its capacity for food production, while the population continued to increase enormously. The ultimate result of these inverse ratios was general starvation. Science steps in to dispell the gloom of these dire forebodings, and with the means of utilizing the vast store of nitrogen in the air, four-fifths of which consists of this element, there is no need of alarm about the food production of the earth keeping pace with the growth of the population.

WATER GAS.

Every student of chemistry knows that when steam is passed over incandescent carbon, it is dissociated, the reaction being represented, according to circumstances, by one or the other of these equations:



In the first case carbon monoxide and hydrogen are formed; in the second case hydrogen and carbon dioxide, or carbonic acid gas, as it is sometimes called. The hydrogen and the carbon monoxide are combustible, the mechanical mixture of the two gases known as producer gas, or uncarburetted water gas having a very high calorific value. The knowledge of this fact has led to many attempts to produce such a gas for illuminating and heating purposes, but the difficulties are great. The principal difficulty is that neither of

the reactions alluded to is spontaneous, for in both heat is absorbed, which must, in some way or other, be supplied. Two methods have been used. In the first the coal is raised to the necessary temperature of incandescence by an air blast through the carbon which is in the form of anthracite coal or coke. Steam is then passed in until the temperature falls below that of incandescence, when the air blast is renewed and the process is repeatedly alternated. In the second method the steam is mixed with a sufficient amount of air to keep the carbon at the requisite temperature, the process being by this expedient made continuous.

In the Lowe process, which has been looked upon as the type for more than a quarter of a century, the first method was used. The plant operated under this process may be described as follows: A cylindrical iron retort, lined with firebrick, is filled, or nearly filled, with coke. Air is blown in through the bottom and the carbon raised to the requisite temperature. When this is reached the supply of air is cut off and a current of steam introduced, which in passing over the coke is broken up, the resulting gases, carbon monoxide and hydrogen, being drawn off at the bottom. Thus, for instance, twelve pounds of carbon will dissociate eighteen pounds of steam, liberating two pounds of hydrogen and forming twenty-eight pounds of carbon monoxide. This means that the composition of the resulting gas will be: by weight, hydrogen 6.67 per cent., carbon monoxide 93.33 per cent., and by volume, since hydrogen is much lighter, hydrogen 50 per cent., carbon monoxide 50 per cent. Or if we take a pound of carbon instead of sixteen pounds, we shall form two and one-third pounds of carbon monoxide and one-sixth of a pound of hydrogen from the decomposition of one and one-half pounds of steam.

Now one pound of carbon in uniting one and one-third pounds of oxygen will evolve 4,300 British Thermal units of heat, a British Thermal unit being the amount of heat requisite to raise one pound of water one degree Fahrenheit. But the separation of the one-sixth of a pound of hydrogen from the oxygen with which it was combined will absorb about 8,700 B. T. U. (British Thermal units), so that in the complete reaction 4,400 units of heat are absorbed, which must be supplied, as well as the loss of heat suffered by radiation and otherwise. If, however, the carbon could be burned in the heating-up stage to carbon dioxide, each pound of carbon would evolve 14,540 units of heat, or more than three times as much as when the carbon is burned to carbon monoxide, and there would be a gain in heat instead of a deficit.

In the Lowe process the carbon was burned to carbon monoxide only. In this lay its great defect, for the yield of water gas was

only 36,000 cubic feet per ton, and about two-thirds of the coke was burned during the heating-up stage, while the products of this first combustion were in most cases useless. In the *Engineering Magazine* for November of last year (1903) a process is described by Mr. A. Humboldt Sexton, called the Dellwik-Fleischer process after its originators.

In this process the carbon in the heating-up stage is burned to carbon dioxide. This is effected by using a thin layer of coke, so that the quantity of oxygen present may be more than enough to oxidize the carbon to carbon dioxide. The results of this simple expedient are very remarkable and can best be seen from a few comparative figures. In the Lowe process the heating-up stage took usually about ten minutes and the actual gas-making lasted about four minutes; in the Dellwik-Fleischer process the former consumes only two or three minutes and the gas-making blow lasts eight or ten minutes. The quantity of water gas obtained from every pound of fuel is almost double, consequently the heating power of the gas from a given weight of fuel will be much larger, while the products of the heating-up combustion will be of small value, being mainly nitrogen and carbon dioxide.

The gas burns with a pale blue flame and so cannot be used for illuminating purposes until it is mixed with the vapor of some one of the hydrocarbons in a carbureter. It is more poisonous than coal gas and more dangerous because inodorous. Its greatest use is in internal combustion motors. Here its high calorific value and almost complete combustion will render it very valuable.

ELECTRIC TRACTION.

Among the many applications of electricity to the service of man, that of propelling street cars is, on account of its recent enormous development, the most impressive. As the system of electric traction has already acquired and developed a large traffic on interurban lines of from fifty to one hundred miles in length, and as lower fares has helped these lines to draw traffic from the steam railways, the question of how much further the electric system will encroach upon the traffic of the steam railways is of present interest. Notwithstanding the great development of the electric system it is safe to say that no serious attempt will be made in the next quarter of a century to supersede steam for long distance travel. It seems certain, however, that the adaptability of electric traction will give it an open field for interurban traffic for distances of upwards of

one hundred miles. This will relieve the congestion on steam railways and give an opportunity for higher speeds for long distances on these roads. As a compensation for the local traffic the electric roads will become efficient feeders for the main channels of travel on the steam roads.

The Census Bureau of the United States recently reported the growth of electric tramways. From this report we give the following figures: There are at present in the United States 22,577 miles of electric railway operated by 987 companies, with capital stock at par value and outstanding funded debt amounting to about \$2,300,000,000.

The bearing of this application of science to industry on social conditions may be partially gathered from the fact that 133,641 wage earners are employed by the electric roads of the country. The yearly traffic on these roads is put down at about 5,900,000,000. The traction companies are, moreover, the chief customers of the great electric industries that have grown up during the last decade, and they have, moreover, demanded the development of 1,298,000 steam horse-power and 49,000 hydraulic horse-power. For a full realization of what this means in the daily lives of the artisan and laborer and all dependent upon them we must recall the amount of machinery and all kinds of appliances involved in the development of this immense amount of power.

In another quarter also the subject of electric traction is receiving attention. In the hauling of canal boats the horse and the mule still hold their place on the towpath. In Germany a government commission has been investigating the best method of mechanical haulage. From the trials made on the Teltow canal, near Berlin, the most satisfactory results appear to have been obtained from a single-rail electromotive system. In this system the motor takes the current from an overhead wire and hauls the canal boat by a tow line in the usual fashion.

Another form of single-rail road known as the Behr railway is under construction between Liverpool and Manchester, and it is expected that trains will be operated between the two cities at a speed of 110 miles an hour. If this road be successful, it will undoubtedly influence the adoption of electricity for steam roads. One of the greatest objections to the change at present seems to be the great difficulty of accomplishing it without interfering with the existing necessary traffic. Special mono-rail lines could be constructed alongside the existing tracks and express trains run without interfering with the present service. With this supplementary service the whole system could be gradually changed from steam to electric power.

Closely allied with the above transmission of power by means of electricity is its application to the working of the machinery used on docks, in warehouses and under other similar circumstances. Up to a very recent date this field was entirely worked by the perfected hydraulic cranes and hoists of the late Lord Armstrong. As electric power was introduced for the lighting of these places it was but natural to expect that on account of its ready adaptability to the working of the machinery it would be used for that purpose also. Such is the case, and at present electricity is fast coming into use especially in the ports of Continental Europe.

NOTES.

THE MAGNETIC STORM OF OCTOBER 31, 1903.—A great magnetic storm, as a serious disturbance of the distribution of the earth's magnetism is called, passed over the greater part of the globe on October 31 last. It was accompanied by a magnificent display of the aurora borealis, observed, among other places, at New York, Sydney, Australia, Ireland and Scotland. Simultaneously telegraph and telephone lines felt its effect. At one time in the United States one line of wires had 675 volts of electricity in it. This is sufficient to kill a man, and is surely due to the storm, as the wires were unconnected with a battery at the time of which we write. The current induced is, of course, an earth current.

Two reasons have been given for these magnetic phenomena. According to some they are due to the influence of the spots on the sun. These spots are at present approaching a maximum, and on October 31 the disturbed area made its reappearance at the east limb of the sun, coincident with the aurora and magnetic storm. But it appears to some to be merely a coincidence. For we have had large spots with no accompaniment of magnetic disturbance and aurora, and we have had, also, magnetic disturbance and aurora when there was no unusual solar activity. Another explanation is given, and in this the prominences visible at the edge of the sun's disk at all times, with the proper adjustment of apparatus, are held to be the cause of the above-mentioned disturbances on the earth. Since 1870 a practically continuous record has been kept of the appearance of these prominences and of their distribution in solar latitude, and it has been found that when they approach the polar latitude of the sun the number of days of "great" magnetic disturbances on the earth has been more numerous than when they were in lower latitudes. Thus during 1870-1872, 1881-1882, 1892-1894,

when the prominences were around the pole, there occurred sixteen, ten and seven days of "great" magnetic disturbances respectively, while during the intervening periods, 1873-1880, 1883-1891, 1895-1900, there were only two, one and two "great" disturbances respectively. Since 1899 and 1900 the prominences are tending to the higher latitudes of the sun; and lo! here comes a season of "great" magnetic disturbance. It is, at least, a remarkable coincidence, and taken in conjunction with the former ones a much more striking and regular coincidence than that existing between the sun spots and magnetic storms and auroral.

SUN SPOTS.—Our readers are doubtless aware of the periodicity with which the sun spots attain their maxima and dwindle to their minima. Sometimes from twenty-five to fifty spots are visible on the sun's disk. These gradually decrease in size and number until a period of some weeks occasionally intervenes, when no spot is visible at all. Then they begin to appear again, until a maximum is reached. This is followed by a minimum, the cycle taking ten or eleven years to complete. The year 1901 had a minimum epoch; so astronomers were looking for some indication of the approach of the succeeding maximum. This came in the shape of a great group during October 4-17, 1903, which appeared again, with additions, in November and December. The aggregate length of the group was at times over 130,000 miles. At times the spots were visible to the naked eye through smoked or dark blue or green glass. The theory of their influence on the earth has been referred to.

MONT PELEE'S REMARKABLE OBELISK.—Mont Pelee has been full of surprises to geologists, but nothing has been more surprising nor at the same time more inexplicable than the huge obelisk of stone obtruded through an opening in the crater since the terrible eruption of May, 1902. In October, 1902, its top was 295 feet above the rim of the old crater. It rose and fell continuously, the top being broken off by explosion and then this lost height being regained in a subsequent obtrusion. The gains exceeded the losses finally, until in March, 1903, the obelisk had an altitude of 5,143 feet above sea level, or 1,174 above the rim of the crater at its highest point. By the middle of August it had lost 574 feet of this height. By the end of the month it had regained 462 feet of this loss. During September it decreased 20 feet, being at the end of the month 1,042 feet in height above the rim and 5,011 feet above sea level. To explain this phenomenon one theory has it that it was a gigantic plug of rock stopping the vent, caused by solidified lava from a former eruption, and which the later activity of Pelee

helped to release. It is significant that the northeast side is fairly smooth and presents a face vertically grooved as if by friction against the sides of the vent. Its texture is, as far as can be judged, pumiceous, and its color is a reddish brown on the northeast side with a whitish encrustation, while on the southwest side, where fresh surfaces are constantly exposed by fractures and explosions, it is gray or reddish gray in color. The talus is gradually building up a cone about the base of the obelisk.

HELIUM FROM RADIUM.—Chemists, as well as every one else interested in scientific phenomena, were startled recently when cable despatches brought the news that Sir William Ramsay had announced in a lecture before the London Institution that he had observed that radium has the power of changing into helium, which is, as far as we know, an entirely different element. Radium, it has been found, gives off three different kinds of rays, which have been named respectively the *x-rays*, the *b-rays* and the *j-rays*. Besides these rays it gives off a heavy gas, the radium emanation, which can be collected in a tube and the tube sealed. The spectrum of this gas is an entirely new one, the spectrum of radium. But Sir William Ramsay noticed that after a few days the characteristic yellow line of helium appeared, and that it grew more and more distinct until the spectrum of helium was unmistakably present. It has been calculated that, if the observed rate of change be constant and if, further, helium be the sole substance thrown off, that radium would change entirely into helium in the course of two million years. "What is this," asked Sir William, "but an actual case of the transmutation of one element into another, in which the ancient alchemists believed, when they painfully sought to change lead into gold and incidentally founded the science of modern chemistry?" However this may be, this newly-discovered fact seems to be pregnant with influences on our views of matter and we may be on the verge of some great determination of the constitution of matter which will astonish us. Incidentally it may be remarked that radium has gone up in price ten-fold in the last six months, because the Austrian Government has prohibited any further exportation of the refuse from which radium is refined from the uranium oxide works at Joachimthal, a town of Bohemia. It is now, as a consequence, worth about twenty-seven million dollars a pound avoirdupois. Still quite a luxury!

D. T. O'SULLIVAN, S. J.

Boston, Mass.

Book Reviews.

QUELQUES MOTIFS A'ESPÉRER. Par l'Abbé Félix Klein, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Victor Lecoffre, Rue Bonaparte, 90. Paris, 1904, pp. x., 297.

The abnormal condition of religious life in France has long been a perplexing problem to the American student. It seems as difficult to obtain a clear, comprehensive view of the facts as it is to discover the agencies that have brought them about. That in a country teeming with thirty and more millions of Catholics the Church and her educational institutions should be the victim of a most malignant persecution carried on by the small minority of fanatical political officials is a condition of things as difficult to realize as it is to explain. In an able article in the *Quinzaine*, which we quote from the London *Tablet's* Paris correspondent (December 12), M. Fonsegreve confronts the problem: How is it that the electorate which has no desire to be anti-Catholic, has yet under the pretext of anti-clericalism been dragged into putting itself at the service of anti-Catholic direction? This, of course, has been effected through the electoral committees and the representatives those committees have sent to the Chamber. The electorate is made up of two classes, very unequal in size: Conservatives, who cling to the old ways and who preserve a traditional reverence for the ideas represented by the presbytery, the chateau and the great families, and the Liberals, those whose upbringing, surroundings and difficulties have led them to desire complete emancipation from all ties of social guidance. By these last the rich and the noble and the clergy are regarded as the obstacles in the way of their further progress, and thus M. Fonsegreve concludes that "the present struggle is not in its depths a religious struggle, but a struggle between the classes." Were it not so it would not be so active nor so bitter; neither would it manifest so many unseen and such persistent forces. The religious struggle now going on is therefore but the outcome of this deeper struggle of the classes. This diversion of forces, which of themselves were only directed against a social power regarded as hostile to religious institutions, is, he declares, the work of the Freethinkers and Freemasons. He goes on to show how it is that the political expropriation of the classes in France has become complete through their neglect of the serious for the frivolous things of life. And this has reacted to the misfortune of the religious congregations who have been their educators. At the same time he points out that anti-clericalism must soon be a worn-out cry. The mistake of the

government must in the end become plain. When the inevitable day of disillusionment shall come there will be danger of a sudden and serious reaction on the part of the electorate.

M. Fonsegreve's solution, if not perfectly satisfying, is certainly plausible, and coming as it does from one born and brought up in the actual environment and conversant, therefore, with all the factors and circumstances involved, and so eminently equipped for passing judgment on social problems as is that writer, it undoubtedly comes well accredited.

Be the cause or causes, for they certainly are plural, what they may, the no less important question is what remedies may hopefully be applied to the existing evils? It is cheering to read the suggestions offered by so experienced an observer as the Abbé Klein in the volume at hand. He does not, indeed, come forward with a ready-made panacea for his country's religious and social disorders, but he points confidently to certain forces at work within the French nation that give strong assurance of an approaching convalescence. An undoubtedly practical remedy must be the organization of the Catholic forces. That this is being effectually accomplished the writer has set himself to demonstrate in his opening chapter. He tells here of the Association of Young Catholics, an organization which has spread throughout all France and is doing most practical work in leavening the masses with sound principles, moral, social and political; of the beneficial activity of certain French reviews, notably *le Sillon*, which is the official organ of the association and the radiating centre of its social and religious endeavors; of the "circles of study" and the popular institutes—out-reaching organs of the association for propagandizing its ideas amongst the people—a movement somewhat similar to the university extension work in this country. That its activity may not be impeded by rowdy assault from the anti-clericals, the Association has developed what is known as *La Jeune Garde*, an organization of lusty young fellows endowed with the chivalresque spirit of the ancient knight, whose mission it is: 1, to maintain order in the reunions organized by *le Sillon* and the popular institutes and in general by the groups of Catholic social activity; 2, to accompany and protect the Catholic speakers in the public and hostile reunions organized by the anti-clericals.

The author describes these organizations of Catholic forces with infectious enthusiasm and yet with a sense of firm reserve that gives one confidence that there is indeed in what he describes a real *motif d'espérer*. Other motives for hoping the better things for his country he discerns in the manifestly growing appreciative sense of the Gospel principles evidenced by the multiplication of

books treating of our Lord's life. Another reason to hope he sees in the increasing zeal amongst the Bishops and priests for advance in the intellectual training of the clergy. Still another in the recent return to the life work and apostolic spirit of Père Gratry.

The remaining essays, though dealing with subjects that are for the most part predominantly literary, are permeated with a philosophico-ethical and religious tendency that connects them more or less closely with the central idea—the grounds for hope in the present crisis. Surveying these grounds as a whole one finds them all varying forms of the main thought, that the healing forces now at work in France are acting on the mind of the people, illumining, uplifting, inspiring to higher ethical and social ideals. That such forces are most salutary, reaching as they do the deepest principles of conduct, no one can question, and studied in the glow of fervor and æsthetic form in which the author presents them they seem particularly potent. At the same time to us who view the situation from without it would seem that something more external is demanded—the organization of the people on political lines. The anti-religious war is successful through its political machinery and by political counter agencies it apparently should be met. Political agitation and political organization one would think essential to supplement the ethico-social and religious forces now being zealously urged as the Abbé Klein maintains. But of course to judge from without is as unsafe as it is easy. The leaders of thought and action are doubtless the best judges of the evil and of its remedy.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, 1493-1898. Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century. Translated from the Originals. Vol. VI., 1583-1588. 8vo., pp. 325. Vol. VII., 1588-1591. 8vo., pp. 320. Vol. VIII., 1591-1593. 8vo., pp. 320. The Arthur H. Clarke Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

"The present volume (VI.) covers the period 1583 to 1588 inclusive. At the close of two decades of Spanish occupation in the Philippines the native population is decimated and the Spanish colonists are poor, heavily burdened with taxation and largely non-producing. The islands are but nominally defended by a small, irregular, demoralized force of unpaid soldiers, whose lawlessness and arrogance render them dangerous to their own countrymen and tyrants over the helpless natives. The Audiencia is a costly institution, a burden of which all the people complain. They have other grievances and many needs, which finally impel them to send a special envoy to Spain, to procure relief and aid from the home

government. The documents of this volume contain much valuable information regarding the economic condition of the colony and its commercial relations with China and Mexico respectively. As the Spanish settlers in the Philippines find that they are largely dependent on China for their food, those who are wise see the necessity of encouraging and extending agriculture in the islands; but others are fired with the lust for wealth and conquest and urge upon Felipe II. a scheme for subduing China by force of arms, thus to give Spain the control of the great Oriental world and incidentally to enrich a host of needy Spanish subjects."

This outline includes the contents of Volume VI. pretty completely.

"Important events and changes occur during the four years included in the scope of Volume VII. The Audiencia is suppressed, and in its place is sent a real Governor; the instructions given to him embody many of the reforms demanded by the people through their envoy Sanchez. Expensive and dangerous conspiracies among the natives against the Spaniards are discovered and severely punished. Trade between Nueva Espana and China is beginning and seems to menace the welfare of the Philippine colony. A large immigration of Chinese to the islands has set in and is already seriously effecting economic interests there. The city of Manila, recently destroyed by fire, is being rebuilt, this time mainly with brick and stone."

It is edifying during this period to find the Jesuits, the Franciscans and the Dominicans laboring zealously for the temporal and eternal welfare of the natives and suffering with them at the hands of unworthy Spanish rulers and the wild tribes who are their natural enemies. Some of the documents included in the volume are very valuable, containing information not only on religious matters, but on the social and economic conditions of both Spaniards and natives in the islands.

At this time we are informed that the Dominicans achieved great results among the Chinese, having established a village of Christians. When we allow for the difference of time, place, national temperament and relations of countries, this history contains nothing surprising. The desire for power, wealth and distinction which characterized man from the beginning will continue until the end. In every age and in every country we find this desire existing and spurring men on to new discoveries, new acquisitions, new conquests. In every country also we shall find the same conflicting human elements: the conscientious, the unscrupulous, the disinterested, the selfish, the patriotic, the indifferent, the self-sacrificing, the mercenary.

The student of history should make due allowance for difference of circumstances, keep his prejudices and sympathies well in check, get the right point of view and then look at two epochs which seem to differ widely. We so often forget to remove the beam from our own eye before looking for the mote in the eye of our brother. Small wonder, indeed, that the beam seems to be in the other eye.

THE CANON OF REASON AND VIRTUE (LAO-TZE'S TAO-TEH-KING). Translated from the Chinese by Dr. Paul Carus. Pp. iv., 43. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1903.

PHILOSOPHICAL CLASSICS: ST. ANSELMO OPUSCULA. Translated by Sidney Norton Deane, B. A. Pp. xxxv., 288. Same Publishers, 1903.

The *Tao-Teh* ranks deservedly amongst the Chinese classics; indeed it merits a high place amongst the world's classics. For profound insight into spiritual truth and for practical wisdom in the guidance of life according to unchangeable principles no seer of all the ages surpassed Lao-Tze. Between him and Confucius there is the difference that distinguishes wisdom from science. Lao-Tze was essentially a philosopher, a searcher for the ultimate, the first and the last principles of things, and he had the intuition that reason can see thus far. Confucius was essentially an empiricist; he was satisfied with the surface of things, the present, the temporal; he distrusted reason to know aught else; he was and claimed to be an agnostic. It was his method of thought and conduct that prevailed and that moulded his nation into the mechanical, stereotyped people they are and have ever been since his day. Still, the deeper wisdom of the *Tao-Teh* has been cherished if not practiced, and the world to-day must needs be the better for being the heir of the treasured truths. In the present brochure Dr. Carus has given an excellent and a readable translation of the venerable classic. The booklet is an excerpt from the author's larger work in which the original text is reproduced. For those who are unacquainted with Chinese and have no particular desire to grapple with the difficulties of its mysterious characters the present brochure will suffice to familiarize them with the life-lore of the old philosopher.

Had Lao-Tze lived under the light of Christianity he might have been an Anselm, and had the saintly mediæval philosopher-theologian lived in pre-Christian times he might well have been the author of the *Tao*. It was not to place these two typical thinkers under comparison that Dr. Carus has published simultaneously with the Chinese classic the Christian classics of St. Anselm. Such a comparison might indeed be instituted with a view to showing how vastly broader and deeper is the wisdom that is informed by

the higher light of Christianity than that which emanated from the mind of the pagan philosopher. But this would carry us too far afield. Suffice it to say that Dr. Carus has put forth these opuscula of St. Anselm as typical of scholastic philosophy wherein reason and faith combine in building a synthetic world-view. The volume contains the "Monologue," the "Prosologue" and the "Cur Deus Homo" and as an appendix the well-known opusculum entitled "In Behalf of the Fool," an answer to St. Anselm's argument in the "Prosologue" by Gaunilon, a monk of Marmoutier. The introduction on St. Anselm's philosophy is reprinted from Weber's "History of Philosophy" and is on the whole fair. The student would do well to supplement its reading by reference to Turner's or Stöckl's "History of Philosophy" (English translation), or Willmann's "Geschichte des Idealismus" (Vol. II.). The introduction contains likewise a number of quotations concerning St. Anselm's "Ontological Argument"—from Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel, Dörner, Lotze and Flint. The translators have done their part, which was an extremely difficult one, with remarkable felicity. So far as the reviewer has had time to examine, the rendering is faithful. Besides it is smooth, strong and idiomatic English, retaining just enough of the quaint flavor of the original to make it piquant. Dr. Carus has published some books for which we would not care to be responsible, but these two, the "Tao-Teh King" and the "Opuscula of St. Anselm," we can recommend with all earnestness.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY. By *Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, S. T. D., J. U. L.*, Professor of Church History in the Catholic University, Washington. 8vo., pp. viii., 446. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The studies and discourses contained in this volume deal with some general conditions of Christian life in the first three centuries of our era. They have been printed before in different periodicals, and although they do not form a consecutive and complete series they have a certain unity of doctrine, purpose and interest. They illustrate certain phases of the centuries before Constantine; hence the title which is, strictly speaking, the title of the first paper, but may in a more general sense be applied to the whole book. The author begins with a sketch of the earliest history of the Church, and particularly the period of her foundation by the apostles and their successors. This is naturally followed by a study of St. Paul, his character, conversion and labors. Then we are introduced to St. Clement III., successor of St. Peter and head of the Church from A. D. 81 to 96, as he is made known to us through his invaluable Epistle to the Corinthians.

In the next chapter we have a picture of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienna who won their crowns during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 161-180. The story is unusually graphic, being told by one of themselves in a letter to the churches of Asia Minor.

Under the title "Slavery and Free Labor in Pagan Rome" we have a striking picture of the conditions which prevailed when, out of one and a half million inhabitants, fully seven to eight hundred thousand were slaves, and of the remaining half, perhaps four hundred thousand formed the proletariat, the poor but free inhabitants of the city, most of them living by crooked and shameful means.

A paper on "The Origin of Christmas" has an interest that is world-wide, and which, like the feast itself, is lasting.

The next two chapters will appeal most strongly to women, for they deal with her condition in early Christian communities and in pagan antiquity.

These are followed quite appropriately by a sermon on the gentle Agnes, who gave up her young life for the faith at a time when pagan Rome had begun to totter and whose sweet memory remains green after sixteen hundred years.

"The Church and the Empire" deals with the period between A. D. 250 and 312 in the West and in the Orient, and shows the constituents of Christian society and the causes of the rapid spread of Christianity.

Under the title "A Christian Pompeii" the author treats in a delightful manner of the ruins of some of the ancient cities and towns of Syria, and then takes his readers into "Roman Africa."

The book closes with a paper on John Baptist De Rossi, the Columbus of the Catacombs.

These subjects are all interesting and instructive, but their treatment by Dr. Shahan lends a new charm to them. He is so eminently fitted in every way for work of this kind that too much cannot be said by way of praise and encouragement. We realize that his duties at the University occupy his time very fully and that his literary work is done in odd moments, but we trust that he will be able to continue these delightful and valuable studies.

THE TWO KENRICKS: Most Rev. Francis Patrick, Archbishop of Baltimore; Most Rev. Peter Richard, Archbishop of St. Louis. By *John J. O'Shea*. With an introduction by Most Rev. Patrick John Ryan, Archbishop of Philadelphia. 8vo., pp. xv.—495, with portraits. Philadelphia: John J. McVey.

This is one of the most important contributions to American ecclesiastical history that has come from the press up to the present

time. We have had general histories of the Church in this country, but they have been necessarily brief because of the enormous territory to be covered, the rapidly changing conditions, the difficulty of gathering material and comparative newness of things. We have had good histories of parishes, and dioceses, and provinces, more or less interesting and important, according to the time and place with which they deal. We have also had excellent biographies of prominent churchmen, who have labored with zeal and honor for the glory of God in the American Church. But the two Kenricks have filled so large a space in this field, and have labored so long and so successfully, that they are intimately connected with the events of three-quarters of a century.

From the time that Francis Patrick took his place in the chair of dogmatic theology in the Seminary at Bardstown, in 1820, until Peter Richard closed his eyes in death as Archbishop of St. Louis, in 1896, the two brothers were striking figures in the Catholic Church of America. The elder brother, passing successfully through storm and persecution in the Episcopal See of Philadelphia, was transferred to the more ancient Archiepiscopate of Baltimore. The younger brother, after discharging faithfully the offices of rector of the Seminary and Vicar General in Philadelphia, was transferred to St. Louis, where he spent the remainder of his days.

Both were distinguished for piety and learning; both were wise rulers; both were exceptional authors; both occupied central sees in a growing Church which expanded about them in every direction; both were active and successful in training others for the episcopal office, and both exercised a strong influence in the appointment of candidates to new or vacant sees. Therefore their power was felt far beyond the confines of the districts over which they presided and lasted long after they had passed away, and still continues.

Our readers will probably share our regret that this book was not written by the one man who is best fitted in every way to be its author, Most Rev. Archbishop Ryan. The Archbishop himself regrets his inability to act in this capacity. He had hoped for years to discharge this labor of love, and only yielded the place which rightly belonged to him to another when he found that advancing years, with increasing rather than diminishing calls on his time, forbade him longer to hope.

The author was singularly fortunate in his resources. He not only had access to the archives of Philadelphia, Baltimore and St. Louis, but he also had the inestimable advantage of intercourse with living witnesses, and especially with the Archbishop of Philadelphia, who for thirty-five years was intimately connected with

Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, and through him with his brother, of Baltimore.

SCIENCE ET RELIGION. Etudes pour les temps present: Les Persecutions et la Critique Moderne. Par *M. Paul Allard*, p. 62.

LES CHRÉTIENS ONT-ILS INCENDIÉ ROME SOUS NÉRON? Par *M. Paul Allard*, p. 62. Paris: Bloud et Cie, 4 Rue Madame, 1904.

One who judges of the politico-religious condition of France at the present day from the outside would probably find a reason for hope of betterment in the zeal for the spread of apologetic literature manifest in the products of the Catholic press in that country. To mention just one out of many such evidences, there is the series of short studies appearing under the general title of the two brochures at hand. Begun some few years ago the series now runs up to at least two hundred and sixty-six numbers. The little volumes, handy in shape, neat in dress and type, cover almost every variety of subject bearing on religion from a scientific and historical standpoint. Like the publications of the London Truth Society they are solid in matter and well written, and yet withal popular. Emanating largely from writers of recognized authority on the corresponding subjects, they are thus secured from unproven assertions and vague generalities. What is not without its hopeful significance is that a goodly proportion of the numbers are written by laymen. Surely a people in which there is a laity that produces and it may be safely inferred a laity that reads apologetic literature of this kind cannot be on the verge of infidelity nor steeped in immorality, as the French are sometimes said to be.

As regards the two opuscles here presented it suffices to note that both are from the pen of M. Paul Allard, than whom no recent writer speaks with more authority on the condition of Christianity in the early centuries. His various works dealing with that period have taken their place amongst the recognized classics of modern historical criticism.

The first of the two brochures at hand discusses briefly the bearing of modern criticism on the persecutions of the early Christians and shows that whilst the new methods place an interrogation point after some of the legends of the martyrs, they have in no wise weakened the incomparable fact of martyrdom as an apologetic argument.

The second booklet deals with the theory devised by a recent Italian writer that the burning of Rome under Nero was the work of the Christians. M. Allard, after a careful examination of the data, reaches the conclusion that the problem concerning the origin

of the conflagration will probably never be settled. Of the contemporaries some attribute it to accident, others to Nero. Tacitus indicates both hypotheses. After him the culpability of Nero seems to have been accepted by the people and the historians. The idea of the accountability of the Christians occurred to no ancient writer, pagan or believer. The notion was born in our own day. So long, therefore, as no ancient testimony is produced to give it consistency M. Allard rightly deems it the duty of the historian to hold it of no account.

ETUDES BIBLIQUES: Questions d'Ecriture Sainte. Par CH. P. GRANNAN, Ph. D., D. D., Professeur a l'Université Catholique de Washington. Traduit de l'Anglais par l'Abbé L. COLLIN, D. D., Professeur a l'École St François de Sales a Dijon. Paris: P. Lethielleux, pp. 208.

It may be taken as an indication of the permanent value of Dr. Grannan's Biblical Studies that they have passed into the French language, which is already so rich in kindred works, and also, we are told, into Italian, though the latter translation has not as yet been published. The collection of essays translated by Dr. Collin appeared originally as articles in this REVIEW and in the *Catholic University Bulletin*. It will doubtless gratify many readers to find them in the convenient shape given them in the present neat little volume. There are in all five essays. The first on a programme of Biblical studies was suggested by the Encyclical "Providentissimus Deus." It offers a very clear and comprehensive outline of the scope of Biblical introduction, exegesis and the connected sciences. The second paper, treating of the Higher Criticism and the Bible, is a judicious study of a subject that has now passed from the library into the magazine and newspaper and thence into the popular consciousness, where it has become enveloped in no little obscurity and confusion. The author distinguishes clearly between the use and abuse of Biblical Criticism and incidentally alludes to a passage from Hastings in which the following significant figures are taken. The hypotheses put forth by the so-called higher critics during the past fifty years to account for the historical books of the Old Testament number 113; for the poetical books, 108; for the major prophets, 99; for the minor, 144—making for the Old Testament a total of 599. At least 208 have been framed for the various books of the New Testament. Fortunately of the grand total 609 have been weighed and found wanting. Is the remainder reserved for a better fate?

The three concluding chapters treat of the dual element in Holy Scripture, the divine and the human—subjects evidently that require careful handling if undue minimizing and exaggeration of each

factor are to be avoided. It need hardly be said that Dr. Grannan has shown marked firmness of judgment, together with a delicate sense of discernment in his treatment of these matters.

The translator has done his part perfectly. The thoroughly translucent French impedes not one ray of the original, whilst its uniform smoothness makes one forget that he is reading a translation. A very complete analytical table of contents and a double index of matter and authors add not a little to the convenience of the volume. The work could have been made still more useful had the local references to authors quoted in the text been indicated. We might also note that the addition of the figures given on page 76 is somewhat at fault.

HISTORIC HIGHWAYS OF AMERICA. Vol. VI., Boone's Wilderness Road. By Arthur Butler Hulbert. With Maps and Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 207. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

Volume VI. of this very interesting and instructive series certainly does not fall behind its predecessors in value. It deals with "Boone's Wilderness Road," commonly called the "Wilderness Road." It leads into Kentucky from Virginia and Tennessee. It was the longest, blackest, hardest road of pioneer days in America, and it is true to-day to every gloomy description and vile epithet that was ever written or spoken of it. It was broken open for white man's use by Daniel Boone, from the Watanga settlement on the Holston river, Tennessee, to the mouth of Otter creek, on the Kentucky river, in the month preceding the outbreak of open revolution at Lexington and Concord. A wilderness of laurel thickets lay between the Kentucky settlement and Cumberland Gap and was the most desolate country imaginable. The name was transferred to the road that passed through it.

"As in the case of other highways with which this series of monographs is dealing, so with Boone's Wilderness Road: the road itself is of little consequence. The following pages treat of phases of the story of the West suggested by Boone's Road—the first social movement into the lower Ohio Valley, Henderson's Transylvania Company, the struggle of the Watanga settlement to prevent the Southern Indians from cutting Kentucky off from the world, the struggle of the Kentucky settlements against the British and their Indian allies, the burst of population over Boone's Road into Kentucky and what the early founding of that commonwealth meant to the East and to the West."

This outline suggests clearly the interest of the book. It also indicates the vividness with which facts are presented. The mere story of the building of a road would be as dry as the road itself on

an August day, but when we are invited to travel over it in the company of those who made it, and when we walk in the footsteps of those who pushed civilization before them along it, overcoming every obstacle, the story lives and moves and is enacted anew before our eyes.

SALVAGE FROM THE WRECK. A Few Memories of Friends Departed Preserved in Funeral Discourses. By *Father Gallwey, S. J.* New Edition, Enlarged. 12mo., pp. xxvi., 427. London: Art and Book Co.

We shall begin our notice of this book with the author's P. S. which appears at the end of his introduction: "I have said that it is in deference to the advice of three friends that I publish this volume." We are quite sure that every reader of the book will say that they were wise friends without being informed that their names were Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Rev. Henry Coleridge, S. J., and Rev. Father Russell, S. J. We are quite sure also that every one who reads the book will wish that more had been saved from the wreck.

It is a collection of fourteen funeral sermons, a few biographic sketches and two centenary sermons. Generally we do not approve of the publication of books of sermons, and we have said so in tones not altogether mild in the pages of this REVIEW on more than one occasion; therefore we are more than glad to welcome this book as the exception. Such an abundance of beautiful thoughts, so nicely worded and so aptly illustrated with quotations from Holy Writ, has never come under our notice before. No one else can preach these sermons because Father Gallwey has a distinct personality which no one else can assume or imitate, and all that he says or writes is his own in a much stricter sense than can generally be said of the writings and sayings of others. But his beautiful thoughts can be studied and his style and industry imitated and great profit will surely follow for preacher and hearer.

PROBLEMS AND PERSONS. By *Wilfrid Ward*, author of "William George Ward and the Oxford Movement," "The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman," etc. 8vo., pp. 430. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

A collection of eleven essays, most of which have appeared in the leading reviews in the course of the past eight years. They are reproduced with additions and alterations, and are brought into accord with the present time as to persons and facts. Three of them have not appeared before under the author's name; one of them, on the "Life Work of Cardinal Wiseman," is published for the first time. The other subjects are: "The Time-Spirit of the Nine-

teenth Century," "The Rigidity of Rome," "Unchanging Dogma and Changeful Man," "The Foundations of Belief," "Candor in Biography," "Tennyson," "Thomas Henry Huxley," "Two Mottoes of Cardinal Newman," "Newman and Renan," "The Life of Mrs. Augustus Craven."

These subjects speak for themselves, and it were superfluous for us to dwell on Mr. Ward's treatment of them. His reputation for all that is excellent as an essayist, historian and biographer is beyond question.

The Analytical Summary prefixed to the volume is a fine example of such work, giving in brief form the substance of each essay. The book is made in the best manner as to type and paper, being quite up to the standard of Longmans, Green & Co., whose imprint is always a guarantee of good form.

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By *William Turner, S. T. D.* Boston and London: Ginn & Co.

JESUIT EDUCATION: Its History and Principles viewed in the light of Modern Educational Problems. By *Robert Schwickerath, S. J.* St. Louis: B. Herder. \$1.75 net.

Here are two excellent books which we can unreservedly commend to all those who are interested in the problems of pedagogy. We have no doubt that they will win their way to general recognition as authoritative statements of the Catholic position in their respective spheres. We do not anticipate that they will put an immediate end to the inveterate slanders of non-Catholic writers; but if those whom it concerns see to it that copies of these admirable handbooks be placed in all the public libraries of the country, they will furnish an efficacious antidote to the virus of Compayre and his colleagues, who are doing their utmost to poison the minds of our countrymen by infecting with contempt for everything Catholic the most influential of all classes, the teachers in our public schools. We congratulate Dr. Turner and Father Schwickerath on the thoroughness and ability of their work, and trust that they will not allow their pens to rust. The Catholic writers ought not to rest until they have furnished us with a complete pedagogical library written in the same Catholic spirit which pervades the pages of these books.

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND FOR CATHOLIC SCHOOLS. By *E. Wyatt-Davies, M. A.*, Trinity College, Cambridge. With fourteen maps in the text. 12mo., pp. xv., 539. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

This manual has been made to supply the need of a text-book of

English history for the middle and upper divisions of school, which, while giving a narrative of political events, should at the same time emphasize matters of special interest to Catholics. It is well to note, however, that the book is a political, not an ecclesiastical history. At the same time it is also worthy of note that while the author endeavors to avoid a controversial tone when touching on religious questions, and while he tries to present a fair statement of facts at all times, yet he does view things from the Catholic point. **This is** entirely lawful and he is accompanied by reputable Protestant authors at every point.

The book is an excellent example of a good compendium. Most summaries are very dry, like bones without flesh, but Mr. Davies has the power of clothing brief statements with interest. The book fills a long-felt want and should have a large sale.

THE SPIRITUAL CONFLICT AND CONQUEST. By *Dom J. Castanea, O. S. B.* Edited with Preface and Notes by the Very Rev. Jerome Vaughan, O. S. B. Reprinted from the Old English Translation of 1562. Third Edition. 12mo., pp. lxx., 510. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Here is an old friend in a new dress, and it is hard to believe that the little green 24mo. which has been the constant companion of the incomparable Imitation for so many years on our shelves, is the same book. But so it is except that the new book has been enlarged with valuable notes and much increased in size by improved type and paper.

It is superfluous to speak of the excellencies of the Spiritual Combat, as it is unnecessary to dwell on the value of the Bible and the Imitation. These books form a trinity of sanctity in the library of every saint. Would that we could place them in the hands of every sinner. There is a sweetness, a consolation about the "Spiritual Conflict" which must be experienced, but cannot be described. Those who drink at this well of wisdom realize more and more the vanity of the world.

DE MATRIMONIO. Ad usum Scholarum ex Summa Theologiae moralis exprimendum curavit *H. Noldin, S. J.* Quilponte. Fel. Rauch, pp. 218. Pustet & Co., New York, 1903.

The author of this little book on matrimony has published the tract apart for the convenience of his students in the University of Innsbruck, where he is a professor. Its clear-cut method, variety of letter press and other mechanical devices adapt it particularly to the students' wants. It will serve no less as a handy

instrument of review and reference for the use of the clergy, especially as it brings within brief compass teachings scattered amongst many large works and embodies the late decrees of the Roman Congregations on its subject matter. A note here and there might have enhanced its value for the American student, as, for instance, in connection with the promulgation of the Tridintine decree *Tametsi*. The localities are indicated for Europe, but not for the United States.

WETZER UND WELTE'S KIRCHEN LEXICON. *Namen—und Sachregister Zu allen Zwoelf Baenden.* Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. \$2.45 net.

With the publication of this volume of indexes the finishing touch has been put to the great Catholic Lexicon of Herder, a work which truly deserves the oft-abused epithets of monumental and epoch-making. We have repeatedly drawn the reader's attention to the importance of this enduring monument of German faith and industry. We should feel crippled without it, as there exists absolutely no substitute for it in any language.

The present volume of indexes is worthy of the main work and greatly facilitates the use of it. The industry of the compiler, who is described as a parish priest of the Archdiocese of Cologne, is truly astounding. The preliminary remarks of Dr. Abfalter, "How to use the Lexicon," are judicious and suggestive.

DIVINE GRACE. *A Series of Instructions arranged according to the Baltimore Catechism. An aid to Teachers and Preachers.* Edited by Rev. Edmund J. Wirth, Ph. D., D. D., Professor of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N. Y. 12mo., pp. 330. New York: Benziger Brothers.

"These instructions on divine grace are intended as a help to the teacher and the catechist in explaining the doctrine of the Church on this important subject." The author adds that his aim has been to give in simple language as full an exposition of the doctrine of grace as possible under the circumstances. He has succeeded admirably: in simplicity of language, clearness of expression and aptness of illustration the book is a model. It possesses the rare quality of appealing to the trained theologian and the amateur. Few writers are able to make so subtle a subject so intelligible.

THE GREEN SATIN GOWN. By *Laura E. Richards*. Illustrated by Etheldred B. Barry. 12mo., pp. 225. Boston: Dana, Estes & Co.

This volume contains seven short stories in Miss Richards' happiest style. She is always bright and interesting and there is a vividness about all that she writes which is characteristic. Add to

this that her stories point a moral without preaching it, and you must admit that her books are worth having.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:** Apparitions, Revelations, Graces. By *Bernard St. John*. 12mo., pp. 486. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- TOWARDS ETERNITY.** By the *Abbé Poulin*. Translated by M. T. Torromé. 12mo., pp. 328. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Bros.
- MORAL BRIEFS.** A Concise, Reasoned and Popular Exposition of Catholic Morals. By the *Rev. John H. Stapleton*. 12mo., pp. 311. Hartford: The Catholic Transcript.
- MISTAKES AND MISSTATEMENTS OF MYERS;** or, Notes on Myer's Mediæval and Modern History. By *Rev. William E. Randall*. 12mo., pp. 350. Columbia, Ohio: Sacred Heart Church.
- THE INNER LIFE OF THE SOUL.** Short Spiritual Messages for the Ecclesiastical Year. By *S. L. Emery*. 12mo., pp. 273. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.
- THE RIGHT TO LIFE OF THE UNBORN CHILD.** A Controversy between Professor Hector Treub, M. D., Rev. R. Van Oppenraay, S. J., and Professor Th. M. Vlaming, M. D. 12mo., pp. 125. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.
- SKETCHES FOR SERMONS,** chiefly on the Gospels, for the Sundays and Holy Days of the year. By *Rev. R. K. Wakeham, S. S.*, St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y. 12mo., pp. 229. New York: Joseph F. Wagner.
- IRISH-AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.** By *Very Rev. John Canon O'Hanlon, M. R. I. A.* Quarto, pp. 765. Illustrated. Dublin: Sealy, Byers & Walker.
- A NEW DISCOVERY OF A VAST COUNTRY IN AMERICA.** By *Father Louis Hennepin*. Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, with facsimiles of original title-pages, maps and illustrations, and the addition of Introduction, Notes and Index by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. In two volumes, square 8vo., pp. 710. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.
- HISTORY OF IRELAND,** in three volumes. By *Rev. E. A. D'Alton, C. C.*, with Preface by Most Rev. John Healy, D. D., Archbishop of Tuam. Vol. I., 8vo., pp. 460. From the Earliest Times to 1547. Dublin: Sealy, Byers & Walker.
- READING AND THE MIND WITH SOMETHING TO READ.** By *Rev. J. F. X. O'Connor, S. J.* Sixth Edition revised and enlarged. 12mo., pp. 209. Philadelphia: John J. McVey.
- FICTION FROM BENZIGER BROTHERS, NEW YORK:**
- HEARTS OF GOLD.** By *I. Edhor*. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 234.
- SAINT CUTHBERT'S.** By *Rev. J. E. Copus, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 245.
- CARROLL DARE.** By *Mary T. Waggaman*. 12mo., pp. 161. Illustrated.
- NEW PUBLICATIONS OF GINN & Co., BOSTON:**
- THE CORONA SONG BOOK.** A choice Collection of Choruses designed for the use of High Schools, Grammar Schools, Academies and Seminaries. Comprising Part Songs and Choruses, Oratorio Selections, Selected Hymns and Tunes, National and Patriotic Songs. Selected, Compiled and Arranged by William C. Hoff, Director of Music in the Public Schools of Yonkers, N. Y. Quarto, pp. 362. Price, \$1.00. By mail, \$1.20.
- TENNYSON'S POEMS.** Edited by Henry Van Dyke Murray, Professor of English Literature in Princeton University. 12mo., pp. 490. Price, 90 cents. By mail, \$1.00.
- THE SHIP OF STATE.** By those at the Helm. 12mo., pp. 264.
- LESSONS IN PHYSICS.** By *Lothrop D. Higgins, Ph. B.*, Instructor in Natural Science in the Morgan School, Clinton, Conn. 12mo., pp. 379. Illustrated. Price, 90 cents.
- GEOGRAPHICAL INFLUENCES IN AMERICAN HISTORY.** By *Albert Perry Bingham*, Professor of Geology in Colgate University. 12mo., pp. 366. Illustrated. Price, \$1.25. By mail, \$1.40.
- STORIES OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS.** By *Charles D. Shaw*. 12mo., pp. 264. Illustrated. Price, 60 cents. By mail, 70 cents.
- A FRENCH READER.** Arranged for Beginners in Preparatory Schools and Colleges. By *Fred Davis Aldrich, A. M.*, and *Ivring Lysander Foster, A. M.* 16mo., pp. 304. Price, 50 cents. By mail, 55 cents.
- MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN HISTORY.** Part II. The Modern Age. By *Philip Van Ness Myers*. 12mo., pp. 650.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

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ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER PIUS X.

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE POPE.

TO THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS AND
OTHER ORDINARIES IN PEACE AND COMMUNION
WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE.

Venerable Brethren, Health and the Apostolic Blessing:

AN interval of a few months will again bring round that most happy day on which, fifty years ago, our predecessor, Pius IX., of holy memory, surrounded by a splendid throng of Cardinals and Bishops, pronounced and promulgated with the authority of the infallible magisterium, as a truth revealed by God that the Most Blessed Virgin Mary in the first instant of her conception was free from all stain of original sin. All the world knows the feelings with which the faithful of every nation of the earth received this proclamation and the manifestations of public satisfaction and joy which greeted it; for truly there has not been in the memory of man any more universal or more harmonious expression of sentiment shown towards the august Mother of God or the Vicar of Jesus Christ.

And, Venerable Brethren, why should we not hope to-day after the lapse of half a century, when we renew the memory of the

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Immaculate Virgin, that an echo of that holy joy will be awakened in our minds, and that the magnificent scenes of that distant day, of faith and of love towards the august Mother of God, will be repeated? Of all this we are, indeed, made ardently desirous by the devotion, united with supreme gratitude for favors received, which we have always cherished toward the Blessed Virgin; and we have a sure pledge of the fulfilment of our desires in the fervor of all Catholics, ready and willing as they are to multiply their testimonies of love and reverence for the great Mother of God. But we must not omit to say that this desire of ours is especially stimulated by a sort of secret instinct which prompts us to regard as not far distant the fulfilment of those great hopes, assuredly not unfounded, which the solemn promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception gave rise to in the minds of Pius, our predecessor, and of all the Bishops of the world.

Many, it is true, lament the fact that until now these hopes have been unfulfilled, and are prone to repeat the words of Jeremias: "We looked for peace and no good came; for a time of healing, and behold fear." (Jeremias viii., 15.) But all such will be certainly rebuked as "men of little faith," who make no effort to penetrate the works of God or to estimate them in the light of truth. For who can number the secret gifts of grace which God has bestowed upon His Church through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin throughout this period? And even overlooking these gifts, what is to be said of the Vatican Council so opportunely convoked; or of the dogma of Papal Infallibility promulgated in time to meet the errors that were about to arise; or, finally, of that new and unprecedented fervor with which the faithful of all classes and of every nation have long been wending their way hither to venerate in person the Vicar of Christ? Surely the Providence of God has shown itself admirably in our two predecessors, Pius and Leo, who with such great holiness ruled the Church in most turbulent times through a length of Pontificate conceded to no other before them. Then, again, no sooner had Pius IX. proclaimed as a dogma of Catholic faith the exemption of Mary from the original stain, than the Virgin herself began in Lourdes those wonderful manifestations, followed by the vast and magnificent movements which have resulted in those two temples dedicated to the Immaculate Mother, where the prodigies which still continue to take place through her intercession furnish splendid arguments against the incredulity of our days.

Witnesses, then, as we are of all these great benefits which God has granted through the benign influence of the Virgin in those fifty years now about to be completed, why should we not believe

that our salvation is nearer than we thought; all the more so since we know from experience that, in the dispensations of Divine Providence, when evils reach their limit, deliverance is not far distant? "Her time is near at hand, and her days shall not be prolonged. For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob and will choose one out of Israel." (Isaias xiv., 1.) Wherefore the hope we cherish is not a vain one, that we, too, may before long repeat: "The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked; the rod of the rulers. The whole earth is quiet and still; it is glad and hath rejoiced." (Isaias xiv., 5, 7.)

But the first and chief reason, Venerable Brethren, why the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception should excite a singular fervor in the souls of Christians lies for us in that restoration of all things in Christ which we have already set forth in our first Encyclical letter. For can any one fail to see that there is no surer or more direct road than by Mary for uniting all mankind in Christ and obtaining through Him the perfect adoption of sons, that we may be holy and immaculate in the sight of God? For if to Mary it was truly said: "Blessed art thou who hast believed, because in thee shall be fulfilled the things that have been told thee by the Lord" (Luke i., 45); or in other words, that she would conceive and bring forth the Son of God; and if she did receive in her womb Him who is by nature Truth itself in order that "He, generated in a new order, and with a new nativity, though invisible in Himself, might become visible in our flesh:"¹ the Son of God made man, being the "author and finisher of faith," it surely follows that His Mother most holy should be recognized as participating in the divine mysteries and as being in a manner the guardian of them, and that upon her as upon a foundation, the noblest after Christ, rises the edifice of the faith of all centuries.

How think otherwise? God could have given us the Redeemer of the human race, and the Founder of the Faith, in another way than through the Virgin, but since Divine Providence has been pleased that we should have the Man-God through Mary, who conceived Him by the Holy Ghost and bore Him in her womb, it only remains for us to receive Christ from the hands of Mary. Hence wherever the Scriptures *prophesy of the grace which was to come in us* the Redeemer of mankind is almost invariably presented to us as united with His Mother. The Lamb that is to rule the world will be sent—but He will be sent from the rock of the desert; the flower will blossom, but it will blossom from the root of Jesse. Adam, the father of mankind, looked to Mary crushing the serpent's head,

¹ St. Leo the Great, Ser. 2, De Nativ. Dom.

and he restrained the tears which the malediction brought into his eyes; Noë thought of her when shut up in the ark of safety, and Abraham when prevented from the slaying of his son; Jacob at the sight of the ladder on which angels ascended and descended; Moses amazed at the sight of the bush which burned but was not consumed; David escorting the ark of God with dancing and psalmody; Elias as he looked at the little cloud that rose out of the sea. In fine, after Christ, we find in Mary the end of the law and the fulfilment of the figures and oracles.

And it cannot be doubted that through the Virgin, and through her more than through any other means, we have a way of reaching the knowledge of Jesus Christ offered to us when it is remembered that with her alone of all others Jesus for thirty years was united, as it behooves a son to be united with his mother, in the closest ties of intimacy and domestic life. Who more than His Mother could have a far-reaching knowledge of the admirable mysteries of the birth and childhood of Christ, and above all of the mystery of the Incarnation, which is the beginning and the foundation of faith? She not only *kept in her heart* the events of Bethlehem and what took place in Jerusalem in the Temple of the Lord, but sharing as she did the thoughts and the secret wishes of Christ she may be said to have lived the very life of her Son. Hence nobody ever knew Christ so profoundly as she did, and nobody can ever be more competent as a guide and teacher of the knowledge of Christ.

Hence it follows, as we have already pointed out, that the Virgin is more powerful than all others as a means of uniting mankind with Christ. Hence, too, since, according to Christ Himself "Now this is eternal life: That they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent" (John xvii., 3), and since it is through Mary that we attain to the knowledge of Christ, through Mary also we most easily obtain that life of which Christ is the source and origin.

And if we consider ever so little how many and powerful are the reasons which prompt this most holy Mother to bestow on us these precious gifts, oh, how our hopes will be expanded!

For is not Mary the Mother of Christ? Then she is our Mother also. And we must in truth hold that Christ, the Word made Flesh, is also the Saviour of mankind. He had a material body like that of any other man; and as Saviour of the human family, he had a spiritual and mystical body, the society, namely, of those who believe in Christ. "We are many, but one sole body in Christ." (Rom. xii., 5.) Now the Blessed Virgin did not conceive the Eternal Son of God merely in order that He might be made man, taking His human nature from her, but also in order that by means of the

nature assumed from her He might be the Redeemer of men. For which reason the Angel said to the Shepherds: "To-day there is born to you a Saviour who is Christ the Lord." (Luke ii., 11.) Wherefore in the same holy bosom of His most chaste Mother, Christ took to Himself flesh, and united to Himself the spiritual body formed by those who were to believe in Him. Hence Mary, carrying the Saviour within her, may be said to have also carried all those whose life was contained in the life of the Saviour. Therefore all we who are united to Christ, and as the Apostle says, are "members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones" (Ephesians v., 30) have issued from the womb of Mary like a body united to its head. Hence then in a spiritual and mystical fashion, we are all children of Mary, and she is Mother of us all; "the Mother, spiritually indeed, but truly the Mother of the members of Christ, who we are."²

If, then, the most Blessed Virgin is the Mother at once of God and men, who can doubt that she will endeavor with all diligence to procure that Christ, "the Head of the Body of the Church" (Colossians i., 18), may transfuse His gifts into us, His members, and above all know Him and "live by Him?" (I. John iv., 9.)

Moreover, it was not only the glory of the Mother of God "to have presented to God the Only Begotten who was to be born of human members"³ the material by which He was prepared as a Victim for the salvation of mankind, but hers also the office of tending and nourishing that Victim and at the appointed time of offering Him at the altar. Hence that never dissociated manner of life and labors of the Son and the Mother which permits the application to both of the words of the Psalmist: "My life is consumed in sorrow and my years in groans." (Psalm xxx., 11.) When the supreme hour of the Son came, beside the Cross of Jesus there stood Mary His Mother not merely occupied in contemplating the cruel spectacle, but rejoicing that her Only Son was offered for the salvation of mankind; and so entirely participating in His Passion that, if it had been possible, "she would have gladly borne all the torments that her Son underwent."⁴ From this community of will and suffering between Christ and Mary "she merited to become most worthily the Reparatrix of the lost world"⁵ and Dispensatrix of all the gifts that Our Saviour purchased for us by His Death and by His Blood.

It cannot, of course, be denied that the dispensing of these treasures is the particular and peculiar right of Jesus Christ, for they

² S. Augustine L. de S. Virginitate, c. 6.

³ S. Bede Ven. L. iv. in Luc. xl.

⁴ S. Bonaventure I. Sent. d. 48, ad Litt. dub. 4.

⁵ Eadmeri Mon. De Excellentia Virg. Mariae, c. 9.

are the exclusive fruit of His Death, who by His nature is the mediator between God and man. Nevertheless, by this union in sorrow and suffering, as we have said, which existed between the Mother and the Son, it has been allowed to the august Virgin "to be the most powerful mediatrix and advocate of the whole world with her Divine Son."⁶ The source, then, is Jesus Christ, "of whose fulness we have all received" (John i., 16), "from whom the whole body, being compacted and fitly joined together by what every joint supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in charity." (Ephesians iv., 16.) But Mary, as St. Bernard justly remarks, is the *channel*,⁷ or, if you will, that connecting portion by which the body is joined to the head and by which the head exerts its power and its virtue: "For she is the neck of our Head by which He communicates to His Mystical body all spiritual gifts."⁸

We are thus, it will be seen, very far from declaring the Mother of God to be the author of supernatural grace which belongs to God alone; but since she surpassed all in holiness and union with Christ, and has been associated by Christ in the work of redemption, she, as the expression is, merits *de congruo* what Christ merits *de condigno*, and is the principal minister in the distribution of grace. "He sitteth at the right hand of the Majesty on high" (Hebrews i., 3); but Mary sitteth as a Queen on His right hand, the securest refuge of those who are in peril, as well as the most faithful of helpers, so that we have naught to fear, or despair of as long as "she is our guide and our patroness; while she is propitious and protects."⁹

With these principles laid down and returning to our subject, will it not appear to all that it is right and proper to affirm that Mary whom Jesus made His assiduous companion from the house of Nazareth to the *place of Calvary* knew as none other knew the secrets of His Heart; distributes as by a mother's right the treasures of His merits; and is the surest help to the knowledge and love of Christ? They prove it only too truly who by their deplorable manner of life deceived by false teaching or the wiles of the devil fancy they can dispense with the aid of the Virgin Mother. Miserable and unhappy are they who neglect her on the pretence that thus they honor Christ. They forget that *the child is not found without Mary His Mother*.

Under these circumstances, Venerable Brethren, such is the end which all the solemnities that are everywhere being prepared in

⁶ Pius IX., "Ineffabilis."

⁷ Serm. de temp on the Nativ. B. V. De Aquæductu, n. 4.

⁸ St. Bernardin. Sen. Quadrag. de Evangel. ætern. Serm. X.

⁹ Pius IX., Bulla "Ineffabilis."

honor of the holy and Immaculate Conception of Mary should have in view. No homage is more agreeable to her, none is sweeter to her than that we should know and really love Jesus Christ. Let, then, crowds fill the churches—let solemn feasts be celebrated and public rejoicings be made. Such manifestations are eminently suited for enlivening our faith. But unless heart and will be added, they will all be empty forms; mere appearances of piety. At such a spectacle, the Virgin, borrowing the words of Jesus Christ, would address us with the just reproach: "This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me." (Matthew xv., 8.)

For to be genuine our piety towards the Mother of God ought to spring from the heart; external acts have neither utility nor value if the acts of the soul have no part in them. Now these latter can only have one object, which is that we should fully carry out what the divine Son of Mary commands. For if true love alone has the power to unite the wills of men, it is of prime necessity that we should have one will with Mary to serve Jesus our Lord. What this most prudent Virgin said to the servants at the marriage feast of Cana she addresses also to us: "Whatsoever He shall say to you, do ye." (John ii., 5.) Now here is the word of Jesus Christ: "If you would enter into life, keep the commandments." (Matthew xix., 17.) Let then each one fully convince himself of this, that if his piety towards the Blessed Virgin does not hinder him from sinning, or does not move his will to amend an evil life, it is a deceptive and lying piety, wanting as it is in proper effect and in its natural fruit.

If any one desires a confirmation of this it may easily be found in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. For leaving aside tradition which, as well as Scripture, is a source of truth, whence has this conviction of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin shown itself in every age to be so much in keeping with the Christian instinct as to appear fixed and innate in the hearts of the faithful? We shrink with horror from saying, as Denis the Carthusian so well expresses it, that "this woman who was to crush the head of the serpent should have been crushed by him and that the Mother of God should have ever been a daughter of the Evil One."¹⁰ No, to the Christian intelligence the idea is unthinkable that the flesh of Christ, holy, stainless, innocent, was formed in the womb of Mary of a flesh which had ever, if only for the briefest moment, contracted any stain. And why so, but because an infinite opposition separates God from sin? There certainly we have the origin of the conviction common to all Christians that before Jesus Christ, clothed in human nature, cleansed us from our sins in His

¹⁰ Sent. d. 3, q. 1.

blood, He accorded Mary the grace and special privilege of being preserved and exempted, from the first moment of her conception, from all stain of original sin.

If, then, God has such a horror of sin as to have willed to keep the future Mother of His Son not only free from the stains which are voluntarily contracted; but, by a special favor and in prevision of the merits of Jesus Christ, from that other stain of which the sad sign is transmitted to all the children of Adam by a sort of hapless heritage, who can doubt that it is a duty for every one who desires to deserve well of Mary by his homage to correct his vicious and depraved habits and subdue the passions which incite him to evil?

Whoever, moreover, wishes, and no one ought not so to wish, that his devotion should be perfect and worthy of her, should go further and strive might and main to imitate her example. It is a divine law that those only attain everlasting happiness who have by such faithful following reproduced in themselves the form of the patience and sanctity of Jesus Christ: "for whom He foreknew, He also predestinated to be made conformable to the image of His Son; that He might be the first-born amongst many brethren." (Romans viii., 29.) But such generally is our infirmity that we are easily discouraged by the greatness of such an example. By the providence of God, however, another example is proposed to us, which is both as near to Christ as human nature allows, and more nearly accords with the weakness of our nature. And this is no other than that of the Mother of God. "Such was Mary," very pertinently points out St. Ambrose, "that her life is an example for all." And, therefore, he rightly concludes: "Have then before your eyes, as an image, the virginity and life of Mary from whom as from a mirror shines forth the brightness of chastity and the form of virtue."¹¹

Now if it becomes children not to omit the imitation of any of the virtues of this most Blessed Mother, we yet wish that the faithful apply themselves by preference to the principal virtues which are, as it were, the nerves and joints of the Christian life—we mean faith, hope and charity towards God and our neighbor. Although no part of the life of Mary fails to show the brilliant character of these virtues, yet they attained their highest degree of splendor at the time when she stood by her dying Son. Jesus is nailed to the cross, and He is reproached with maledictions for having "made Himself the Son of God." (John xix., 7.) But she unceasingly recognized and adored the divinity in Him. She bore His dead body to the tomb, but never for a moment doubted that He would rise again. Then the love of God with which she burned made

¹¹ De Virginit. L. II., c. II.

her a partaker in the sufferings of Christ and the associate in His passion; with Him, moreover, as if forgetful of her own sorrow, she prayed for the pardon of the executioners, although they in their hate cried out: "His blood be upon us and upon our children." (Matthew xxvii., 25.)

But lest it be thought that we have lost sight of our subject, which is the Immaculate Conception, what great and opportune help will be found in it for the preservation and right development of those same virtues! What in fact is the starting point of the enemies of religion in spreading the great and grievous errors by which the faith of so many is shaken? They begin by denying that man has fallen by sin and has been cast down from his primal state. Hence they regard as mere fables original sin and the evils that were its consequence. Humanity, vitiated in its source, vitiated in its turn the whole race of man; and thus was evil introduced amongst men and the necessity for a Redeemer involved. Rejecting all this it is easy to understand that no place is left for Christ, for the Church, for grace or for anything that is above and beyond nature; in a word the whole edifice of faith is shaken from top to bottom. But let the people believe and confess that the Virgin Mary has been from the first moment of her conception preserved from all stain; and it is straightway necessary to admit both original sin and the rehabilitation of the human race by Jesus Christ, the Gospel and the Church and the law of suffering. Thus Rationalism and Materialism will be torn up by the roots and destroyed, and there will be given to the teaching of Christianity the glory of guarding and protecting the truth. It is, moreover, a vice common to the enemies of the faith of our time especially, that they repudiate and proclaim the necessity of repudiating all respect and obedience for the authority of the Church, and even of any human power, in the idea that it will thus be more easy to make an end of faith. Here we have the origin of anarchism, than which nothing is more pernicious and destructive to both the natural and supernatural order. Now this evil, which is equally fatal to society at large and to Christianity, is done away with by the dogma of the Immaculate Conception by the obligation which it imposes of recognizing in the Church a power before which not only the will but the intelligence has to subject itself. It is because of such subjection of the reason that Christians sing the praise of the Mother of God: "Thou art all fair, O Mary, and the stain of original sin is not in thee."¹² And thus once again is justified what the Church attributes to this august Virgin that she has exterminated all heresies in the world.

¹² *Mass of Immac. Concep.*

And if, as the Apostle declares, "faith is nothing else than the substance of things to be hoped for" (Hebrews xi., 1) every one will easily grant that our faith is confirmed and our hope aroused and strengthened by the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. The Virgin was kept the more free from all stain of original sin because she was to be the Mother of Christ, and she was the Mother of Christ that the hope of everlasting happiness might be born again in our souls.

Leaving aside charity towards God, who can contemplate the Immaculate Virgin without feeling moved to fulfil that precept which Christ called peculiarly His own, namely, that of loving one another as He loved us? "A great sign," thus the Apostle St. John describes a vision divinely sent him that appeared in the heavens: "A woman clothed with the sun, and with the moon under her feet and a crown of twelve stars upon her head." (Apocalypse xii., 1.) Every one knows that this woman signified the Virgin Mary, the stainless one who brought forth our Head. The Apostle continues: "And, being with child, she cried travailling in birth, and was in pain to be delivered." (Apocalypse xii., 2.) John therefore saw the Most Holy Mother of God already in eternal happiness, yet travailling in a mysterious childbirth. What birth was it? Surely it was the birth of us who, still in exile, are yet to be generated to the perfect charity of God, and to eternal happiness. And the birth pains show the love and desire with which the Virgin from heaven above watches over us, and strives with unwearying prayer to bring about the completion of the number of the elect.

This same charity we desire that all should earnestly endeavor to attain, taking advantage of the extraordinary feasts in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Oh how bitterly and fiercely is Jesus Christ now being persecuted, as well as the most holy religion which He founded! And how grave is the peril that threatens many of being drawn away to abandon the faith by the errors that are spread broadcast! "Then let him who thinks he stands take heed lest he fall." (I. Corinthians x., 12.) And let all, with humble prayer and entreaty, implore of God, through the intercession of Mary, that those who have abandoned the truth may repent. We know, indeed, from experience that such prayer, born of charity and trust in the Virgin, has never been vain. True, even in the future the strife against the Church will never cease, "for there must be also heresies, that they also who are reprovéd may be made manifest among you." (I. Corinthians xi., 19.) But neither will the Virgin ever cease to succor us in our trials, however grave they be, and to carry on the fight fought by

her since her conception, so that every day we may repeat: "To-day the head of the serpent of old was crushed by her."¹⁸

In order that heavenly graces may help us more abundantly than usual during this year to honor and to imitate the Blessed Virgin, and that thus we may more easily secure our object of restoring all things in Christ, we have determined, after the example of our predecessors at the beginning of their Pontificates, to grant to the Catholic world an extraordinary indulgence in the form of a jubilee.

Wherefore, confiding in the mercy of Almighty God and in the authority of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, by virtue of that power of binding and loosing which, unworthy though we are, the Lord has given us, we do concede and impart the most plenary indulgence of all their sins to the faithful, all and several of both sexes, dwelling in this our beloved city, or coming into it, who from the first Sunday in Lent, that is from the 21st of February, to the second day of June, the solemnity of the Most Sacred Body of Christ inclusively, shall three times visit one of the four Patriarchal basilicas, and there for some time pray God for the liberty and exaltation of the Catholic Church and this Apostolic See, for the extirpation of the heresies and the conversion of all who are in error, for the concord of Christian Princes and the peace and unity of all the faithful, and according to our intention; and who, within the said period, shall fast once, using only meagre fare, excepting the days not included in the Lenten Indult; and, after confessing their sins, shall receive the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist; and to all others, wherever they be, dwelling outside this city, who, within the time above mentioned or during a space of three months, even not continuous, to be definitely appointed by the ordinaries according to the convenience of the faithful, but before the eighth day of December, shall three times visit the cathedral church, if there be one, or, if not, the parish church; or, in the absence of this, the principal church; and shall devoutly fulfil the other works above mentioned. And we do at the same time permit that this indulgence, which is to be gained only once, may be applied in suffrage for the souls which have passed from this life united in charity with God.

We do, moreover, concede that travelers by land or sea may gain the same indulgence immediately on their return to their homes provided they perform the works already indicated.

To confessors approved by their respective ordinaries we grant faculties for commuting the above works enjoined by us for other works of piety, and this concession shall be applicable not only to regulars of both sexes, but to all others who cannot perform the

¹⁸ Office Immac. Con., II. Vespers, Magnif.

works prescribed, and we do grant faculties also to dispense from Communion children who have not yet been admitted to it.

Moreover, to the faithful, all and several, the laity and the clergy both secular and regular of all orders and institutes, even those calling for special mention, we do grant permission and power, for this sole object, to select any priest, regular or secular, among those actually approved (which faculty may also be used by nuns, novices and other women living in the cloister, provided the confessor they select be one approved for nuns) by whom, when they have confessed to him within the prescribed time with the intention of gaining the present jubilee and of fulfilling all the other works requisite for gaining it, they may on this sole occasion and only in the forum of conscience be absolved from all excommunication, suspension and every other ecclesiastical sentence and censure pronounced or inflicted for any cause by the law or by a judge, including those reserved to the ordinary and to us or to the Apostolic See, even in cases reserved in a special manner to anybody whomsoever and to us and to the Apostolic See; and they may also be absolved from all sin or transgression, even those reserved to the ordinaries themselves and to us and the Apostolic See, on condition, however, that a salutary penance be enjoined together with the other prescriptions of the law, and in the case of heresy after the abjuration and retraction of error as is enjoined by the law; and the said priests may further commute to other pious and salutary works all vows even those taken under oath and reserved to the Apostolic See (except those of chastity, of religion and of obligations which have been accepted by third persons); and with the said penitents, even regulars, in sacred orders such confessors may dispense from all secret irregularities contracted solely by violation of censures affecting the exercise of said orders and promotion to higher orders.

But we do not intend by the present Letters to dispense from any irregularities whatsoever, or from crime or defect, public or private, contracted in any manner through notoriety or other incapacity or inability; nor do we intend to derogate from the Constitution with its accompanying declaration, published by Benedict XIV. of happy memory, which begins with the words *Sacramentum poenitentiae*; nor is it our intention that these present Letters may, or can, in any way avail those who, by us and the Apostolic See, or by any ecclesiastical judge, have been by name excommunicated, suspended, interdicted or declared under other sentences or censures, or who have been publicly denounced, unless they do within the allotted time satisfy, or, when necessary, come to an arrangement with the parties concerned.

To all this we are pleased to add that we do concede and will

that all retain during this time of jubilee the privilege of gaining all other indulgences, not excepting plenary indulgences, which have been granted by our predecessors or by ourself.

We close these Letters, Venerable Brethren, by manifesting anew the great hope we earnestly cherish that through this extraordinary gift of jubilee granted by us under the auspices of the Immaculate Virgin, large numbers of those who are unhappily separated from Jesus Christ may return to Him, and that love of virtue and fervor of devotion may flourish anew among the Christian people. Fifty years ago, when Pius IX. proclaimed as an article of faith the Immaculate Conception of the most Blessed Mother of Christ, it seemed, as we have already said, as if an incredible wealth of grace were poured out upon the earth; and with the increase of confidence in the Virgin Mother of God, the old religious spirit of the people was everywhere greatly augmented. Is it forbidden us to hope for still greater things for the future? True, we are passing through disastrous times, when we may well make our own the lamentation of the Prophet: "There is no truth and no mercy and no knowledge of God on the earth. Blasphemy and lying and homicide and theft and adultery have inundated it." (Osee iv., 1-2.) Yet in the midst of this deluge of evil, the Virgin Most Clement rises before our eyes like a rainbow, as the arbiter of peace between God and man: "I will set my bow in the clouds and it shall be the sign of a covenant between me and between the earth." (Genesis ix., 13.) Let the storm rage and sky darken—not for that shall we be dismayed. "And the bow shall be in the clouds, and I shall see it and shall remember the everlasting covenant." (Genesis ix., 16.) "And there shall no more be waters of a flood to destroy all flesh." (Genesis ix., 15.) Oh, yes, if we trust as we should in Mary, now especially when we are about to celebrate, with more than usual fervor, her Immaculate Conception, we shall recognize in her the Virgin most powerful "who with virginal foot did crush the head of the serpent."¹⁴

In pledge of these graces, Venerable Brethren, we impart the Apostolic Benediction lovingly in the Lord to you and to your people.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the second day of February, 1904, in the first year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

¹⁴ *Off. Immac. Conc.*

PAPAL LETTER TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL RES-
PIGHI, VICAR GENERAL OF ROME, REGARDING
THE REGULATIONS FOR THE RESTORA-
TION OF SACRED MUSIC.

My Lord Cardinal:

THE earnest wish to see the decorum, dignity and sanctity of the liturgical functions fully restored has determined us to make known by means of a special communication from our own hand what our desire is with regard to the sacred music so largely used in connection with worship. We are confident that all will help us in this desired restoration not merely with implicit obedience, praiseworthy as that, too, always is, for through it commands that are onerous and contrary to our own way of thinking and feeling are accepted in a pure spirit of obedience, but also with that alacrity of will which springs from the intimate conviction that the action enjoined is necessary for reasons duly understood, clear, evident, irresistible.

From a little reflection on the sacred object for which art is admitted to the service of worship, and on the imperative propriety of offering to the Lord only things good in themselves and, where possible, excellent, it will be readily recognized that the prescriptions of the Church with respect to sacred music are only the direct application of those two fundamental principles. When the clergy and choirmasters are penetrated by them good sacred music revives thoroughly and spontaneously, as has been witnessed and is continually observed in a great number of places; when, on the other hand, those principles are lost sight of, neither prayers nor admonitions, nor severe and repeated commands, nor threats of canonical penalties suffice to prevent change; to such an extent does passion, and if not that, a shameful and inexcusable ignorance, find means to elude the wish of the Church and to remain for years in the same reprehensible state of affairs.

Such alacrity of will we expect in a particular manner from the clergy and the faithful of this our beloved city of Rome, the centre of Christianity and the seat of the supreme authority of the Church. It seems in truth that no one ought to be more sensible to the influence of our word than those who hear it directly from our mouth, and that none ought to show greater solicitude in offering the example of loving and filial submission to our paternal invitations than the first and most noble portion of the flock of Christ, namely, the Church of Rome, specially committed to our pastoral care as Bishop. Moreover, this example ought to be given in sight of the whole

world. From every quarter both Bishops and the faithful come here continually to pay honor to the Vicar of Christ and to retemper the spirit in visiting our venerable basilicas and the tombs of the martyrs, and in being present with redoubled fervor at the solemn functions celebrated here at every time of the year with all pomp and splendor. "Optamus ne moribus nostris offensi recedant," said our predecessor Benedict XIV. in his day, in his encyclical letter, "Annus qui," speaking of sacred music: "We desire that they should not return to their country scandalized by our customs." And touching further upon the abuse of instruments then prevalent, the same Pontiff said: "What idea will they form of us who, coming from countries where instruments are not used in church, will hear them in our churches in exactly the same way as people are accustomed to do at the theatres and other profane places? They will come also from places and countries where there is singing and instrumental music in the churches as now in ours. But if they are people of sense they will be pained at not finding in our music that remedy for the evils in their churches which they came here to seek." In other times perhaps but little notice was taken of the departure of the music executed in our churches from the ecclesiastical laws and prescriptions, and the scandal was perchance more limited, inasmuch as what was unbecoming was more widely practiced and more general. But now, since so much zeal is expended by men of merit in explaining the meaning of the liturgy and of the arts used in connection with worship, since in so many churches throughout the world there have been obtained in the restoration of sacred music such consoling and not rarely such splendid results, the gravest difficulties being happily overcome, since, in fine, the necessity of an absolute change in the state of things is universally felt, every abuse in this department becomes intolerable and should be removed.

You will, then, my Lord Cardinal, we are sure, in your high office as our Vicar in Rome for spiritual affairs, with the gentleness which belongs to your character, but not with the less firmness, see that the music executed in the churches and chapels both of the secular and the regular clergy of this city comply fully with our instructions. Many things ought to be removed or corrected in the singing of the Masses, of the Litany of Loretto and of the Eucharistic hymn; but a complete renovation is needed in the singing of Vespers on the festivals celebrated in the various churches and basilicas. In it the liturgical directions of the "*Ceremoniale Episcoporum*" and the fine musical traditions of the classical Roman school are no longer met with. For the devout psalm singing of the clergy, in which the people joined, have been substituted interminable musical composi-

tions on the words of the Psalms, all figured after the manner of old theatrical operas and for the most part so wretched from the point of view of art that they would never be tolerated even at unimportant secular concerts. Devotion and Christian piety are certainly not promoted by them. They feed the curiosity of some persons of slight intelligence, but the majority of people are only disgusted and scandalized, and wonder that so great an abuse still continues. We therefore desire an entire change and that the service of Vespers be celebrated altogether in accordance with the liturgical rules indicated by us. In setting the example precedence will be taken by the patriarchal basilicas through the earnest care and enlightened zeal of the Cardinals to whose charge they have been assigned, and the minor basilicas and the collegiate and parochial churches will vie with these as well as the churches and chapels of the religious orders. And you, my Lord Cardinal, will grant no indulgence, will allow no delays. The difficulty would not be diminished, but rather increased, by postponement, and since the plunge is to be made, let it be made at once and resolutely. Let all have confidence in us and in our word, with which is associated the grace and blessing of heaven. At first the novelty of the change will produce astonishment in the breasts of some; perhaps some of the choirmasters and directors will be found rather unprepared; but gradually the matter will amend itself, and in the perfect correspondence of the music with the liturgical rules and with the nature of psalmody all will observe a beauty and excellence perhaps never before noticed. Indeed, the service of Vespers will thus be shortened in a notable degree. But if the rectors of the churches wish under any circumstances to prolong the functions somewhat in order to afford mental enjoyment to the people who in such a praiseworthy manner come at Vesper time to the church in which the service is held, it will not be unbefitting—indeed, it will be so much gained in the interest of piety and for the edification of the faithful—if Vespers be succeeded by an appropriate sermon and if the service concludes with Solemn Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

Finally, we desire that sacred music be cultivated with special care and within due limits in all the seminaries and ecclesiastical colleges of Rome, in which such a large and chosen body of young clerics from all parts of the world are being educated in the sacred sciences and in the true ecclesiastical spirit. We know—and this greatly comforts us—that in several institutions sacred music so flourishes that they may serve others as models. But some seminaries and colleges, either through the indifference of the superiors or the small capacity and want of taste of the persons to whom training in singing and the direction of sacred music are entrusted leave much to

be desired. You, my Lord Cardinal, will carefully see to this also, insisting above all that the Gregorian chant, according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent and of innumerable other Councils, provincial and diocesan, in all parts of the world be studied with special diligence and be usually preferred at the public and private functions of the institution. In other times, it is true, the Gregorian chant was known to most persons only through books that were incorrect, vitiated and curtailed. But the accurate and prolonged study given to it by distinguished men who have rendered great service to sacred art has changed the face of things. The Gregorian chant restored in such a satisfactory manner to its early purity, as it was handed down by the Fathers and is found in the codices of the various churches seems soft, sweet, easy to learn and of a beauty so fresh and surprising that wherever it has been introduced it has quickly excited real enthusiasm in the youthful singers. Now, when delight enters into the fulfilment of duty, everything is done with greater alacrity and with more lasting fruit. We desire, then, that in all the colleges and seminaries in this fair city there be introduced once more the ancient Roman chant which formerly resounded in our churches and basilicas and which constitute the delight of past generations in the most glorious days of Christian piety. And as in past times that chant was spread abroad in the other churches of the West from the Church of Rome, so we desire that the young clerics trained under our eyes may take it with them and spread it again in their dioceses when they return thither as priests to work for the glory of God. It is a pleasure to us to give these regulations when we are about to celebrate the thirteenth centenary of the death of the glorious and incomparable Pontiff St. Gregory the Great, to whom an ecclesiastical tradition of many centuries has attributed the composition of the sacred melodies and from whom they have derived their name. Let our beloved youth diligently exercise themselves in them; for it will be pleasant for us to hear them when, as we have been informed, they will assemble at the coming centenary celebration at the tomb of the holy Pontiff in the Vatican Basilica to execute the Gregorian melodies during the sacred liturgy which, please God, will be celebrated on that auspicious occasion.

Meanwhile, as a pledge of our special good will, receive, my Lord Cardinal, the Apostolic Benediction, which from the bottom of our heart we impart to you, to the clergy and to all our beloved people.

From the Vatican, on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1903.

PIUS X., POPE.

TEXT OF THE "MOTU PROPRIO."

Chief amongst the anxieties of the pastoral office, not only of this Supreme Chair, which we, although unworthy, occupy through the inscrutable disposition of Providence, but of every local church, is without doubt that of maintaining and promoting the decorum of the house of God where the august mysteries of religion are celebrated, and where the Christian people assemble to receive the grace of the sacraments, to be present at the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar, to adore the august Sacrament of the Lord's Body and to join in the common prayer of the Church in the public and solemn liturgical offices. Nothing then should take place in the temple calculated to disturb or even merely to diminish the piety and devotion of the faithful, nothing that may give reasonable cause for disgust or scandal, nothing, above all, which directly offends the decorum and the sanctity of the sacred functions and is thus unworthy of the house of prayer and of the majesty of God.

We do not deal separately with the abuses which may occur in this matter. To-day our attention is directed to one of the most common of them, one of the most difficult to eradicate and the existence of which is sometimes to be deplored even where everything else is deserving of the highest praise—the beauty and sumptuousness of the temple, the splendor and the accurate order of the ceremonies, the attendance of the clergy, the gravity and piety of the officiating ministers. Such is the abuse in connection with sacred chant and music. And, indeed, whether it is owing to the nature of this art, fluctuating and variable as it is in itself, or to the successive changes in tastes and habits in the course of time, or to the sad influence exercised on sacred art by profane and theatrical art, or to the pleasure that music directly produces, and that is not always easily kept within the proper limits, or finally to the many prejudices on the matter, so lightly introduced and so tenaciously maintained even among responsible and pious persons, there is a continual tendency to deviate from the right rule, fixed by the end for which art is admitted to the service of worship and laid down very clearly in the ecclesiastical canons, in the ordinances of the general and provincial councils, in the prescriptions which have on various occasions emanated from the Sacred Roman Congregations, and from our predecessors, the Sovereign Pontiffs.

It is pleasing to us to be able to acknowledge with real satisfaction the large amount of good that has been done in this respect during the last decades in this our fair city of Rome, and in many churches in our country, but in a more especial way among some nations in which excellent men, full of zeal for the worship of God,

have, with the approval of this Holy See and under the direction of the Bishops, united in flourishing societies and restored sacred music to the fullest honor in nearly all their churches and chapels. Still the good work that has been done is very far indeed from being common to all, and when we consult our own personal experience and take into account the great number of complaints that have reached us from all quarters during the short time that has elapsed since it pleased the Lord to elevate our humble person to the summit of the Roman Pontificate, we consider it our first duty, without further delay, to raise our voice at once in reproof and condemnation of all that is out of harmony with the right rule above indicated, in the functions of worship and in the performance of the ecclesiastical offices. It being our ardent desire to see the true Christian spirit restored in every respect and be preserved by all the faithful, we deem it necessary to provide before everything else for the sanctity and dignity of the temple, in which the faithful assemble for the object of acquiring this spirit from its foremost and indispensable fount, which is the active participation in the holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church. And it is vain to hope that the blessing of heaven will descend abundantly upon us for this purpose when our homage to the Most High, instead of ascending in the odor of sweetness, puts into the hand of the Lord the scourges with which the Divine Redeemer once drove the unworthy profaners from the temple.

Wherefore, in order that no one in the future may be able to plead in excuse that he did not clearly understand his duty, and that all vagueness may be removed from the interpretation of some things which have already been commanded, we have deemed it expedient to point out briefly the principles regulating sacred music in the functions of public worship, and to gather together in a general survey the principal prescriptions of the Church against the more common abuses in this matter. We therefore publish, "*motu proprio*" and with sure knowledge, our present "*Instruction*" to which, as "*to a juridical code of sacred music,*" we desire with the fulness of our Apostolic authority that the force of law be given, and we impose its scrupulous observance on all by this document in our own handwriting.

INSTRUCTION ON SACRED MUSIC.

I.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

1. Sacred music, as an integral part of the solemn liturgy, partici-

pates in its general object, which is the glory of God and the sanctification and edification of the faithful. It tends to increase the decorum and the splendor of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and since its principal office is to clothe with befitting melody the liturgical text proposed for the understanding of the faithful its proper end is to add greater efficacy to the text, in order that by means of it the faithful may be the more easily moved to devotion and better disposed to receive the fruits of grace associated with the celebration of the most holy mysteries.

2. Sacred music should consequently possess, in the highest degree, the qualities proper to the liturgy, and precisely sanctity and goodness of form, from which spontaneously springs its other character, universality.

It must be holy, and must, accordingly, exclude all profanity not only in itself, but in the manner in which it is presented by those who execute it.

It must be true art, for otherwise it will be impossible for it to exercise on the minds of those who hear it that efficacy which the Church aims at obtaining in admitting into her liturgy the art of musical sounds.

But it must, at the same time, be universal in this sense, that while every nation is permitted to admit into its ecclesiastical compositions those special forms which in a certain manner constitute the specific character of its native music, still these forms must be subordinated in such a manner to the general characteristics of sacred music that nobody of another nation may receive, on hearing them, an impression other than good.

II.

THE KINDS OF SACRED MUSIC.

3. These qualities are possessed in the highest degree by the Gregorian Chant, which is, consequently, the Chant proper to the Roman Church, the only Chant she has inherited from the ancient fathers, which she has jealously guarded for centuries in her liturgical codices, which she directly proposes to the faithful as her own, which she prescribes exclusively for some parts of the liturgy, and which the most recent studies have so happily restored to their integrity and purity.

Upon these grounds the Gregorian Chant has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music, so that the following rule may be safely laid down: The more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration and savor the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it is; and the more

out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy is it of the temple.

The ancient traditional Gregorian Chant must, therefore, be largely restored in the functions of public worship, and everybody must take for certain that an ecclesiastical function loses nothing of its solemnity when it is accompanied by no other music except this.

Efforts must especially be made to restore the use of the Gregorian Chant by the people, so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as they were wont to do in ancient times.

4. The qualities mentioned are also possessed in an excellent degree by the classic polyphony, especially of the Roman school, which reached its greatest perfection in the fifteenth century, owing to the works of Pierluigi da Palestrina, and continued subsequently to produce compositions of excellent quality from the liturgical and musical standpoint. The classic polyphony approaches pretty closely to the Gregorian Chant, the supreme model of all sacred music, and hence it has been found worthy of a place side by side with the Gregorian Chant in the more solemn functions of the Church, such as those of the Pontifical Chapel. This, too, must therefore be restored largely in ecclesiastical functions, especially in the more important basilicas, in cathedrals and in the churches and chapels of seminaries and other ecclesiastical institutions in which the necessary means are usually not lacking.

5. The Church has always recognized and favored the progress of the arts, admitting to the service of worship everything good and beautiful discovered by genius in the course of ages—always, however, with due regard to the liturgical laws. Consequently modern music is also admitted in the Church, since it, too, furnishes compositions of such excellence, sobriety and gravity that they are in no way unworthy of the liturgical functions.

But as modern music has come to be devoted mainly to profane uses, greater care must be taken with regard to it, in order that the musical compositions of modern style which are admitted in the Church may contain nothing profane, be free from reminiscences of motifs adopted in the theatres and be not fashioned even in their external forms after the manner of profane pieces.

6. Amongst the various kinds of modern music that which appears less suitable for accompanying the functions of public worship is the theatrical style, which was in the greatest vogue, especially in Italy, during the last century. This of its very nature is diametrically opposed to the Gregorian Chant and the classic polyphony, and therefore to the most important law of all good music.

Besides the intrinsic structure, the rhythm and what is known as the "conventionalism" of this style adapt themselves but badly to the exigencies of true liturgical music.

III.

THE LITURGICAL TEXT.

7. The language of the Roman Church is Latin. It is therefore forbidden to sing anything whatever in the vernacular in solemn liturgical functions—much more to sing in the vernacular the variable or common parts of the Mass and Office.

8. The texts that may be rendered in music, and the order in which they are to be rendered, being determined for every liturgical function, it is not lawful to confuse this order or to change the prescribed texts for others selected at will, or to omit them either entirely or even in part, unless when the rubrics allow that some versicles of the text be supplied with the organ, while these versicles are simply recited in choir. However it is permissible, according to the custom of the Roman Church, to sing a motet to the Blessed Sacrament after the "Benedictus" in a Solemn Mass. It is also permitted, after the offertory prescribed for the Mass has been sung, to execute during the time that remains a brief motet to words approved by the Church.

9. The liturgical text must be sung as it is in the books without alteration or inversion of the words, without undue repetition, without breaking syllables and always in a manner intelligible to the faithful who listen.

IV.

EXTERNAL FORM OF THE SACRED COMPOSITIONS.

10. The different parts of the Mass and the Office must retain, even musically, that particular concept and form which ecclesiastical tradition has assigned to them, and which is admirably expressed in the Gregorian Chant. Different, therefore, must be the method of composing an Introit, a Gradual, an antiphon, a psalm, a hymn, a "Gloria in Excelsis."

11. In particular the following rules are to be observed:

(a) The "Kyrie," "Gloria," "Credo," etc., of the Mass must preserve the unity of composition proper to their text. It is not lawful, therefore, to compose them in separate pieces, in such a way as that each of such pieces may form a complete composition in itself, and be capable of being detached from the rest and substituted by another.

(b) In the Office of Vespers it should be the rule to follow the

"Caerimoniale Episcoporum," which prescribes the Gregorian Chant for the psalmody and permits figured music for the versicles of the "Gloria Patri" and the hymn.

It will nevertheless be lawful on the greater solemnities to alternate the Gregorian Chant of the choir with the so-called "falsi-bordoni" or with verses similarly composed in a proper manner.

It may be also allowed sometimes to render the single psalms in their entirety in music, provided the form proper to psalmody be preserved in such compositions; that is to say, provided the singers seem to be psalmodising among themselves, either with new motifs or with those taken from the Gregorian Chant, or based upon it.

The psalms known as "di concerto" are, therefore, forever excluded and prohibited.

(c) In the hymns of the Church the traditional form of the hymn is preserved. It is not lawful, therefore, to compose, for instance, a "Tantum Ergo" in such wise that the first strophe presents a romanza, a cavatina, an adagio and the "Genitori" an allegro.

(d) The antiphons of the Vespers must be as a rule rendered with the Gregorian melody proper to each. Should they, however, in some special case be sung in figured music, they must never have either the form of a concert melody or the fullness of a motet or a cantata.

V.

THE SINGERS.

12. With the exception of the melodies proper to the celebrant at the altar and to the ministers, which must be always sung only in Gregorian Chant, and without the accompaniment of the organ, all the rest of the liturgical chant belongs to the choir of levites, and, therefore, singers in church, even when they are laymen, are really taking the place of the ecclesiastical choir. Hence the music rendered by them must, at least for the greater part, retain the character of choral music.

By this it is not to be understood that solos are entirely excluded. But solo singing should never predominate in such a way as to have the greater part of the liturgical chant executed in that manner; rather should it have the character of hint or a melodic projection, and be strictly bound up with the rest of the choral composition.

13. On the same principle it follows that singers in church have a real liturgical office, and that therefore women, as being incapable of exercising such office, cannot be admitted to form part of the choir or of the musical chapel. Whenever, then, it is desired to employ the acute voice of sopranos and contraltos, these parts must

be taken by boys, according to the most ancient usage of the Church.

14. Finally, only those are to be admitted to form part of the musical chapel of a church who are men of known piety and probity of life, and these should by their modest and devout bearing during the liturgical functions show that they are worthy of the holy office they exercise. It will also be fitting that singers while singing in church wear the ecclesiastical habit and surplice, and that they be hidden behind gratings when the choir is excessively open to the public gaze.

VI.

ORGAN AND INSTRUMENTS.

15. Although the music proper to the Church is purely vocal music, music with the accompaniment of the organ is also permitted. In some special cases, within due limits and within the proper regards, other instruments may be allowed, but never without the special license of the ordinary, according to the prescriptions of the "*Caerimoniale Episcoporum*."

16. As the chant school should always have the principal place, the organ or instruments should merely sustain and never overwhelm it.

17. It is not permitted to have the chant preceded by long preludes or to interrupt it with intermezzo pieces.

18. The sound of the organ as an accompaniment to the chant in preludes, interludes and the like must be not only governed by the special nature of the instrument, but must participate in all the qualities proper to sacred music as above enumerated.

19. The employment of the piano is forbidden in church, as is also that of noisy or frivolous instruments such as drums, cymbals, bells and the like.

20. It is strictly forbidden to have bands play in church, and only in a special case and with the consent of the ordinary will it be permissible to admit a number of wind instruments, limited, judicious and proportioned to the size of the place—provided the composition and accompaniment to be executed be written in a grave and suitable style, and similar in all respects to that proper to the organ.

21. In processions outside the church the ordinary may give permission for a band, provided no profane pieces are executed. It would be desirable in such cases that the band confine itself to accompanying some spiritual canticle sung in Latin or in the vernacular by the singers and the pious associations which take part in the procession.

VII.

THE LENGTH OF THE LITURGICAL CHANT.

22. It is not lawful to keep the priest at the altar waiting on account of the chant or the music for a length of time not allowed by the liturgy. According to the ecclesiastical prescriptions the "Sanctus" of the Mass should be over before the elevation, and therefore the priest must here have regard to the singers. The "Gloria" and the "Credo" ought, according to the Gregorian tradition, to be relatively short.

23. In general it must be considered to be a very grave abuse when the liturgy in ecclesiastical functions is made to appear secondary to and in a manner at the service of the music, for the music is merely a part of the liturgy and its humble handmaid.

VIII.

PRINCIPAL MEANS.

24. For the exact execution of what has been herein laid down, the Bishops, if they have not already done so, are to institute in their dioceses a special commission composed of persons really competent in sacred music, and to this commission let them entrust in the manner they find most suitable the task of watching over the music executed in their churches. Nor are they to see merely that the music is good in itself, but also that it is adapted to the powers of the singers and be always well executed.

25. In seminaries of clerics and in ecclesiastical institutions let the above-mentioned traditional Gregorian Chant be cultivated by all with diligence and love, according to the Tridentine prescriptions, and let the superiors be liberal of encouragement and praise towards their young subjects. In like manner let a "Scholae Cantorum" be established, whenever possible, among the clerics for the execution of sacred polyphony and of good liturgical music.

26. In the ordinary lessons of liturgy, morals, canon law given to the students of theology, let care be taken to touch on those points which regard more directly the principles and laws of sacred music, and let an attempt be made to complete the doctrine with some particular instruction in the æsthetic side of the sacred art, so that the clerics may not leave the seminary ignorant of all those notions, necessary as they are for complete ecclesiastical culture.

27. Let care be taken to restore, at least in the principal churches, the ancient "Scholae Cantorum," as has been done with excellent fruit in a great many places. It is not difficult for a zealous clergy to institute such "Scholae" even in the minor and country churches

—nay, in them they will find a very easy means for gathering round them both the children and the adults, to their own profit and the edification of the people.

28. Let efforts be made to support and promote in the best way possible the higher schools of sacred music where these already exist, and to help in founding them where they do not. It is of the utmost importance that the Church herself provide for the instruction of its masters, organists and singers, according to the true principles of sacred art.

IX.

CONCLUSION.

29. Finally, it is recommended to choirmasters, singers, members of the clergy, superiors of seminaries, ecclesiastical institutions and religious communities, parish priests and rectors of churches, canons of collegiate churches and cathedrals, and above all to the diocesan ordinaries to favor with all zeal these prudent reforms, long desired and demanded with united voice by all; so that the authority of the Church, which herself has repeatedly proposed them, and now inculcates them, may not fall into contempt.

Given from our Apostolic Palace at the Vatican, on the day of the Virgin and Martyr, St. Cecilia, November 22, 1903, in the first year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

POPULAR CATHOLIC ACTION.

PIUS X., POPE.

“MOTU PROPRIO.”

IN our first Encyclical to the Bishops of the world, in which we echo all that our glorious predecessors had laid down concerning the Catholic action of the laity, we declared that this action was deserving of the highest praise, and was indeed necessary in the present condition of the Church and of society. And we cannot but praise warmly the zeal shown by so many illustrious personages who have for a long time dedicated themselves to this glorious task, and the ardor of so many brilliant young people who have eagerly hastened to lend their aid to the same. The nineteenth Catholic Congress lately held at Bologna, and by us promoted and encouraged, has sufficiently proved to all the vigor of the Catholic forces as well as what useful and salutary results may be obtained among a population of believers, when this action is well governed and

disciplined, and when unity of thought, sentiment and action prevail among those who take part in it.

But we are very sorry to find that certain differences which arose in the midst of them have produced discussions unfortunately too vivacious, which, if not dispelled in time, might serve to divide those forces of which we have spoken, and render them less efficacious. Before the Congress we recommended above all things unity and harmony, in order that it might be possible to lay down by common accord the general lines for the practical working of the Catholic movement; we cannot therefore be silent now. And since divergences of view in matters of practice have commonly their origin in the domain of theory, and indeed necessarily find their fulcrum in the latter, it is necessary to define clearly the principles on which the entire Catholic movement must be based.

Our illustrious predecessor, Leo XIII., of holy memory, traced out luminously the rules that must be followed in the Christian movement among the people in the great Encyclicals "*Quod Apostolici muneris*," of December 28, 1878; "*Rerum novarum*," of May 15, 1891, and "*Graves de communi*," of January 18, 1901; and further in a particular Instruction emanating from the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, of January 27, 1902.

And we, realizing, as did our predecessor, the great need that the Christian movement among the people be rightly governed and conducted, desire to have those most prudent rules exactly and completely fulfilled, and to provide that nobody may dare depart from them in the smallest particulars. Hence, to keep them more vividly present before people's minds, we have deemed it well to summarize them in the following articles, which will constitute the fundamental plan of Catholic popular movement.

FUNDAMENTAL REGULATIONS.

I. Human society, as established by God, is composed of unequal elements, just as the different parts of the human body are unequal; to make them all equal is impossible, and would mean the destruction of human society. (Encyclical, "*Quod Apostolici Muneris*.")

II. The equality existing among the various social members consists only in this: that all men have their origin in God the Creator, have been redeemed by Jesus Christ, and are to be judged and rewarded or punished by God exactly according to their merits or demerits. (Encyclical, "*Quod Apostolici Muneris*.")

II. Hence it follows that there are, according to the ordinance of God, in human society princes and subjects, masters and proletariat, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, nobles and plebeians,

all of whom, united in the bonds of love, are to help one another to attain their last end in heaven, and their material and moral welfare here on earth. (Encyclical, "Quod Apostolici Muneris.")

IV. Of the goods of the earth man has not merely the use, like the brute creation, but he has also the right of permanent proprietorship—and not merely of those things which are consumed by use, but also of those which are not consumed by use. (Encyclical, "Rerum Novarum.")

V. The right of private property, the fruit of labor or industry, or of concession or donation by others, is an incontrovertible natural right; and everybody can dispose reasonably of such property as he thinks fit. (Encyclical, "Rerum Novarum.")

VI. To heal the breach between rich and poor, it is necessary to distinguish between justice and charity. There can be no claim for redress except when justice is violated. (Encyclical, "Rerum Novarum.")

OBLIGATIONS OF JUSTICE.

VII. The following are obligations of justice binding on the proletariat and the workingman: To perform fully and faithfully the work which has been freely and, according to equity, agreed upon; not to injure the property or outrage the person of masters; even in the defense of their own rights to abstain from acts of violence, and never to make mutiny of their defense. (Encyclical, "Rerum Novarum.")

VIII. The following are obligations of justice binding on capitalists: To pay just wages to their workingmen; not to injure their just savings by violence or fraud, or by overt or covert usuries; not to expose them to corrupting seductions and danger of scandal; not to alienate them from the spirit of family life and from love of economy; not to impose on them labor beyond their strength, or unsuitable for their age or sex. (Encyclical, "Rerum Novarum.")

IX. It is an obligation for the rich and those who own property to succor the poor and the indigent, according to the precepts of the Gospel. This obligation is so grave that on the Day of Judgment special account will be demanded of its fulfilment, as Christ Himself has said (Matthew 25). (Encyclical, "Rerum Novarum.")

X. The poor should not be ashamed of their poverty, nor disdain the charity of the rich, for they should have especially in view Jesus the Redeemer, who, though He might have been born in riches, made Himself poor in order that He might ennoble poverty and enrich it with merits beyond price for heaven. (Encyclical, "Rerum Novarum.")

XI. For the settlement of the social question much can be done by the capitalists and workers themselves, by means of institutions

designed to provide timely aid for the needy and to bring together and unite mutually the two classes. Among these institutions are mutual aid societies, various kinds of private insurance societies, orphanages for the young, and, above all, associations among the different trades and professions. (Encyclical, "Rerum Novarum.")

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY.

XII. This end is especially aimed at by the movement of Christian Popular Action of Christian Democracy in its many and varied branches. But Christian Democracy must be taken in the sense already authoritatively defined. Totally different from the movement known as "Social Democracy," it has for its basis the principles of Catholic faith and morals—especially the principle of not injuring in any way the inviolable right of private property. Encyclical, "Graves de Communi.")

XIII. Moreover, Christian Democracy must have nothing to do with politics, and never be able to serve political ends or parties; this is not its field; but it must be a beneficent movement for the people, and founded on the law of nature and the precepts of the Gospel. (Encyclical, "Graves de Communi," Instructions of the S. Cong. of E. E. Affairs.)

Christian Democrats in Italy must abstain from participating in any political action—this is under present circumstances forbidden to every Catholic *for reasons of the highest order*. (Instructions as cited.)

XIV. In performing its functions, Christian Democracy is bound most strictly to depend upon ecclesiastical authority, and to offer full submission and obedience to the Bishops and those who represent them. There is no meritorious zeal or sincere piety in enterprises, however beautiful and good in themselves, when they are not approved by the pastor. (Encyclical, "Graves de Communi.")

XV. In order that the Christian Democratic movement in Italy may be united in its efforts, it must be under the direction of the Association of Catholic Congresses and Committees, which, during many years of fruitful labor, has deserved so well of Holy Church, and to which Pius IX. and Leo XIII., of holy memory, entrusted the charge of directing the whole Catholic movement, always, of course, under the auspices and guidance of the Bishops. (Encyclical, "Graves de Communi.")

CATHOLIC WRITERS.

XVI. Catholic writers must, in all that touches religious interests and the action of the Church in society, subject themselves entirely in intellect and will, like the rest of the faithful, to their Bishops and

to the Roman Pontiff. They must above all, take care not to anticipate the judgments of the Holy See in this important matter. (Instruction as cited.)

XVII. Christian Democratic writers must, like all other Catholic writers, submit to the previous examination of the ordinary all writings which concern religion, Christian morals and natural ethics, by virtue of the Constitution "*Officiorum et munerum*" (Art. 41). By the same Constitution ecclesiastics must obtain the previous consent of the ordinary for publication of writings of a merely technical character. (Instruction.)

XVIII. They must, moreover, make every effort and every sacrifice to ensure that charity and harmony may reign among them. When causes of disagreement arise, they should, instead of printing anything on the matter in the papers, refer it to the ecclesiastical authority, which will then act with justice. And when taken to task by the ecclesiastical authority, let them obey promptly without evasion or public complaints—the right to appeal to a higher authority being understood when the case requires it; and it should be made in the right way. (Instruction.)

XIX. Finally, let Catholic writers take care, when defending the cause of the proletariat and the poor, not to use language calculated to inspire aversion among the people of the upper classes of society. Let them refrain from speaking of redress and justice when the matter comes within the domain of charity only, as has been explained above. Let them remember that Jesus Christ endeavored to unite all men in the bond of mutual love, which is the perfection of justice, and which carries with it the obligation of working for the welfare of one another. (Instruction.)

The foregoing fundamental rules we of our own initiative and with certain knowledge do renew by our apostolic authority in all their parts, and we ordain that they be transmitted to all Catholic committees, societies and unions of every kind. All these societies are to keep them exposed in their rooms and to have them read frequently at their meetings. We ordain, moreover, that Catholic papers publish them in their entirety and make declaration of their observance of them—and, in fact, observe them religiously; failing to do this they are to be gravely admonished, and if they do not then amend, let them be interdicted by ecclesiastical authority.

But as words and energetic action are of no avail unless preceded, accompanied and followed constantly by example, the necessary characteristic which should shine forth in all the members of every Catholic association is that of openly manifesting their faith by the holiness of their lives, by the spotlessness of their morals and by

the scrupulous observance of the laws of God and of the Church. And this because it is the duty of every Christian, and also in order that he "who stands against us may blush, having nothing evil to say of us." (Tit. ii., 8.)

From this solicitude of ours for the common good of Catholic action, especially in Italy, we hope, through the blessing of God, to reap abundant and happy fruits.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on December 18, 1903, in the first year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

TRUNCATED ETHICS.

I.

SCIENTIFICALLY our age is marked by its tendency to specialize or to separate the field of science into distinct enclosures, while philosophically, at least in the monistic school, the tendency is to treat nothing as strictly individual or as properly knowable outside its relations to the rest of the universe. Anything considered in itself is said to be taken abstractly, incompletely and so far falsely; the only true concrete is the *Universitas Rerum*. Now many persons at present want so to isolate Ethics as to have what they call an Independent Ethics, set forth as a science rather than as a philosophy. Let Professor J. Seth furnish an example of the demand. "The Science of Ethics has nothing to do with the question of the freedom of the will, for example. As the science of morality Ethics has a right to assume that man is a moral being, since his judgments about conduct imply the idea of morality. But whether this scientific conception is finally valid or invalid, whether the moral judgments are trustworthy or illusory, and whether or not their validity implies the freedom of man as a moral being, are problems for metaphysics to solve. Ethics does not base its view of human life, its system of moral judgments upon any metaphysical interpretation of reality, whether idealistic or materialistic, although here as elsewhere the scientific result must form an all-important datum for metaphysics. Similarly, the problem of good or of the ultimate reality—the relation of man's moral ideal to the universe of which he is a part—is a question not for Ethics, but for metaphysics. Ethics as a science abstracts human nature from the rest of the universe. It is as frankly anthropocentric as the natural sciences are cosmocentric. Whether or not in our ultimate interpre-

tation of reality we must shift our centre is a question which metaphysics must answer."¹

As a preliminary to discussing the question here raised it is important to observe that sciences do not automatically classify themselves. Comte laboriously attempted a natural distribution of them; other authors have given other schemes; no plan is so essentially right that it is simply the plan that must be accepted. Again, some sciences more easily admit of isolation than others; Mathematics are more completely separable than Ethics. Hence let us lay down the fundamental proposition: The science of Ethics has not its whole boundaries marked out for it objectively and *à priori*; its limits will have to be settled partly by agreement, on a balance of advantages and disadvantages, not without regard to the special times in which we live. There will be room for variable practice among authors.

We will seek to let in some light upon the question by considering two actual experiments, one old and one new. Aristotle has been quoted as furnishing a very good basis on which to write for Catholic schools a text-book of Independent Ethics. Nevertheless it will have to be admitted that he makes certain excursions into theology, and after we have said what these are it will be useful to mention why he was driven into these deeper problems; for the significance of his action herein may be far beyond the brevity of his references themselves and his sense of their importance.

a. Inevitably at times Aristotle, especially when he is dealing with man's perfection or beatitude, catches glimpses of the truth that human nature is not all in all as regards morality. Happiness, though human in his eyes, is also somehow superhuman; it belongs especially to the divine element in man, the reason, which perhaps is not like the soul, perishable with the body, though it is not distinctly asserted to survive individually. "The blessed life indeed would be beyond what human nature could compass, for it does not belong to man so to live, since such a life is proper to something within him that is divine."² On the other hand, in an earlier part of the same work (I. 10) Aristotle had insisted that virtue is a human thing and that the search of the moralist should be after a virtue that is human and a blessedness that is human, namely, some grateful energy of the soul. We need not attempt the conciliation, as the question is not pressing just now.

b. In connection with the divine character of moral conduct and of beatitude Aristotle further illustrates our point by touching on an all-important subject which many moralists overlook. He tells

¹ "Ethical Principles," third edition, pp. 32, 33. In Part III. the author devotes 107 pages to the Metaphysical and Theological basis of Ethics.

² "Eth. Prin.," x., 7.

us that man's aim is self-development, self-completion, bringing out of himself all that he has in him to become, evolving his best self; and we might naturally conclude that man's final state of beatitude is the product of his own effort, just as the development of the body by calisthenics and of mental powers by study is the outcome of his own exertion. So understood, man, in the natural order, would be said to work out his own salvation, to be self-made in his beatitude. But what if his beatitude is a gift of God or a reward bestowed for virtue? This idea, if it could be established, would be a rude disturber of many a complacent theory of self-evolution. Now, Aristotle thinks it worthy of a passing remark, though his own theological penury alone would keep him from saying much on the subject. He briefly observes: "Confessedly if anything is a gift of the gods to men it is reasonable that blessedness should be God-given, especially as it is the best thing that man can have. However, this matter would, perhaps, more properly be assigned to another branch of the inquiry." (I. 9.) The admission here is scanty and grudging, and it is in part withdrawn by the context; nevertheless, it does show the glimpse of a truth which is of vital importance. If Ethics has for part of its office to describe how final beatitude is reached by the virtuous man, and if there is no finality in this world, and if God as Rewarder gives beatitude in another world, then Ethics ought not wholly to be silent on the point, especially with a silence that looks like a denial.

c. In yet another point Aristotle, on occasion, rises superior to his general self. He bargained only for happiness during a length of days upon earth with fortune and friends. He spoke of Solon's maxim, "Call no man happy till he is dead" as not warranting any certainty of future life, but as pertaining to a mortal career. (I. 7 and 10.) Yet the prompting is present to him that eternity is what man should look to for real satisfaction; there is no beatitude which is to be confined to the space of three score and ten years. "So far as we can," writes Aristotle, "we must assert the immortal element within ourselves." (X. 7.)

In the above casual utterances of Aristotle, a man without fixed theology, we claim to find perceptions of something beyond the substance of his Independent Ethics, and that something he notices with a sort of inevitability.

Next we take up a modern writer who has been specially mentioned as independent in his Ethics. Sir Leslie Stephen, dissatisfied with mere Utilitarianism, seeks to complete its doctrines by working somewhat on the lines of Darwin and Spencer. Evolutionists hold that morality is part of the natural process. When Huxley, in one of his last lectures, declared that the Ethical process

reversed the Cosmic, he was hailed by some as a repentant sinner who had given up his naturalism; but he hastened to declare that such was not the case; he only wished to speak of nature turning round upon herself and originating a new method of her own. "I do not know that any one," he protests, "has taken more pains than I have during the last thirty years to insist upon the doctrine so much reviled in the earlier part of that period, that man, physical, intellectual and moral, is as much a part of nature, as purely a product of the Cosmic process, as the humblest weed."³ Now from this principle the Independent Ethics of Sir Leslie Stephen is not independent; so that if we Catholics make our Ethics independent of the contrary view to his, we are giving more than we receive. Sir Leslie regards pleasure and pain as the sole springs of human action; he thinks that not logical judgment, but its connected feeling is the determinant of our choice, which choice is never free in the popular sense. Man as a member of society seeks the good of himself and his fellows; and for all men the final standard of moral good is not exactly the happiness of the race, but "the well-being," "the health," "the efficiency," "the self-preservation of the social organism." The moral law is the statement of certain essential conditions of the vitality of society; the individual, so far as moral, must be capable of aiming at the social welfare before "his own."⁴ "Morality is the sum of the preservative instincts of society."⁵ "The moral code is the statement of the conditions of social vitality."⁶ In propositions of this kind, Sir Leslie thinks that he has got what even John Stuart Mill's improved Utilitarianism does not furnish, a statement which satisfies the condition of a scientific criterion.

Depending on this as his criterion—for even Independent Ethics cannot be independent of a basis—the author shows us what his decisions are concerning a few moral matters. For instance: "If, in some distant planet, lying were as essential to human welfare as truthfulness is in this world, falsehood might be a cardinal virtue."⁷ Again, if from a lofty motive, not from cowardice, with relief to himself and to others, and without betraying the fact to others, a man commit suicide Sir Leslie sees "no ground for disapproval of the action."⁸ The social organism may be none the unhealthier for the loss of such a member, and the member seems to have nothing to gain by clinging to the organism. On the principles of the

³ "Evolution and Ethics," p. 11.

⁴ "Ethical Science," chap. vi.

⁵ *Id.*, chap. v.

⁶ *Id.*, chap. vii.

⁷ *Id.*, chap. iv.

⁸ *Id.*, chap. ix.

Utilitarianism which Sir Leslie thinks insufficient, he remarks that we should have to draw a conclusion which he thus plainly expresses: "Nature, if I may use that convenient personification for things considered as part of a continuous system, wants big, strong, hearty, eupeptic, shrewd, sensible human beings, and would be grossly inconsistent if she bestowed her highest reward of happiness upon a bilious, scrofulous, knock-kneed saint, merely because he has a strong objection to adultery, drunkenness, murder, robbery or the utter absence of malice or even highly cultivated sympathies. You can only raise a presumption that a moral excellence coincides closely with a happy nature, if you extend *moral* to include all admirable qualities, whether they are or are not specifically moral products of altruistic feeling."⁹ Can you do much better on the author's own criterion of "social vitality," "social self-preservation?"

Now if we will weigh facts already adduced and add a few others, it will appear that Sir Leslie Stephen's *Independent*¹⁰ Ethics really trench largely on our cherished beliefs about the essential foundations of morality. In his Ethics, after pronouncing them not bound up with the free-will question, he spends much labor to establish determination of the will; after pronouncing them free from the theistic controversy, he says¹¹ that Ontology is a vain attempt to spin out of the word "a demonstration of the ultimate nature of things in general." Nominally neutral as to future life, the one future life which he regards as interesting to the moralists, is the future of our own race upon earth, and this, he thinks, may, after a time, cease to make progress and start on its decline. Huxley is more outspoken on this degeneration, telling us that "The theory of evolution encourages no millennium. If for millions of years our globe has taken the upward road, yet some time the summit will be reached and the downward route will be commenced." We may yet improve much before the decline sets in, but "I deem it an essential condition of the realization of that hope that we should cast aside the notion that escape from pain and sorrow is the proper object of life."¹² So farewell, human beatitude.

A noteworthy consequence of probable degeneration is that with

⁹ His is the work instanced along with the "Moral Order and Progress" of S. Alexander to support the statement of Mr. Muirhead that in recent times "attempts have been made to detach ethics from the cumbrous adjuncts of logic and metaphysics, and to present it as a science in no respect differing save in the complexity of its object and the importance of its concessions from other empirical sciences." ("The Elements of Ethics;" University Extension Manuals, pp. 6 and 7.

¹⁰ "Science of Ethics," chap. x. Mr. H. Sidgwick says the free-will dispute is not ethical, yet he discusses it at length in his "Methods of Ethics."

¹¹ "Evolution of Ethics," pp. 85, 86.

¹² "Science of Ethics," chap. 4.

it the moral standard will go back and friends to women's progress will have to contemplate a return to a past condition when the strong man was nature's favorite, her healthy specimen, and got things by brute force—got, for instance, his wife by knocking her down and carrying her off. "Then," grimly remarks Sir Stephen, "the ethical feminine character must have included a readiness to be knocked down, or at least an unreadiness to strike again."¹³

Briefly, our conclusions as to Independent Ethics are these: Such a treatise can be written and would have its use. It would deal with proximate rules for settling what is right in the details of human conduct, a settlement which no one could make merely by direct reference to the final goal of beatitude. Finite objects must be examined in the light of their congruity to the human agent. The moral actions of men from day to day are judged by their conformableness with reason. It is thus that reason—to omit revelation—is accustomed to decide ethically in favor of obedience to parents, love of neighbors, fidelity to wife or husband, honesty, truthfulness, temperance. Even the theist does not scientifically establish these virtues by a looking straight to heaven or to God, unless, of course, he is taking the standpoint of revelation, which is not that of Ethics. But now, as regards adding to these proximate rules of right and wrong, which may be claimed as proper to Independent Ethics: we are accustomed to take account also of their connection with God, the Creator and the Remunerator, and the object of certain direct duties to be paid by man, even in the purely natural order. The so-called Independent Ethics of Evolutionists and others attack these foundations and so challenge defense from us in our Ethics.

And next, quite apart from polemics, the very concrete science of Ethics does not so easily admit of isolation as does the very abstract science of mathematics. Ethics does not as easily abstract from God and life beyond the grave as physics abstracts from the ultimate constitution of matter. Especially Ethics which starts, as in Aristotle, with the question of man's beatitude, has a sort of necessity to go beyond the earthly range; and, accordingly, Aristotle himself has hinted at such an extension. He would have done more if he had been a Christian. It seems then, at least, a very defensible policy which modern treatises in the Catholic school have followed, that of completing the independent portion of Ethics by borrowing from natural theology certain conclusions about God and the human soul. These additions are not made matters of renewed demonstration, they are not treated at great length; they are taken as foundation stones and coping stones to complete an otherwise not wholly satisfactory edifice.

¹³ "The Map of Life;" New Impression, pp. 88, 89.

A further word as to imitating Aristotle in making the end of man or his beatitude the first point of departure. Independent Ethics tells us why we do this, that and the other in detail, according to the dictates of right reason in these particular subjects. So the proximate end of our ethical acts is assigned. But there remains the question with which only Dependent Ethics can satisfactorily deal. What is the goal of the whole man as such—the end of all his virtues and of his whole self or person? We cannot answer this inquiry without reference to God as alpha and omega; for if we leave out Him and His wisdom and His justice and His power, we find ourselves unsupported, without a guarantee that man has a satisfactory end and a refuge against pessimism. So it is maintainable that the usual practice of writers who have given us Ethics for Catholic readers, not to mention many other writers, is at least very defensible. Dependent Ethics has its ample justification, even if it leaves liberty to the Independent or to the comparatively Truncated Ethics of competing for a place in literature. The whole treatise of the latter will correspond to certain chapters of the former without contradiction; but only the larger survey will present an adequate picture.

II.

The second way of limiting the scope of Ethics is by declaring certain portions of conduct to be outside the reach of its general rules. Mr. Lecky, after quoting Cardinal Newman to the effect that not for the greatest gain upon earth is it permissible to commit the most venial of venial sins, makes the remark: "It is certainly no exaggeration to say that such a doctrine would lead to consequences absolutely incompatible with any life outside a hermitage or a monastery. It would strike at the root of all civilization, and though many may be prepared to give it a formal assent, no human being actually believes it with a belief that becomes a guiding influence in life. It supposes that the supreme object of humanity should be sinlessness, and it is manifest that the means to the end is absolute suppression of desires. To expand the circle of wants is to multiply temptations and, therefore, to increase the number of sins. No material and intellectual advantages, no increase of human happiness, no mitigation of the suffering or dreariness of human life can, according to this theory, be other than an evil if it adds in the smallest degree or even in the most incidental manner to the sins that are committed." Here Mr. Lecky in several ways misinterprets Newman for want of a knowledge of the theological system upon which the Cardinal wrote, and which between the evil consequences of our action distinguishes some which we are bound not to permit and others which we may permit. But before coming

to principle, let us gather from the work of Mr. Lecky already cited and from Mr. H. Sidgwick's book on "Practical Ethics," some examples in which the authors think that men cannot always be rigorously ethical if they are to live in human society as it is.

1. In international morality a certain degree of Machiavelism—*salus reipublicæ suprema lex*—seems inevitable. "If any one will study the remarkable catena of authorities quoted by Lord Acton in his introduction to Burd's edition of Machiavelli's 'Prince,' he will be left in doubt how far the proposition that statesmen are not subject in their public conduct even to the most fundamental rules of private morality, can properly be called a paradox."¹⁴

2. Party government, at least in England, its natural home, has proved very beneficial, but at the compromise of ethical principles. "In free countries party government is the best, if not the only, way of conducting affairs, but it is impossible without a large amount of moral compromise. Every one who is actually engaged in politics—every one especially who is a member of the House of Commons—must soon learn that if the absolute independence of individual judgment were pushed to its extreme, political anarchy would ensue."¹⁵ The author follows up the statement with an interesting account of party manœuvres as known to him from his own experience in Parliament.

3. Legal practice induces the lawyer to defend causes which he knows to be bad, or to go beyond the just claims of a fair cause, while quite recently the law itself was full of controversies meant to delay settlements, to multiply expenses and to open doors to fraudulent representations. "It must be acknowledged that up to a period extending far into the nineteenth century those lawyers who adopted the most technical view of their profession were acting fully in accordance with its spirit. Few, if any, departments of English legislation and administration were, till near the middle of the century, so scandalously bad as those connected with the administration of the civil and the criminal law, and especially with the Court of Chancery. The whole field was covered with a network of obscure, intricate, archaic technicalities; useless except for the purpose of piling up costs, procrastinating decisions, placing the simplest legal processes wholly beyond the competence of any but trained experts, giving endless facilities for fraud and for the evasion or the defeat of justice, turning a law case into a game in which chance had often vastly greater influence than substantial merits."¹⁶ Being betrayed into an untruth by his advocacy, St. Andrew Avellino threw up his profession. We cannot expect that heroism of the average pleader.

¹⁴ Sedgwick, p. 55.

¹⁵ Lecky, p. 120.

4. Subscription to religious formularies and the recitation of imposed creeds puzzle many clerics. The Anglican forms are as the Reformation left them; meantime thought in the national Church has changed much and questions arise how far a clergyman is justified in using the words of the past while giving them the sense which he supposes more true to modern enlightenment. A test case has been those words of the Apostles' Creed, "was conceived by the Holy Ghost." Is it enough for a candidate to tell his ordaining Bishop beforehand that he does not take this article in its plain sense? Or to say nothing to anybody because well-informed persons now accept the fact that ancient creeds are largely regarded as antiquated? Mr. Sidgwick has gone some way to find a solution for himself. "For a long time I thought it difficult to justify the non-withdrawal from communion in case of a member of the Anglican Church who could not literally pledge himself to the Apostles' Creed. But as the pledge to withdraw is at any rate only implied and as the common understanding of orthodox and unorthodox alike gives the implication no support, I now think it legitimate to regard the obvious though indirect import of the verbal pledge as relaxed by common understanding. At the same time, considering how vague and uncertain this appeal to a tacit common understanding must be and how explicit and solemn the pledge is, I do not think that any one who is a candidate for any educational or other post of trust, in which membership with the Church of England is required as a condition, ought to take advantage of this relaxation without making his position clear to those who appoint him to the post."¹⁷ Mr. Sidgwick's settlement drew from Mr. Rashdall a protest and thereon followed a rejoinder.

5. Both Mr. Lecky and Mr. Sidgwick give illustrations of conscientious difficulties raised by the received and, apparently, necessary practices of war; but those are too obvious to call for repetition.

On the side of Catholic Ethics, it has to be stated as a principle that Newman was right in his sweeping assertion that absolutely no desirable purpose can justify a venial sin, if the act in question does really remain a sin. Yet all are aware that what would be sinful under some circumstances is not sinful under others. To break through a neighbor's window with no chance of paying the damage is sinful where there is no urgency for such an act of violence; it is quite free from fault where there is a very strong urgency to gain a legitimate purpose. Hence our moralists, not so much in their ethical books as in their moral theologies, have

¹⁶ Lecky, pp. 117, 118.

¹⁷ Sidgwick, pp. 136, 137.

sought to lay down principles for guidance in intricate problems. Their main solution is given in the general statement, which often is exceedingly difficult of application, that a man may do an act from which he foresees evil results—especially results due to the free choice of another—provided his act itself is not bad; provided he is not using an evil means to a good end, and provided his good end is important enough to balance the evil effect which he is permitting. An example will illustrate this obscure and baldly expressed rule and the example shall be from Mr. Lecky. He thinks that bank holidays may be allowed, though he fancies that Newman's doctrine is inconsistent with such tolerance. If he had consulted the books which Newman studied in Rome, he would have found in principle a bank holiday is defensible as an institution, not in itself wrong, not depending on the abuses of it for the innocent recreation which it gives to those who use it aright, and having in its uses a sufficient counterbalance to its abuses. It is true, however, that in tolerated practices it is often hard to say that the good effect predominates over the bad. Take, for instance, certain fashions of dress, or of dancing, which in themselves are just not indecent. Suppose some persons who, as far as they themselves are concerned, can innocently adopt these customs, but who are perplexed in conscience about their effect on general company. Is not the good derived from the self-indulgence far outweighed by the occasions of sin offered to others by the evilly suggestive usages? Hence we may often strongly commend abstinence. Still if it is brought to the issue of absolute right, often we have a difficult problem, in which we shall have to remember that those who take scandal do so by their own free will and cannot compel their neighbors to the adoption of extraordinary precautions in order to avoid the suggestion of evil.

However, this is not the place to work out the solution of problems like the above; all we wish to say is that without using a perverse ingenuity to escape the charge of wrong-doing, we should do our best to discover a casuistry which will help to bring under a reasoned theory the cases which perplex consciences. Difficulties may arise wherein Englishmen especially are inclined to say that theory is impossible and that we must simply make up our minds that in such instances the principle of morals may be set aside. That is the attitude of some whose rough confession is that while as a rule we should be truthful, occasionally we must regretfully make up our minds to tell lies; that while as a rule we should not be fraudulent, at times the pressure of life requires that we meet a fraudulent world with its own weapon, again, of course, regretfully. The aim of casuistry is to discover whether apparent lies

or apparent frauds may not sometimes be other than they seem, because a needful element in the definition of such a sin has vanished under the circumstances. Such a quest may be conducted quite honestly, though it will be always liable to abuse, either from bad reasoning or bad will.

In the Catholic Church, after many years of supervised labor, a fairly successful result has been reached. Of the progress of the work, Pascal in his time had made quite an insufficient study to enable him authoritatively to pronounce; and, needless to add, those who have only read Pascal are not qualified by their studies to judge. The "Lettres Provinciales" have added forcibly to an *à priori* inclination to suspect casuistry of sophistication or of dishonesty. Nevertheless, we are confident in our decision that instances such as those collected by Mr. Lecky and Mr. H. Sidgwick indicate the urgency for some moral deportment of science which will save a man from the illogical position of saying that occasionally he is justified in doing certain wrong actions because he lives in a world that is bad under many aspects. Unless by some reflex process we can find a justification for our conduct, we are always committing an offense against morals by what we do in seeming violation of the common requirements of truthfulness and honesty.

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THE CROSS:

VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF LEGEND, TRADITION, PROPHECY AND HISTORY; ALSO OF AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES.

THE mystic inwardness of the Cross; its outward potency; its world-wide manifestation more universally witnessed than its own prophetic Star of Bethlehem—who can feel or witness these phenomena and inspirations without asking within his soul, *What mystery is this?*

The Cross, consecrated by the blood of man's Redeemer; the emblem of our Faith, Hope and Charity; the sign of our salvation, is at once, and at all times, the proudest heritage and possession of the Christian. The Cross is our beacon light and fountain of grace on earth; it is our standard of triumph and glory in heaven; in time the most beautiful of trees, in eternity decked in perennial bloom and fruit. It accompanies us with blessings from the cradle to the grave—the first impress on the brow of infancy, the last anointing

emblem on the heart of expiring manhood. From the deepest and darkest catacombs to the highest and brightest sunlit spires of our Christian temples it sheds a mild yet potent and unfading lustre. Clasped to the purest heart of virgin sisterhood in cloister and in cell, it ever fires the lion-heart of the Crusader in the dreary march and in the bloody field of battle. Subject of promise and of prophesy from primeval ages, yet the world is amazed, dazzled, ecstatic, at the fullness of its consummation on Calvary. Nothing less than eternity is long enough to realize the infinite perfection of its goodness. Its mystic meaning, its place in sacred prophecy and in accomplished historical fulfilment, its universal *cultus* in all ages and in all lands, its almost endless variety of forms and names in archæological researches, its exaltation from an ignoble instrument of penal torture and death to be the crowning emblem in the diadems of Pontiffs and Kings, its unceasing well-springs of spiritual graces, its emblematic significance as the instrument of redemption and as the emblem of every noble hope, the sign of our own true faith, the daily companion of our lives and our sheet-anchor at the hour of our deaths—all these, and a thousand other titles, bind the Cross indissolubly to our lives, our aspirations, our struggles, our battles, our victories and our final triumphant end.

If we would, we could not escape the Cross. Everything on earth and in the heavens reminds us of it. Saints and anchorites spent days and many hours of the night in silent and wrapt contemplation of it. And with them we behold the sacred emblem everywhere in nature; we see it in every individual star of the heavens; we see it in combination in the Constellation of the Southern Cross; in the birds flying through the air with their outstretched wings; in the ships at sea with their masts and cross-arms; in the tree with its trunks and cross-branches; in the pavements on which we make our daily walks; in the crossing streets of our cities through which we push our way; in the architecture of church and domicile; in our every fellow-being we meet, who, like ourselves and like the God-man Himself, our Redeemer, who died upon the Cross, forms a thousand times a day the Cross with His outstretched arms.

But we of the twentieth century see the Cross even more than the anchorites and hermits, and in more points of God's creation; for if we look through the great telescope at the most distant and invisible stars and systems of stars and universes, or through the finely searching microscope at the beautiful snowflake or the minutest internal structure of the smallest flower—there, and everywhere, we behold the Cross. The very earth upon which we live, this beautiful planet, is constructed of endless crosses; endless in numbers

and varieties. Composed of inorganic matter, it shows in the mineral kingdom the Cross in all its endless forms of crystallization; every crystal presents to us the Cross as exemplified in rocks, metals and minerals, from the crude carbon to the brilliant diamond. What could be more beautiful or worthy of our study than the formation of ice, or still more of the formations of frost on the window-glass, in which myriads of varied crosses are seen in the midst of exquisite pictures of cathedrals, domes, minarets, mountains, plains, rivers and trees of the varied miniature landscape?

Not only in the material world, but still more in the moral and religious world, for there is scarcely a nation or clime or religion without the Cross; it is the favored theme of poet and historian, of monk and hermit, of moralist, theologian and mystic, and of the ancient and mediæval Fathers of the Church.

I recall the eloquent language of St. John Chrysostom in his "Discourse on the Divinity of Christ:" "The Cross shines resplendent at the sacred table, in the ordinations of the priests and in the mystic supper of the Lord's body. You behold it blazoned everywhere; in private houses and in the public forum; in the deserts and in the streets; on mountains, in meadows and on hills; on the sea, in ships, in islands; on couches, on garments and on armor; in the bed chambers and the banqueting room; on vessels of gold and silver, on jewels and in pictures; on the bodies of distempered animals, on the bodies of persons possessed by the devil; in war and in peace; by day and by night; in the festival of the dancers and amid the mortifications of the penitent—with so much earnestness do all, without exception, cultivate this wondrous gift and its ineffable grace. No one is ashamed or put to blush by the thought that it is the symbol of an accursed death; but we all feel ourselves more adorned thereby than by crowns, diadems and collars loaded with pearls; it shines everywhere: on the walls of our houses, on the ceilings of our apartments, in our books; in cities and in villages; in deserts and in cultivated fields. . . . Behold the Cross upon the purple and on the diadem; in our prayers, in the midst of armies; at the sacred tables; its glory shines throughout the world more brightly than the sun."

I recall also the words of Tertullian: "We impress the sign upon our foreheads whenever we move, when we enter in or go out, in going to the bath, at meals, in our conversation and when we return to rest. If you ask the Scripture authority for this and such like practices, I answer, there is none; but there is tradition that authorizes, custom that confirms, and submission that observes."

A beautiful and interesting illustration of the intimate tendency of the human soul to behold and draw spiritual and daily practical

consolation from the Cross, in the constant eventualities of life, is given by a modern artist, who artistically portrayed his vision or conception of the Cross on canvas. The artist depicted the home of the Holy Family at Nazareth and the carpenter's shop. The future Saviour, then a youth of about fourteen years, is depicted as going out of the house; a load of carpenter's materials or timbers had just been unloaded and thrown in front of the door; two pieces of timber accidentally fell across each other so as to form a perfect Cross; the Saviour's steps are at once arrested as His eyes caught a sight of the instrument of his future torture and death; with folded arms and riveted eyes He gazes upon the Cross, and stands in wrapt contemplation of His own Crucifixion.

The Cross in most ancient times was at once an instrument of personal ornament and of religious devotion, just as it is in the present day. The *Crux Ansata* was always an object of special veneration among the Egyptians, and it represented the active and passive principles embodied in Osiris and Isis. The Egyptian word signifying life was nearly the same as the Hindoo word of the same meaning. The Cross was also regarded as the symbol of eternal life, as well as of the new life given to neophytes after their initiation into the Sacred Mysteries, both among the Egyptians and the Hindoos, a feature bearing a striking resemblance to Christian customs. The *Crux Ansata* is a constant object found on Egyptian monuments of Khorsabad and on the ivory tablets of Nimrud, and it is carved on the walls of the cave-temples of India. When the Serapeum at Alexandria was destroyed by the order of Theodosius, the Christians saw in the *Crux Ansata* on the stories a prophetic sign of the coming of Christ, and they thus modeled the sign of their own redemption. From this time this peculiar form of Cross is to be found on Christian monuments, and some suppose it is the origin of the monogram of Christ.

There are two monograms of Christ; one composed of the two first Greek letters of Christ's name and the other is composed of the Greek initials of Jesus Christ. But these monograms of Christ are believed to be of an earlier date than the destruction of the temple of Serapis. The British, Irish and Gallic Celts used the Cross as a common symbol. The shamrock received an additional sacredness from its resemblance to the Cross, as did the trefoil of the Druids. So also among the Scandinavians the terrible hammer of Thor, which was used in battle and also to impart benediction at the marriage ceremony, was a cross. The ancient Danes placed in their shell mounds the cruciform hammer of Thor with the hole for the shaft at the intersection of the arms. Among the Scandinavians the hammer of Thor was a prom-

inent and significant object of devotion or national pride, both at their religious feasts, in battle, in their homes and in their drinking carousals. It was also used in sacrificing victims to Thor. Our own Longfellow gives us the poetic version of King Olaf's song while keeping the Christmas or Uhle feast of his country :

O'er his drinking horns the sign
He made of the Cross Divine,
As he drank, and muttered his prayers;
But the Bersecks evermore
Made the sign of the hammer of Thor.

The Cross appears on the sacred emblem of Vishnu and on the swastika of Buddha ; on Celtic monuments and on the arms containing the ashes of eminent Etruscans, in the Phœnician tombs of Cypress and on ancient Greek coins, such as those of Chalcedon, Syracuse and Corinth. Fine specimens of some of these were brought by a Catholic archæologist, General di Cesnola, to the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, where they can now be seen. The Indian great temples at Benares and Multra and many Druidical monuments are cruciform.

As an instrument of punishment and execution the Cross succeeded among ancient nations the practice of hanging criminals to trees. Like the gallows of more recent times, it was of old set up in public places to deter criminals. The transverse arm was frequently separate from the upright arm, and the former is supposed to have been the only part of the Cross which the condemned was forced to carry to the place of execution, unlike the case of our Saviour, who, according to tradition and legendary art, was compelled to carry the whole Cross to Calvary, and fell beneath its weight. In the early centuries of our era the pagans of Rome used to accuse the Christians of worshipping an ass' head, and this explains a design recently found drawn on a wall in a place of the Cæsars on the Palatine, and attributed to the third century, showing a crucified victim bearing an ass' head. In the *Cruz commissa*, the form on which our Saviour is supposed to have died, there is usually fixed over the head of the victim an upright rod to hold an inscription, and there are many specimens of this kind on the early tombs of Christians. The catacombs, according to the eminent Roman archæologist, De Rossi, contain numerous examples of the *Cruz emissa* prior to the fifth century and dating from the second, but no other forms of the Cross prior to that.

From having been a despised and derided object of criminal torture and execution, the Cross became about the second century an object of great and special veneration, and even in the Apostolic age, for it was one of the noblest words of St. Paul when he exclaimed, "God forbid that I should ever rejoice in anything save

in the Cross of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." But in the second Christian century great veneration and efficacy were attributed to the Cross; it was seen everywhere in Christian communities; it was impressed or carved on wood, stone and metal, on tombs, altars and religious structures, and even in front of dwellings; and the sign of the Cross was marked on the person, used in the ritual and in the administration of the sacraments.

In the catacombs the Cross is frequently seen accompanied by other emblematic figures, such as the dove, the serpent, the circle as emblematic of eternity, the anchor, alpha and omega and the fish, the last having an especial significance, inasmuch as the Greek letters composing it were the initials for "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour." Constantine the Great, who was led to his victory over Maxentius by a brilliant Cross in the skies and to his own conversion, made the previously hated sign of dishonor the proud symbol that thenceforth glittered on the shields and armors of the imperial Roman armies, and he caused crosses to be erected on the highways.

The Cross, however, bears its most conspicuous honors in ecclesiastical and hierarchical spheres. It is borne before the Pope everywhere; by patriarchs everywhere out of Rome, by primates, metropolitans and by all ecclesiastics wearing the pallium, within their jurisdictions. The Papal Cross has three cross arms, symbolical of the Pope's three jurisdictions, the ecclesiastical, the civil and the judicial; the Cross of patriarchs has two cross arms, and the Cross of an Archbishop has only one arm. The Cross of the Crusaders was originally *red*, but in course of time the different nations had crosses of different colors.

In Catholic countries there were several forms of architectural crosses, such as the boundary Cross, which defined civil or ecclesiastical limits, and sometimes possessed the mediæval right of sanctuary; the market Cross, which answered the double purposes of shelter from storms and as notice that the market tolls belonged to the neighboring monastery, and some of these still remain in England; the preaching Cross, from which sermons were delivered and proclamations read; the memorial Cross marked the scene of battles, murders, processions or other noted events; and of this there still remains in England a beautiful specimen in the fifteen beautiful memorial crosses which Edward I. had erected at the fifteen places where the remains of his queen, Eleanor, rested in their removal from Grantham to Westminster, one of which fifteen crosses, a beautiful example of which has been restored, still stands at Waltham.

As far as is known, the first public ceremonial or congregational Adoration of the Cross occurred in Jerusalem, in the year 326, when

St. Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine the Great, having found the true Cross on which our Saviour died, had that sacred relic exposed to the veneration of the faithful. At that time the Latin word *adoro* meant to venerate. From this moment the custom of venerating the Cross arose in the Church of Jerusalem, soon extended throughout the East and the West and became universal. We will relate hereafter, in giving the history of the true Cross, how a portion of the sacred relic was preserved in Jerusalem, and St. Paulinus informs us of the solemn ceremony observed annually thereafter at Jerusalem on Good Friday of bringing this piece of the Cross and exposing it to the veneration of the faithful. St. Thomas of Tours and Venerable Bede mention the same custom, and a piece of the true Cross which was carried to Constantinople was also exposed on Good Friday to the veneration of the faithful in the great Church of St. Sophia, now unfortunately a Mahomedan mosque. In the Western Church we find the same custom mentioned in the most ancient of the Roman Sacramentaries, that of Pope Gelatius, as approved and corrected by the learned Muratori. The antiquity of the rite is proved by the uniformity in its language in different countries. The antiphon which we now use in our American churches is the same as that given in the Antiphonary of St. Gregory, and in the Roman order referred by Mabillon to the time of St. Gregory. The original ceremony referred to the true Cross of Christ, in proof of which we need only cite the language of the antiphon itself: "Behold the wood of the Cross whereon our Salvation hung." Tracing back the ceremony to the time of St. Helena and the finding of the Cross, the ceremony means in fact not only a supreme worship of God Himself and Him crucified and a veneration of the instrument of His sacred death, but it is also a commemoration historically of the finding and of the exaltation of the Cross, even though the Church has since assigned two separate festivals to the commemoration of these great events, as we will hereafter relate. The ceremony of Good Friday also celebrates, as Cardinal Wiseman suggests, the liberation of the Church and the triumph of Christianity under the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the Great.

Christians were never accused of idolatry at the time of the first adoration of the Cross at Jerusalem in the year 326; there were no Iconoclasts in that day to destroy the true Cross of Christ, then recently found and now transmitted to posterity for its veneration. So also we trace the use of the word *adore* through ages of the Church which were distinguished by their hatred of idolatry. In the verses of "Lactantius," the most ancient poem we now possess on the Passion, the touching language is, "Flecte genu, lignumque

crucis venerabile adora." So also Bishop Simeon gives us an account of the death of an ancient martyr and his daughter, who were put to death for refusing to worship the pagan idols of their day, and who certainly would not commit an act of idolatry at the very moment they were giving their lives for refusing to commit that crime. The Christian martyr thus addressed his judge: "I and my daughter were baptized in the Holy Trinity, and the Cross I adore; and for Him (Christ) I will willingly die, as will my daughter." From this Oriental authority we may turn to the Greeks, who also used the same word, which meant to salute reverently and humbly; and thus we find in the old Greek version of St. Ephrem, the oldest of the old Syriac Fathers, a version made in his own lifetime or very soon afterwards, the following words: "The Cross ruleth, which all nations adore, and all people." We may thus safely follow the suggestion of Bossuet, and the clear and positive opinion of Cardinal Wiseman in his "Lectures on Holy Week," that the meaning of the word *adoro*, originally used to describe the ceremony and services of Good Friday, in the sense of veneration, has undergone a change in its meaning, and that the modern words, *Adoration of the Cross*, though historically and liturgically correct, do not now convey the real significance and true expression of the sentiments of the Church and of the faithful. And yet it is wise to adhere, in her liturgy, to the Latin language, as containing the permanent landmarks and tests of meaning in all ages and thus, too, to the ancient word, *Adoro*; for if once the Church commenced to modify and change her liturgy and her language, or to follow the constant changes of modern languages and the effect of such changes upon the Latin, there would be no end of changes, and the standard of uniformity would be lost or impaired. "The word, therefore," says Cardinal Wiseman, "signified veneration, and the rite must be more ancient than the modern meaning of 'supreme worship' which it now bears."

But veneration for the Cross, apart from the publicity given to it by St. Helena in the year 326, did not originate at the finding of the true Cross, when for the first time the public Adoration of the True Cross of Calvary took place. The crosses in the Roman Catacombs of the earliest Christian years show that the Church, prior to that and from the earliest times, held the Cross as an object of religious veneration. The Syriac Father, St. Ephrem, already quoted, says that all nations and peoples adored the Cross. Not only is this true, but still further is it certain from tradition, history and archæology that nearly all nations and peoples adored the Cross from the earliest ages, and tradition carries this qualified or inferior worship of the Cross back to our first parents. The following

tribute to this ancient *cultus* is from the pen of a Protestant minister, Rev. William Haslam, who learnedly and correctly regarded it as typical and prophetic of the Cross of Calvary, the Cross of Redemption. He writes: "We turn now to the Sign of the Cross, which we have been tracing indirectly into the remotest antiquity. The reader will remember we traced it first in its outward material form and alleged import among the principal nations of the primeval world. That alone suggested the conclusion to which our subsequent inquiry into the antiquity of the alphabet has actually brought us, namely, that the Cross was known to Noah before the Dispersion, and even before the flood; and I will venture yet further and say, the Cross was known to Adam, and that the knowledge of it as a sacred sign was imparted to him by the Almighty."

Innumerable authorities could be cited as favoring the same view of the immense antiquity and universality of the *cultus* of the Cross, but the archæological remains of all the primitive nations speak in unmistakable language, for there is scarcely a primitive nation whose ruins do not contain crosses in almost endless forms and varieties, together with unmistakable evidences of the practice of *cruci-cultus*, as I shall show in this paper by the researches of the learned and scientific.

The *cultus* of the Cross degenerated into idolatry with every nation except the Jews, and with every religion except Christianity, of which the Jewish faith was the precursor. This *cultus* is based upon tradition, which under the idolatrous religions of pagan nations assumed the most varied and often grotesque and distorted forms. But in the Christian mediæval times this ancient tradition assumed the form of a legend known as the *Legend of the Cross*.

This was one of the most popular legends of the Middle Ages, if we may judge from the frequency with which it was represented in the gorgeous stained glass windows and in the frescoes of the churches and cathedrals of that religious age. In the churches of Troyes alone it is finely represented on the windows of S. Martin-es-Vignas, of S. Pantaleon, S. Madeleine and S. Nizier. So, too, on the walls of the choir of the Church of S. Croce at Florence, by the hand of Agnolo Gaddi. Again we find the pencil of Pietro della Francesca devoting itself to the delineation of the legendary history of the Cross in the great frescoes in the chapel of the Bacci, in the Church of S. Francesco at Arezzo. Among the specimens of early art in the Academia delle Belle Arti at Venice it occurs as a predella painting, and Behams made it the subject of a fine painting in the Munich Gallery. And so in many other churches and collections the Legend of the Cross appears. It is told at length in the "Vita Christa" printed at Troyes in 1517, in the "Legenda Aurea of

Jaques de Voragine;” also in an old Dutch work, “*Gerschiedenis van det Leylighe Cruys*,” and in a French manuscript of the thirteenth century, now in the British Museum. It is related by Comestor, and by Gervase of Tilbury in his *Otia Imperialia*, and it also appears in the “*Speculum Historiale*,” in Gottfried von Vitarbo, in which the author introduces a Hiontus (corruption for Ironicus or Ionithus) in the place of Seth. And it also occurs in “*Chronicon Engelhusii*,” and in many other works.

The Legend, as current in the traditions, folklore and writings of the Middle Ages, reads as follows:

“The life of our first parents, after their expulsion from the garden of Paradise, was one of prayer, reparation for the past and toil for their daily bread at the sweat of their brows. When Adam had attained a very great age and saw that his death could not be far distant, he summoned his son Seth before him and said to him, ‘Go, my son, to the terrestrial Paradise and ask the Archangel, whom you will find there guarding the gate, to give me a balsam which will prolong my years and save me from death. You cannot miss the way, for my footprints scorched the land as I was leaving Paradise and wending my way hither. You must follow my blackened traces and you will thus reach the gate from which I and your mother Eve were expelled.’ The obedient Seth hastened to the closed and guarded Paradise, over lands that were barren, where vegetation was parched and sear and the color of the leaves dark and gloomy; and over this desolate way he distinctly saw the footprints of Adam and Eve as they fled before the angel of the Lord. After this arduous but not disheartening journey he arrived in sight of the walls of Paradise, and here the freshness of nature was preserved and renovated, the earth was verdant and fresh and the flowers were in bloom; the air was resonant with exquisite music and laden with refreshing odors. Dazed by the brilliancy and beauty of the scene and the sweet notes of the music he heard, Seth proceeded on his way, unmindful of his mission and of the paternal injunction. Suddenly at the gate of Paradise he was startled and stopped by the flashes of a wavering line of fire, upright and quivering continuously like a serpent. This was the flaming sword of the Cherub who stood there guarding the gates and whose wings he saw so expanded as to close the entrance. Prostrated and speechless before the Cherub, who read his thoughts and understood the message of Adam, which was engraven on his soul, Seth heard the celestial guardian of the place say to him, ‘The time for pardon is not yet come. Four thousand years must roll away ere the Redeemer shall open the gate to Adam, closed by his disobedience. But as a token of future pardon, the wood whereon re-

demption shall be won shall grow from the tomb of thy father. Behold what he lost by his transgression.'

"Then the angel immediately swung open the great portal of gold and fire, and Seth, in bewilderment, looked in. Here he beheld a fountain, clear as crystal, sparkling like silver dust, playing in the midst of the garden and gushing forth in four living streams. Before this mystic fountain grew a mighty and majestic tree with a trunk of vast size and thickly branched, but destitute of bark and foliage. Around the trunk was wreathed a frightful serpent or caterpillar, which had devoured the leaves and scorched the bark. Beneath the great tree was a precipice, and Seth beheld the roots of the tree branching forth in many directions in hell. There in hell he saw Cain vainly endeavoring to grasp the roots and thus ascend to Paradise; but they laced themselves around the body and limbs of the fratricide, as the threads of a spider's web entangle a fly, and the fibres of the tree penetrated the body of Cain as though they were endued with life.

"Appalled at this horrible spectacle, Seth averted his face, and looking up he saw the summit of the tree, and here all things were changed in a moment. The tree had taken a new and sudden growth and its branches penetrated into heaven. Its boughs were covered with leaves and flowers and fruit. But the fairest fruit of all was an infant, a living sun of light and beauty, who seemed to listen to the songs of seven white doves circling around his head. A lady more beautiful than the moon lovingly bore the infant in her arms.

"Then the Cherub closed the door and said to Seth: 'I give thee now three seeds taken from that tree. When your father, Adam, is dead, place these three seeds in thy father's mouth and thus bury him.' Seth accordingly took the seeds and returned to his father, to whom he related all that he had seen and heard. Adam was glad at what he thus heard, and with much rejoicing he praised God. On the third day after, Adam, who had anticipated his death, died, and his son Seth buried him wrapped in the skins of beasts which God had given him for a covering, and his tomb was on Golgotha. The three seeds had been placed in his mouth, and in the course of time three trees grew from the seeds brought from Paradise: one was a cedar, another was a cypress and the third was a pine. They grew with marvelous strength and beauty, and their boughs extended right and left and far and near. One of these boughs formed the rod of Moses, with which he performed his miracles in Egypt, brought water from the rock and healed those whom the serpent slew in the desert.

"In time the three trees touched one another; they began to in-

corporate and unite and confound their several trunks into a single trunk. It was beneath this triple tree that King David sat when he bewailed his sins. In the time of Solomon this tree was the noblest of the trees of Lebanon; it surpassed all the trees in the forests of King Hiram, just as a monarch surpasses all those who crouch at his feet. Now, when the son of David erected his palace he cut down this tree to convert it into the main pillar supporting his roof. But it was in vain so to use it, for the column refused to be used for this purpose; it became at one time too long and at another time too short. Astonished at this resistance to his will, Solomon lowered the walls of his palace to suit the length of the beam, but the beam immediately shot up and pierced the roof of the palace, like an arrow driven through a piece of canvas or a bird recovering its liberty. Solomon, in all his wisdom, became enraged with the tree and threw it over into Cedron, that all who passed over the brook might trample upon the rebellious wood.

"In this plight the Queen of Sheba found it, and she, recognizing its virtue, had it raised, and Solomon then buried it. Some time after this the King dug the pool of Bethesda on this spot. The pool at once acquired miraculous properties and healed the sick, who flocked to it in great numbers. The waters of Bethesda owed their miraculous power to this wonderful tree.

"And now in the profound and merciful Providence of God the time of the Crucifixion of the Messiah drew near, the time of redemption foretold by the Cherub guarding the gate of Paradise, and at once the tree rose to the surface; and when the executioners of the Lamb sought for the wood that was to construct the instrument of His execution, they were guided to the spot, and selected this noted tree for the Cross of Jesus, and a Saviour died upon the wood that grew from the great tree that stood near the fountain in the Garden of Paradise."

Leaving now the realms of legend and tradition, the rest of our story of the Cross is authentic. After the Crucifixion, the Jews, fearing that the followers of Jesus might seek to possess the Cross on which He died, buried it, and then heaped a great quantity of stone and rubbish over the spot so as to conceal it, and afterwards the pagans built a temple of Venus there, so that if any found the spot and came to adore, they would, too, seem to worship the heathen goddess of love; and they also erected a statue of Jupiter there. In the year of our Lord 326, when Constantine the Great, after his conversion, resolved to build at Jerusalem a magnificent church to commemorate the death and miracles of Jesus, his mother, S. Helena, though at the age of eighty years, made the journey to Jerusalem and conceived a pious desire to find the Cross of Jesus.

But there was neither sign nor tradition to point out the spot. Upon consulting all the learned and wise ones in Jerusalem she was told that if she could find the sepulchre of Jesus, she would probably there also find the Cross and other instruments of His execution, for it was the custom of the Jews to bury those whom they executed in the same grave with the instruments of death. She therefore ordered the pagan temples to be demolished and the statues broken; the stones and rubbish were removed and the place excavated, when her piety was rewarded by the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and near it the three Crosses of Calvary; also the nails which had pierced the hands and feet of Jesus, the sponge and lance and the Title which had been fixed to His Cross. But the *Title* had become separated from the Cross; which of the crosses was the Cross of Jesus, and which were the crosses of the two malefactors who were crucified with Him? The holy St. Macarius recommended that the three crosses should be applied to the body of a lady of distinction then extremely ill in Jerusalem, and while this was being done he prayed to God to reward the faith and piety of the saintly and venerable Empress by permitting the sick one to be cured when the Cross of Jesus touched her body. And so it was; for after two crosses had been tried without effort, on the touch of the third cross the sick lady arose from her couch in perfect health. The grateful Empress erected upon the spot a church, and had the true Cross placed in a case of great richness and value and deposited therein. Afterwards she carried a part of the Cross to her son, the Emperor Constantine the Great, at Constantinople, who received it with great reverence; and still later she carried another part of the Cross to Rome and placed it in the Church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, which she built in that city and where it still remains. The *Title*, which was on wood and contained the inscription in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, was placed by her in the same church, where it was found in 1492, as related by Bosius in his treatise "*De Cruce*." The wood was whitened and the letters were in red. That piece of the Cross which was left at Jerusalem, in the Basilica of the Holy Cross, was preserved for the veneration of the faithful, and though innumerable pieces were chipped from it, it is said never to have diminished. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, twenty-five years after its discovery by St. Helena, relates that pieces of it were spread all over the earth, and he compares its undiminished size to the miracle of the multiplied loaves and fishes in the Gospel. The relics of the Holy Cross were subsequently placed in 335 in the great Church of the Resurrection built by Constantine the Great at Jerusalem.

Chosroes II., a rude and treacherous King of Persia, waged war

against the Eastern Empire in the seventh century, and in 614 he entered Jerusalem in triumph, sacking the city and community and committing every outrage. The churches of Jerusalem were burned and plundered, and amongst the rich booty carried off by the victorious Persians was the splendid case containing the relics of the Holy Cross. The patrician Nicetas succeeded, with the help of some of the friends of Sarbazara, the Persian general, in saving the sacred sponge with which the Roman soldiers gave our Saviour vinegar to drink, and the sacred lance which pierced his side, and these were sent to Constantinople and long venerated by the faithful.

The Roman Emperor, Heraclius, defeated by the victorious Persians and reduced to an abject state, sued for peace, but such was the decline of the Roman Empire that the Persian King treated his petitions with contempt and threw his ambassadors into prison. The pagan Persian would not consent to treat with a Christian. At length the Emperor, aroused by his misfortunes and the insults he had received, resolved to defend his dominions and to carry the war into Persia. The Christian churches contributed their treasures, which were turned into coin, to enable this Christian Emperor to raise an army for the defense of Christendom. With a picture of Jesus Christ in his hands he led his army forth, and victory rested upon the Roman banners in every battle and in every campaign. Finally after repeated victories the Roman Emperor entirely overthrew the Persians in a great battle near the ancient city of Nineve, and the Persian King, the sacrilegious Chosroes, fled before the victorious Christian, and the latter returned in triumph to Constantinople, with countless prisoners and immense booty. Among the treasures which he brought back to the imperial city of the East were the relics of the true Cross, which fourteen years before Sarbazara, the Persian general, had carried away with him from Jerusalem. These precious relics were afterwards carried in person by the Emperor to Jerusalem, under the most splendid preparation made for their restoration in the basilica from which it had been taken.

The patriarch of Jerusalem, Zachary, as he walked by the side of the Emperor in this great pageant, contrasted the purple and fine linen with which his majesty was clad with the humble garb in which Jesus Christ bore the Cross through the streets of Jerusalem, and he said to Heraclius: "You walk in your gaudy imperial robes; He was meanly clad. You have on your head a rich diadem; He was crowned with a wreath of thorns. You go with your shoes on; He walked barefoot." Whereupon the Roman Emperor took off his purple robes and his crown and replaced them with the meanest clothing, and taking off his shoes, walked in the solemn and devout procession in his bare feet; and on reaching the Basilica of the

Holy Cross he solemnly and triumphantly placed the sacred relics of the Holy Cross in the place of honor from which the pagan Persians had torn them. This proud event in the history of Christendom is known as the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The sacred relics of the Cross were subsequently, for greater safety, transferred to the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. The feast of the Invention or Discovery of the Holy Cross is observed on the 3d of May; the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross is observed on the 14th of September.

The extent to which the miraculous multiplication of the wood of the true Cross took place, as testified by S. Cyril, is not known, but the particles of this sacred relic are now possessed, though extremely minute, by many churches, religious houses and even private persons. S. Paulinus speaks of such particles or relics as a "protection of present and pledge of eternal salvation." Such relics are usually preserved in a glass like a monstrance, which is closed with the Papal or episcopal seal, and this glass is reverently kissed by the pious possessor; the relics of the Holy Cross may be placed on our altars, incensed at Solemn Mass and used for conveying blessings to the faithful and placed upon the couch of the sick and dying.

The Adoration of the Cross has from the days of Luther to our own been made the basis of a charge of idolatry against the Catholic Church. Cardinal Wiseman called it "that maligned title of '*adoration*,' " and he and Bossuet have shown that the word "*latría*," as applied to the worship of the Cross by St. Thomas, meant at that time the highest kind of worship or adoration, and philological researches have now proved that the meaning of this word has been changed since the time of St. Thomas so as to have, in the ever changing and shifting evolution of human language, quite a different meaning from what it bore at the time it was first introduced into the liturgy of the Church. Catholics, however, so thoroughly understand the nature of the veneration they pay to the Cross, and their opponents have become so much more enlightened, that it has become quite out of vogue now to accuse Catholics of idolatry because of their veneration or qualified adoration of the Cross. Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore, in his vindication of the Church against the charge of idolatry made by the Protestant Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, says: "The second Council of Nice, whilst approving of them, says that 'supreme worship which is according to faith, and alone becomes the Divine Nature,' must not be given to images. . . . The honor given to images is wholly referred to the objects represented by them, since in themselves they have no virtue or excellence." Then, after describing the ceremony of

Good Friday, he says: "The object of our adoration, as explained by St. Gregory, is the Saviour Himself. . . . I trust you do not deny that our Redeemer," alluding here to the custom of bowing at the name of Jesus, "even as man is rightfully worshiped on account of the union of the human nature with the Divine in the Second Divine Person. We then worship (in adoring the Cross) our Redeemer Himself, whom the image, like the sound (of the name of Jesus), presents to our mind. It has well been said by a Catholic divine that the Good Friday ceremony would be more appropriately named the kissing of the Cross."

Such, I may say, is the devotional side of the Cross. It is not strange to students of antiquity, and yet it may be to some, what a startling and curious history this sublime and cherished object of our devotions possesses. It has its devotional side and its legendary, prophetic and historical side.

The Cross has a history not unworthy of its sacred character. As American Catholics it will be a source of no slight appreciation that its history is singularly associated with the earliest religious traditions and the most ancient archæological remains of our own country. The Cross is preëminent in everything. First in our devotions, first in legend, prophecy and history.

On the 13th day of October, 1492, when Christopher Columbus and his companions landed on the continent which ultimately proved to be the virginal soil of America, the great admiral and all the world with him believed that then for the first time the foot of European man touched the Western continent. When the Cross of Christ was unfurled in the royal standard of Spain at San Salvador, the Christian priests, companions of Columbus, and all Christendom with them, believed that then for the first time was that sacred emblem ever seen in the Western Hemisphere. It then became at once the highest aspiration of layman and monk to plant the Cross in the wilderness and by it to challenge the faith of the children of the new world. Wherever the discoverer and conqueror advanced, wherever pious priest or monk penetrated the unknown world, their track was traced by the Cross they reverently elevated and planted in token of the conquest of those vast regions to the gentle yoke of Christ and His Church. Thus it was with Columbus in the West Indies, with Cortez in Mexico, with Pizarro in Peru, with all the great explorers of that day; they all gloried like St. Paul in the Redeemer's Cross. The Cross was erected at the southern and southwestern extremities of our country; by the Spanish in Florida, New Mexico and California; by the French from our northeastern boundary westward along the great northern lakes and southward through the valley of the Mississippi, until the

lengthened line of sacred emblems from the north and northeast joined the holy procession of crosses at the south; until from the St. Lawrence, along the Mississippi to the Rio Grande and Mexico, the united lines, at once sacred and historical, formed a majestic cordon of sacred emblems, a semi-circle of crosses completely surrounding the English Protestant colonies then confined to and along the Atlantic coast, with Catholic Maryland and her cross erected at St. Mary's, the cradle of religion and of liberty in America, standing in their centre, like an oasis of faith and unity in the desert of discordant creeds. Thus our country was consecrated to the Cross of Christ.

There was one striking and influential feature in all the expeditions of discovery and conquest in those days—they were all accompanied by zealous men of God; Christian missionaries were the invariable companions of great discoverers, captains and conquerors; and the mailed warriors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries advanced side by side with the black-gowned sons of the Church. Christian missions for the conversion of the almost countless tribes and peoples inhabiting the western world were commenced. The Cross was erected at every mission and was its central figure. Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits, advancing with Cross in hand, struggled in noble rivalry to win the greatest number to the Cross and to the faith it heralded.

But now a new and astounding phase of the historic Cross in America presents itself. The Catholic missionaries were the closest observers and students of Indian customs, traditions and methods of life. Nothing so interested them as the religious condition of the Indians—their traditions, devotions, moral being and their religion. As investigators of the religions and worships of the natives they were the most thorough and untiring, for it was by their studies that they acquired a knowledge of the best means of introducing the religion of the Cross and of the Crucified. Their writings on American linguistics, ethnology and archæology, in which they have recorded their observations and studies, form a priceless legacy to the human race; and especially to the Christian philosopher and scientist they are inestimable.

What must not have been their astonishment, their amazement, at discovering that the Cross had already been introduced into America before its discovery by Columbus and before the arrival of the first Spanish Christian missionaries? What must not have been their surprise and amazement at seeing the Cross already erected on altar and carved in temple, the object of religious veneration among the natives of that new and then discovered world? The striking and expressive language in which they have recorded their

feelings at this unexpected discovery forms one of the most remarkable features in their writings.

The Spanish missionaries accompanying the discoverers and conquerors of both South and North America made similar discoveries in relation to the Cross as an object of religious worship among the aboriginal natives, and have recorded them in similar language of surprise and wonder.

The discoveries then made by the early Spanish missionaries and continued from their time by travelers, explorers and investigators, and to the present by more modern archaeologists, have made known to the learned world how extensive and almost general was the recourse to the Cross as a religious emblem practiced by the people of both Americas, embracing even some few portions of our own country, but not extending to or among the warlike tribes of the North American Indians of our country and Canada, nor to the Esquimaux of the Arctic regions.

And here it will be useful and interesting to state that the different forms of the Cross are numerous. Berry in his "Encyclopædia of Heraldry" enumerates not less than 385 varieties of the Cross. In this paper it is only necessary to mention the most usual and important forms and such as will serve to illustrate our subject. The Greek Cross consists of four equal arms meeting at right angles in the centre. A variety of the Greek Cross is known as the Maltese Cross, in which the arms increase in breadth towards the ends, which terminate with double points, that is, in the shape of a Delta, or it may be an original form of Cross, for it is very ancient. In its oblique form it is designated as *crux decussata*. This form is also claimed by the Scotch as St. Andrew's Cross. St. George's Cross is a compound Cross, such as is usually represented in the British flag. It is difficult, however, to trace the history of these and other national crosses.

The Latin Cross, the one with which we are most familiar, is similar to the Greek Cross above, except that the two sides or horizontal arms are raised up nearer to the top of the vertical arm. It is called the *crux emissa*. In Zell's Encyclopædia it is called *Crux Capita*. The Latin Cross is believed to be the one upon which our Saviour was crucified.

The *Crux commissa* or *patibulata* differs from these two in having its horizontal arms shortened and resting upon the top of the vertical arms. It is also called the *tau* Cross, from its resemblance to the Greek letter tau, corresponding to our letter T. The *Crux ansata* consisted of the *Tau* Cross with a roundlet or oval on top of it, and is frequently found in ancient remains of every kind.

There are various other forms of the Cross, such as the celebrated

cruciform hammer of the Scandinavian God Thor, though the Cross of thor is usually formed *cramponnée*, — and is one of the compound crosses, of which there are several varieties, the compound crosses having been most frequently used as instruments of torture and death for the condemned among ancient nations.

The most modern forms of the Cross, though dating back to the fifth century of the Christian era, one exclusively Christian, are the two monograms of Christ which we have already described. In both South and North America, as among the Peruvians and the Mexicans, the *Cruz ansata* was in very general use as an object of religion. The same may be said to some extent of the Latin Cross, or *cruz emissa*, and, indeed, of many of the numerous forms of the Cross as represented in temples and altars. It was the mystical Tau, the emblem of hidden wisdom. The Muysca mothers in South America were accustomed to lay their infants beneath the Cross, trusting that by that sacred sign they would be secured against the power of evil spirits. In both North and South America the Cross was believed to be endowed with the power of restraining evil spirits. In both continents it was also the common symbol of the goddess of rain, and certain rites and ceremonies were annually performed in her honor, expressive of the religious feelings and practices of the people. Annually on the return of spring, when copious rains were needed to fertilize the land and promote the fruits of the earth, the Mexicans were accustomed to propitiate the favor of their deity, Centeotl, the daughter of heaven and goddess of corn, by nailing a young man or maiden to a Cross, and after suitable delay and suffering the victim was sacrificed to this favorite divinity by being despatched with an arrow shot from the bow. The semi-civilized Muyscas, when they desired to offer sacrifice to their goddess of the waters, extended two ropes transversely over the still waters of a lake or other body of water, thus forming a huge Cross, and at the point of intersection they threw their offerings of food, gems and precious oils.

It is also said that the tombs of the ancient Mexicans were cruciform. The Maltese cross frequently appears in the religious architecture of the same people, and of the Peruvians. Among the Mexicans the Maltese cross appears in a most elaborately carved bas-relief on a massive piece of polygonous granite, constituting a portion of a cyclopean wall, in which the cross is enclosed, and the four arms of the cross severally and accurately point to the cardinal quarters. The Maltese cross also appears in a curious Peruvian monument, an ancient huaca or catacomb, consisting of a syruix or pandean-pipe, cut out of a solid mass of lapis olaris and having its sides profusely ornamented with Maltese crosses and other emblems.

In Baradere's "Mexican Antiquities" and Rawlinson's "Five Great Monarchies" is described a still more remarkable Maltese cross, engraved on a tablet of gypsum, including, among several quaint and mystic accompaniments, a banner decorated with a large Maltese cross, resembling, no doubt, the banners borne in religious processions of Christians in our day, in which the Cross forms a prominent figure. In Peru also have been found frequent examples wrought in copper of the cruciform hammer known as the battle axe of Thor. The great work of Lord Kingsborough on the antiquities of Mexico gives numerous specimens of the same cruciform battle axe carved in the most durable rock and inserted in the exterior walls of temples and other edifices. One of the most striking and interesting instances of the use of the Cross is found in the Mexican Tribute table (Talegas), in which small pouches or bags containing the tribute paid to Montezuma, who was at once high priest and demi-god, child of the sun, divine honors having been paid to him during his life and for centuries after his death, and even to our own times. The cross, either Maltese or Latin, was conspicuously and tastefully woven or painted on these tribute bags. As this was a Pueblo tax, the custom of rendering this tribute to the sacred person of Montezuma in bags marked with the Cross probably prevailed among our own Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and others of our States or Territories acquired from Mexico.

Still another and yet more interesting and surprising form of *Cruciculus* prevailed among the tribes of South America. It gives us a proof that those superstitious and heathen people were willing to undergo the most violent pain and torture for the Cross. It consisted in tattooing their bodies with the sign of the Cross. This information I derive from the *Historical Magazine* of 1867, Vol. II., pp. 159, 160, in an article entitled "The Cross as an Ancient American Symbol," by Hon. Thomas Ewbank, who gives the following passage from "The History of the Abipones of Paraguay," by Dr. Martin Dobrizhoffer, a missionary in South America from 1749 to 1767, as follows:

"They tattoo themselves by pricking the skin with a thorn. They all wear the form of a Cross impressed on their foreheads, and two small lines at the corner of each eye, extending towards the ears, under four transverse lines at the root of the nose between the eyebrows, as national marks. . . . What these figures signify and what they portend I cannot tell, and the Abipones themselves are no better informed on the subject. They only know that this custom was handed down to them by their ancestors, and that is sufficient.

"I saw not only a cross marked on all the foreheads of the

Abipones, but also black crosses woven in the woolen garments of many. It is a very surprising circumstance that they did this before they were acquainted with the religion of Christ, when the significance and merits of the Cross were unknown to them."

The following passage from Dr. Mier as to the arrival of Quetzalcohuatl and Christian missionaries in North America will be read with interest:

"Hence (namely from the West) he came according to his history, entering California, although Torquemada says that he arrived at Tula, or Tollan, having disembarked at Panuco, some say, with fourteen and others with seven disciples, clad in long garments reaching to the feet, with tunic and Jewish mantles similar to those of the Indians, which they are accustomed to wear in their feasts. They had not with them any women, nor had Quetzalcohuatl ever any, for he was most continent. This was the great priest of Tula, and thence he sent forth his disciples to preach in Huaxyacac and other provinces a new and holy law. He demolished the idols, prohibited the sacrifices which were not of bread, flowers and incense, abhorred war, taught penance, the fast of forty or seventy days, etc."

Also a passage from Prescott, as to the return of Christian missionaries will interest our readers:

"He (Quetzalcohuatl) promised, on his departure, to return at some future day with his posterity and resume the possession of the empire. That day was looked forward to with hope or with apprehension, according to the interest of the believer, but with general confidence throughout the wide borders of Anahuac. Even after the Conquest it still lingered among the Indian races, by whom it was fondly cherished, as the advent of their king, St. Sebastian, continued to be by the Portugese, or that of the Messiah by the Jews."

Peter Martyr also speaks of the Spaniards, in their visits to Yucatan, discovering Crosses, which were venerated as religious emblems. Boturrini also speaks of the discovery of ancient Crosses in America, one of which he found himself. He also speaks of an unpublished work entitled the "Phoenix of the West," by Don Carlos de Liguenza y Gangoro, in which the author says that he possessed "a painting on linen of another most holy cross of wood, which was drawn (by means of a machine made on purpose) out of an inaccessible cave of Mixteca Baxa, and which is at present (of the time of the composition of the work) venerated in the conventual church of Tonalá, belonging to the Fathers of St. Dominick."

The learned Dr. Mier, in his supplement to Sahagun's "Conquest

of Mexico," says: "Hardly had the Spaniards approached the Continent of America, in 1519, and disembarked in Cozumel, near to Yucatan, when they found several (crosses) within and without the temples, and in one of the court-yards was an especially large one, around which it was customary for the people to go in procession when asking favors of the God. This was an especial object of veneration to the people. Crosses were also found in Yucatan, even on the breasts of the dead in the sepulchres. Hence it was that the Spaniards began to call that place New Spain."

Veytia in his "*Historia Antiqua de Mexico*" says: "Cortes found a great stone cross in a beautiful enclosure which, from the most ancient times, was adored in Acuzamil or Cozumel, and Gomara affirms that that place was regarded as the common sanctuary of all the adjacent islands, and that there was no village without its cross of stone or other material. They also found crosses in Chollolan, in Tollan, in Texcoco and other parts."

Prescott in his "*History of the Conquest of Mexico*," after speaking of the astonishment of Cortes at beholding large stone crosses, which were objects of worship, of his (in this account) calling the country New Spain, in another place says: "They (the Spaniards) could not suppress their wonder as they beheld the cross, the sacred emblem of their own faith, raised as an object of worship in the temples of Anahuac. They met with it in various places, and the image of a cross may be seen at this day sculptured in bas relief on the walls of one of the buildings of Palenque, which figure, bearing some resemblance to that of a child, is held up to it as if in adoration." The figure of the child held in the arms of a grown person, in this bas relief, has given rise to the conjecture by some that the scene represented a christening.

Father Gleason, professor at St. Mary's Catholic College, at San Francisco, in his "*History of the Catholic Church in California*," says: "What first arrested their (the Spaniards') attention . . . was the existence and frequency of the cross which met them on all sides. Everywhere throughout the entire of the Mexican Empire this symbol of our holy religion was worshiped and adored by the people. It was raised in the villages, cut on the rocks, erected on the highways and adored in the temples." The same Veytia already quoted makes the statement that "there was also a temple called the Temple of the Holy Cross, where that sacred emblem was worshiped, and what was especially deserving of attention is that this was regarded by the people as the most ancient temple of the country."

I think the "Temple of the Holy Cross" mentioned above is identical with the ancient ruin at Palenque, mentioned and described

by Stephens in his "Central America" and called by him La Cruz, The Cross. During the dreadful march of Cortes to Honduras, rendered doubly dreadful by hunger and fatigue, he did not visit the ancient city of Palenque. The Village of The Three Crosses, *Las Tres Cruces*, which was between twenty and thirty miles from Palenque, was still nearer to the course of march taken by the suffering Spanish army; but they did not turn even a few miles from their course to visit this interesting spot. The Three Crosses are said to have been near to the march of the conquerors, and to be regarded as an index or guide, to mark their course through the country.

It would be a work of cumulation only to continue to give further and numerous other instances of *Cruciculus* among the inhabitants of America at the time of its discovery by Columbus, or to multiply quotations from the numerous authors who have treated this fascinating theme. I will merely add that the voluminous and exhaustive works of Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft, "Native Races of the Pacific States," contain much valuable and interesting learning on this subject.

But I have been anxious to discover instances of *Cruciculus* within limits of our own Republic, and for the accomplishment of this result I have examined many volumes and waded through vast fields of research. My study has happily resulted in finding two instances of religious cultus of the Cross within the present limits of our country.

The wild and fierce tribes of the red Indian found by our ancestors inhabiting this country included several successive races that in turn possessed the continent and in time gave way to other and more warlike and powerful people. A people without a history, and without even a name, are believed to have preceded our Indian tribes. From the gigantic mounds, silent monuments of their patient labor and of their faith or love of country and ancestors, which they have left behind them and which are now distinctly seen in various parts of our country, they are now universally called, for want of a better name, the Mound Builders. These vast and mysterious structures were built in some instances for military purposes and in others for religious worship. The latter class of mounds resemble in shape, structure and other features the sacred mound temples and altars, the *teocalis* of Mexico. Among the many examples we have of these temple mounds I have found one that is cruciform. It resembles the Greek cross, the four arms of which extend out from a solid central parallelogram. It is known among American archæologists as the square mound, and is to be seen to this day near Marietta, in the State of Ohio. Who can

unravel the mystery that attends this ancient and majestic monument, by which an unknown and unnamed family of the descendants of our first parents have endeavored to manifest their crude and imperfect worship of the Deity?

The second instance I have found is far more distant, more interesting and unmistakable as an instance of *Cruciculus* by the aboriginal races of our country. In 1854 the United States Government fitted out a military expedition to explore and survey a route for the Southern Pacific Railroad, and placed Lieutenant A. W. Whipple in command. Their explorations and surveys lay through New Mexico, west of the Rio Grande, between the head waters of the San Jose and Zuni Rivers. They had passed the high bluff of the El Moro of the Spaniards, and read the Spanish inscriptions and Indian hieroglyphics in the rocks, and the Pueblo ruin at Pecos, and had advanced into the country of the Old Zuni Pueblo Indians. Some of the ruins they saw were structures five stories high and holding, according to Lieutenant Whipple's estimate, two thousand people. These ancient buildings stood upon the ruins of still older structures. The origin of this semi-civilization extended back beyond the range of tradition. Near the town of old Zuni, after ascending to a high tableland, they saw the legendary statues in rock, five hundred feet high, recognized as the reputed statues of the pair that had been sacrificed at the flood. The official report states that the imagination could easily trace a resemblance in these isolated Colonies of Sacred Stone—a resemblance to human beings of colossal size, and that they were remarkable enough in appearance to perpetuate a legend among this singular people. Near this place in a secluded nook of a forest of cedars, to which his guide led Lieutenant Whipple and his other officers, a sacred spot where, within sight of one of the vast and ancient ruins already mentioned, they saw a Zuni altar. A finely drawn and colored sketch of this mysterious relic is given in the official report. Mingled with representations of the sun and moon are there seen four distinctly carved crosses, two resembling the Greek Cross, and the two others representing the *tau* Cross. In his official report Lieutenant Whipple says: "Although many seashells and other ornaments were lying around, the guide would not allow us to take away the slightest thing. When we had left he took from his pouch a white powder, and muttering a prayer blew it three times towards the altar. He then followed us, intimating by signs that upon other tablelands east, south and west, there were other similar consecrated spots. The white powder he had used we found to be *piriole*, the flower of parched corn. The object, he said, was asking a blessing from Montezuma and the sun and praying for his 'daily

bread.'"¹ This singular and remarkable altar, with its crosses and other emblems, resembles, as beautifully represented by the fine picture in the official report, a Christian grave more than a heathen altar.

I am able to present another instance of *Crucicultus*, a singular and interesting one, at our Northeastern boundary line. It is the only example of worship of the Cross that I have been able to discover among the savage tribes of North America. When Father Christian Le Clercq, Recollet missionary, in 1673 entered upon his missionary labors among the Gaspesians, he found there a tribe of Micmac Indians who worshiped the cross in an idolatrous manner and to an excessive degree. Surrounded by other tribes who did not adopt or follow this worship in the least, this tribe of Micmacs stood isolated and alone in this remarkable practice. This region had been known to the Northmen in the tenth century. Subsequently it became the home of the good Acadians, from which they were so ruthlessly torn and still later and now known as Nova Scotia. There on the 24th of July, 1534, Cartier had planted the cross with the army of France in the Bay of Gaspé. Father Le Clercq traced the custom far back beyond the arrival of the French, discovered that the Micmacs had derived it from their ancestors and also from the Zuni, and conjectures that they may have received the Christian faith from Apostolic preachings. So much was the good Recollet impressed with the religion of the Micmacs that he called the tribe in question the Cross Bearers, or Crusaders.²

Gravier³ attributes the introduction of the religious custom of the Cross among the Micmacs to the Northmen. I will translate the following passages on this subject from Gravier:

"In the seventeenth century Christian Le Clercq, Recollet missionary, resided twelve years in Gaspesia, which became successively Acadia and Nova Scotia after having been the Markland of the Scandinavians. He then found traditions relating to the creation of man and the deluge of Noe, which seemed to be derived from Genesis.

"They possessed the worship of the cross immessa, that is to say, of the cross received by Christians towards the end of the fifth century.

"This particular concerning the form of the cross is not unimportant. If the Gaspesians had possessed the Cross in monogram, whose origin is traced from the historical times of India, or that which theologians call *commissa patibulata* or *tau*, T, which is found

¹ "Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad Route From the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean," Vol. III., p. 69.

² Le Clercq, "Reletion de la Gasperie," 1691, p. 171.

³ "Découverte de l'Amerique par les Normands au xe Siècle," pp. 170, 171.

equally in India from the most remote epoch and among Christians of the four first centuries, it would be impossible to form an opinion as to the source or date of its introduction in Northeast America. From the fact that the cross of the Gaspesians is *immissa*, or Latin, one can easily admit, on the contrary, that this people received it after the fifth century from the hands of Scandinavian priests, the only ones whose presence in America before the fifteenth century is established by authentic monuments.

"All the Gaspesians carried it figured in their clothing and upon their flesh; they had it in their hands, in all their ceremonies and in all their travels; they placed it in the exterior and in the interior of their cabins, upon their boats, even on their raquettes. They adorned the swaddling clothes of their infants, and they considered it the sign of their superiority over other nations.

"The councils of the Gaspesians were assembled around a large cross and each counselor had a small one in his hand.

"When a Gaspesian was sent as an envoy the chief solemnly passed around his neck a very beautiful cross and said to him at the end of a prepared speech: 'Go preserve this Cross, which will protect you from all dangers among those to whom we send you.'

"Women enciente wore it upon their stomachs. One fact seems above all characteristic; the Gaspesian wanted a cross upon his coffin and one upon his tomb, so that their cemeteries appeared more Christian than savage."

This was without doubt an echo from Christian preachings in America, a proof of the voyage of Erik-Upsi and of the Normans, who had their principal station, says Humboldt, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, especially in the Bay of Gaspé, in front of the Island of Anticosti, whither abundance of fish and facilities for fishing attracted them. Father Christian Le Clercq, who derives great authority for his twelve years' sojourn at Gaspebie, also confirms this view: "In the first particular I have found among certain savages, whom we call Porte-Crosse, that there is sufficient material to cause us to conjecture and even believe that these people had not closed their ears against the voice of the Apostles." He alludes to the Christian Apostles of the Northmen.

In a later part of this paper I shall briefly consider the views of Mr. Gabriel Gravier in relation to the culture of the Cross among the Micmacs.

When the Cross was first discovered by the early Spanish priests and monks as an object of religious veneration at worship among the aborigines of America, the first sensation was one of unspeakable surprise and amazement. It was but natural that after these first sensations subsided they should address themselves to the work

of theories which presented themselves to their minds. They first conjectured that this astonishing fact was a device of the evil one. They thought that the devil, in order to divert the attention of the natives from the true faith of the Cross, and thus close their ears against the religion of Him who died upon the Cross, had fraudulently and maliciously contrived to introduce among them a false veneration of the Cross, and idolatrous cultus of the Cross, which would attach their superstitious hopes and fears to the material only of the Cross and thus discard its true virtue as the emblem of the true faith. This theory, however, in the course of time and study, gave way to another theory, one more rational and more consoling, though perhaps equally barren of solid results, and one perhaps which may not stand the test of learned research or of true historical, ecclesiastical and archæological investigation. It was certainly ingenious, it was bold and grand in its conception, and on many accounts challenging our sympathy and is entitled to grave consideration. This second theory adopted by the early Spanish monks and missionaries who accompanied the discoverers and explorers of America was that Christianity had been introduced into America at a remote period, and the Cross, though worshiped in an idolatrous manner, was a remnant of ancient Christian missions. The prevalence of the worship of the Cross was the basis of this theory, for they supposed and believed that the Cross was exclusively a Christian emblem, and its existence was an infallible proof of the existence of remnants at least of the Christian religion. The discovery, side by side with the Cross and among the same peoples, of traditions resembling and in a great measure identical with the historical accounts of Genesis relating to the creation of the world and the deluge and other Scriptural writings; the prevalence of religious beliefs, rites and ceremonies similar in a most extraordinary degree to the rites and ceremonies of the Christian religion, strengthened the argument. They discovered unmistakable traces of a belief in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body. They beheld the performance of rites resembling Christian baptism, auricular confession and the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, and they saw in existence monastic institutions of vast dimensions for monks and nuns of both sexes, the religious observance of virginity, of fasts and other means of religious self-denial. Recognizing, as they believed, in these facts unmistakable evidences or traces of Christianity, these educated and astute children of the true faith, learned churchmen and trained scholars, exhausted the traditions of the natives and the annals of Christian history for the means of solving the mystery. Several theories here presented themselves. First, that the aboriginals of America were descended from some Chris-

tian people; that they brought Christianity with them to their new homes, and that its doctrines and observances had become corrupted or obscured. Second, that tenets of the Christian religion and religious observances were introduced by or learned from Christians who landed on the coast between the discovery of the country and the arrival of the Spanish missionaries. Third, that some western mariners thrown on the coast by shipwreck in storms made their homes there and imparted to the natives their knowledge of Christianity. But all those views had but slight foundations to rely upon and were soon, for obvious reasons, abandoned.⁴

Prominent among the religious observances of the Mexicans was the worship of a mythical personage whom they called Quetzalcohuatl, to whom divine honors were paid. According to tradition he was a holy personage, a white man, with a long beard, of good stature, clad in a long white robe, adorned with red crosses, barefoot, his head uncovered and with a staff in his hand. He is said to have taught his people the observance of a purer religion, and of good laws, the suppression of their unnatural passions, hatred of vice and love of virtue. It seems that it was Quetzalcohuatl who first introduced the Cross into the country as a religious emblem and object of veneration.

These facts in the religious history of Central America and Mexico, now applicable also to the States of our Confederacy, which are of Spanish and Mexican origin, led many of the monks and missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the conviction that the Gospel of Christ had been preached and the *cultus* of the Cross introduced into America in very remote times by Christian apostles coming from distant centres of early Christianity and in communion with Peter and his successors. These investigators turned their attention from the religious antiquities and traditions of the Americans to early Christian ecclesiastical history, and they found in St. Thomas the Apostle the probable missionary of the faith of Christ among these people, thus tracing the introduction of Christianity into America back to the first century of the Christian era, to the apostolic age and to one of the twelve Apostles. The brief period of Christian instruction which they received, and the long interval during which they were cut off from the fountain sources of Christian faith, caused the rites and doctrines of Christianity, as observed by them, to become obscured and corrupted, and the veneration of the Cross to be degraded into idolatry.

St. Thomas was selected as the Apostle who most probably evangelized America. The theory is not unsupported by a con-

⁴ "History of the Catholic Church in California," by Rev. W. Gleeson, A. M., 1872, pp. 160, 161.

siderable amount of facts, conjecture and argument. St. Thomas, having carried the faith eastward and southward into India, having been traced, in conjecture at least, by Dr. Alban Butler in his "Lives of the Saints" as far westward as the Island of Sumatra, and by Veytia in his "Ancient History of Mexico" as far as the Philippine Islands, it could not have been other than St. Thomas, Apostle of India, and now the supposed Apostle of America. So interesting is this theory that I feel that I should give it briefly, yet with a few details. And for this purpose it is but fair to give it in the very language of one of its warmest advocates in our own time, country and in his own language. I will therefore quote the following passage from "The History of the Catholic Church in California," by Rev. W. Gleeson, professor in St. Mary's Catholic College, of San Francisco, who went so far as to contend that under the command which the Saviour gave to the Apostles to "Go and preach the Gospel to all nations," they were bound to preach the Gospel in *propria persona* in America as well as in Asia, Europe and Africa; that St. Paul wrote of the Gospel as of something, to use his own words to the Colossians, "which was then actually preached in all creation that is under heaven;"⁵ and that if ocean, distance or other physical obstacles stood in the way of St. Thomas' advent to America, God would work a miracle to place him in the chosen field of his American mission. I will now quote the following passages from Father Gleeson's "History of the Catholic Church in California:"

"It is then undeniably certain that a popular tradition existed in the minds of the people, to the effect that a venerable white man once visited the country, taught those doctrines and customs of which we have spoken, and promised one day to return with his followers. It further seems evident, from the local traditions, that this man, whoever he may have been, passed through California, Mexico, Central and a part of Southern America.

"Speaking of the traditions of Central America, in the province of Yucatan, Bishop Las Casas assures us that the natives had an idea of the principal mysteries of religion, and that these doctrines had been taught them by the person of whom we are writing. A very intelligent Indian, he says, having been questioned as to the doctrine of the people, answered that they believed in one God and three persons. To the first, whom they called Igona, was attributed the creation of all things; Bacab, the second, who was the son of Igona, was born of a virgin, Chibirias, who is now with God in heaven; while the third was Echuah. The circumstances connected with the life of the second are, in their general outline, a

⁵ Colossians, chap. 1., 5, 23.

counterpart of those as taught by the Church regarding the Redeemer. Respecting the latter part of his life the tradition was to the effect that he was made to suffer exceedingly, was cruelly scourged, crowned with thorns, put to death upon a cross, buried, rose again and ascended to his father in heaven. Then came Echuah, to fulfill or accomplish all that was to be done. This doctrine, they affirmed, had come down to them from the remotest ages, and had been taught them by men who arrived there to the number of twenty, the principal of whom was Colalcan, a venerable man with flowing beard, white robes and sandals, and who taught them to fast and confess, etc.⁶ These, and the religious customs and practices of which we have spoken before, such as baptism, penances, mortifications, continency, conventual life and especially the great feast resembling the Eucharist, are all supposed to have been introduced and established by him.

Again, on the arrival of the Dominican Fathers in Mexico, immediately after the conquest by Cortes, they found with a chief in the province of Zapotecas a symbolical writing, said to have been handed down from time immemorial, in which we are assured were contained the doctrines of the Christian religion. Father Garcia, a Franciscan, on whose authority the above has been given, further assures us that when a member of his order happened to pass through the village of Nijapa, in the province of Huaxaca, the vicar of the convent, who was a Dominican, showed him some ancient hieroglyphical writings containing all the principal doctrines of the Christian religion and the coming of the Apostle to the country.

"Taking, then, into account all the customs, traditions and practices of the people, it seems to us a most reasonable and probable opinion that the Christian religion was preached in this country long before the days of Columbus.

"What is now incumbent upon us is to show that the person, Quetzalcohuatl, who is said to have been the originator of all the doctrines and customs alluded to, was none other than the Apostle St. Thomas. For the truth of our assertion we rely in the first instance on the true significance of the name.

"On the arrival of the Spaniards in America, certain customs, practices and traditions were found to prevail, which, on any other hypothesis than that of the previous introduction of Christianity into the country, cannot be satisfactorily explained. They had nothing in common with paganism; they were not in whole or in

⁶ Veytia, "Hist. Antiq. Mex."

part in harmony with it. In the Gentile mythology they were certainly out of their place. The worship of the Cross, the administration of baptism, confession and communion, though very much altered and disfigured, are yet easily recognized as being essentially Christian and not pagan. So, also, the belief in the unity and trinity of God, the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ, which, as we have shown, appear to have been held at least by some of the people. But all these customs, practices and ideas of religion, the popular traditions of the country, as embodied in the Mexican hieroglyphics and the Peruvian Quipos, attribute to the venerable white man, Quetzalcohuatl, who, as was proved, visited the country in the year of our Lord 63, and whose name has been shown to be identical with that of the Apostle St. Thomas. When to this we add the positive statement of Scripture regarding the preaching of the Gospel in apparently every part of the world during the first age of the Christian religion, and the absence, on the other hand, of all satisfactory reason to the contrary, the reader, we feel certain, will be ready to admit that the presence of the Apostle St. Thomas in this country rests on the most reasonable and probable grounds. It commends itself, too, to our acceptance the more when we remember the field of the Apostle's missionary career in the East, he having, as it is thought, visited the Island of Sumatra⁷ and the Philippines,⁸ the direct route which, if pursued, would have brought him to the shores of the Pacific."

But it is an important part of the traditional history relating to Quetzalcohuatl, or, according to the theory we are now considering, St. Thomas, that his missionary labors were soon interrupted, his stay in the country was brief, his teachings transient, that he was expelled from the country and his companions and co-laborers in introducing the Christian faith and the Cross and the converts they made among the people were soon assimilated to and became absorbed in the mass of the population. Or, as Father Gleeson, relying upon the same tradition, and the authors he relies upon, states: "The Church in all probability was never securely established in the land. Persecution, if we may judge from the traditions, fell heavily upon it from the beginning. The saint was easily driven from the field of his labor."

We cannot but admire the learning and ingenuity displayed in support of this curious and interesting theory. But as we are historians we must view the matter from a strictly historical view, subject the claim made in behalf of St. Thomas to strict historical and archæological tests and deal and judge impartially, even though

⁷ See Butler's "Lives of the Saints."

⁸ Veytia, "Hist. Antiq. de Mejico."

our sympathies are interested. I will state the grounds upon which I am compelled to dissent from this theory, but I must state them in the briefest manner:

1. So short and transient a missionary effort could not have resulted in leaving such permanent traces behind, traces which remained so distinct for fifteen centuries.

2. The tradition itself states that the followers of Quetzalcohuatl, instead of impressing their religion upon the natives, themselves became absorbed by the natives, intermarried with them and adopted their habits and customs, and consequently their religion.

3. In Peru as well as in Mexico a similar resemblance of the religion of the natives to certain features of Christianity also existed.

4. The traditions in both countries were obscure and unreliable. Indian characters figure in the traditions of Yucatan, Peru and other countries.

5. In Peru another mythical character, founder of the religion, named Pay Suma, and known also by other names, who seems to have done for Peru what Quetzalcohuatl did for Mexico, has given rise to a similar theory, that is, that Christianity was introduced into Peru by the Apostle St. Bartholomew. Some of the Christian missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also claimed that Pay Suma was St. Thomas. Both St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew have been identified with the same person, and the supposed Christian Apostle is variously represented as preaching either in North or South America, or in both continents. The names given to this demi-god in the natives' language are numerous and different, and with significations quite different from that given by the advocates of the St. Thomas theory to Quetzalcohuatl, the chief one being "the sent from God," and the "plumed serpent in the town."

6. There was a similar personage in Chili known by the name of Tonapa, which meant sage, and by other allegorical names.

7. The etymology given to the name Quetzalcohuatl is too artificial and conjectural and therefore uncertain; the only foundation for the feature of *twin* in the name is this: since the meaning of the name is claimed to be serpent, and serpents are known to bring forth two at a birth; therefore Quetzalcohuatl was a twin; St. Thomas was called Didimus the twin; therefore Quetzalcohuatl and St. Thomas were the same person. This is certainly not very logical.

8. Charlevoix, the distinguished Jesuit and historian of New France, gives but little credit to this theory.

9. The theory of St. Thomas' or St. Bartholomew's visit to America was not brought forward until a century or more after the dis-

covery of the countries in question, or of the facts in which it is bared.

10. A learned society of European antiquarians, known as the Americanistes, discredit the theory.

11. Not only were there many mythical personages in the traditions of North and South America, co-laborers or rivals of Quetzalcohuatl, but there is also a rival of St. Thomas as the first to introduce the Cross in America in the person of Fusang, a Buddhist priest, as the discoverer of America in the fifth century. Many of the difficulties in the way of the claim made for St. Thomas do not exist in the case of Fusang, for in China clear and distinct historical records have been preserved which contain accounts of his discovery and of his carrying the religion and religious practices of Buddha with him.

12. The points in which the religion of the Aztecs and Incas resembled the religion of our Saviour were less and not so striking as the resemblances their religion bore to Buddhism.⁹ The religion of Buddha also resembled that of Christ in many respects. Father Grueber and the Abbé Huc¹⁰ were surprised at the extraordinary resemblance between the religion of Buddhists and that of the Catholic Church.

13. There was no resemblance discovered in the religion of the Americans by the Spanish missionaries to the Catholic faith, which could not have been traced with greater minuteness and accuracy in the religion of the Buddhists, and the argument they drew therefrom that Christian missionaries must have preached the Gospel in America applies with greater force to the probability that Buddhists had planted their faith in America at a remote period.

14. The archæological remains in both South and North America, to which I have referred, showing the Cross to have become engraved and sculptured in the most ancient and permanent structures, would be unquestionable witnesses against tracing the original of the religion of the Cross to so short and transient a mission as that attributed to St. Thomas. These massive and grand structures, found in both North and South America, containing examples of the Cross in permanent and colossal proportions, could only have

⁹ "Thibet, Tartary and Mingolia," by Henry T. Prensess, London, 1853, pp. 12, 55, etc.

¹⁰ "Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China," by M. Huc, London, 1852-52, Vol. I., pp. 67, 90, 123, etc.; Vol. II., pp. 32, 44, 76, etc. "Fusang; or, a Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century," by Charles G. Leland, London, 1875. *Passim*. For a more detailed statement of this subject see a learned work, singularly and unnecessarily misnamed, "An Inglorious Columbus; or, Evidence That Hwyl Shan and Party of Buddhist Monks From Afghanistan Discovered America in the Fifth Century," by Edward P. Vining, New York, 1885.

been the work of races devoted to crucicultus for long and enduring ages before their erection.

15. The chief incidents in the lives of St. Thomas and of St. Bartholomew, the Apostles, are known and have been recorded; but no reference, however slight, is made to their having gone to a distant continent across the ocean and returned, an event, if it existed, second in importance to no other achievement recorded of them. Nor is there in genuine ecclesiastical history or tradition any hint of such a voyage.¹¹

16. Considering what St. Bartholomew accomplished in the East, and St. Thomas in India, the work, and a great work, of a lifetime, there was neither time, nor opportunity, nor means, nor missionary followers at hand for them or either of them to have made such a new and pioneer voyage to America and back, for they both died in Asia. St. Thomas' grave was known to have been preserved in India and St. Bartholomew's relics are claimed to be possessed by the Christian Church.

17. The arguments drawn from the divine command to preach the Gospel to all nations and the Scriptural references to its being preached in every clime are to be construed not literally in reference to the former, not historically in reference to the latter; but these rather related dogmatically to one of the marks of the true Church, its *Universality*. The same texts would apply with equal force to Northern Europe and to Scandinavia, which were not converted to Christianity until the tenth and subsequent centuries; and they apply also and equally to our savage North American Indians, who avowedly were embraced in the alleged Christian mission of St. Thomas.

18. There is another and more ancient origin for the facts seen and reported by the Christian missionaries in America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than any possible mission of St. Thomas or of St. Bartholomew. Those pious and zealous men of God, in common with Christian scholars of their day, supposed and believed that the Cross was exclusively a Christian emblem. They believed that the existence among any people of Crucicultus was an infallible proof of previous Christian teaching and of the prevalence of Christianity among them. The researches, however, of antiquarians, modern archæologists and historians disclosed the fact that the *cultus* of the Cross, crucicultus, existed from the most remote antiquity and among most and nearly all of the civilized nations of the world. It formed a part of the religion of almost every known people of culture on the face of the earth; so general, so almost uni-

¹¹ Charlevoix, "New France," Vol. II., p. 274. "Congress International des Americanistes," *Compte-Rendu de la Seconde Session*, Vol. I., p. 363.

versal has the Cross been religiously venerated among nations and peoples that the most learned had at first regarded it as a mystery beyond human explanation, and numerous have been the ingenious and learned theories invented to explain it. If the religious veneration of the Cross in ancient Egypt, India, China, in ancient Europe from Italy to Scandinavia on the north, and on the south Kamp-schatka, did not prove that these countries had been evangelized for Christ, the existence of the same religious features in the *cultus* of the Americans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would not prove that America had been evangelized by Christian missionaries from those countries. If the Cross, as now proved by the most undoubted results of researches of learned men and scholars of every creed and faith and of every nation, was not exclusively a Christian emblem, but was common to many ancient creeds and prevalent among many ancient nations and peoples, then the prevalence or existence of cruciculus in America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries does not prove that America had been evangelized by Christians. Not only was the Cross not exclusively a Christian emblem, but it is equally certain that its religious and sacred character was recognized in pre-Christian ages, indeed from the most remote antiquity. So that the source from which the natives of America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries derived the Cross as well as religious observances and beliefs in great numbers and varieties is as much a matter of curious conjecture and learned discussion as is the unanswered question, *From what source have the aborigines of America sprung?*¹²

The following suggestive views from a learned critic and investigator will stimulate intelligent further inquiry:

"For my part I see no difficulty in believing that it formed a part of the primeval religion, traces of which exist over the whole world, among every people; that trust in the Cross was a part of the ancient faith which taught men to believe in a trinity, in a war in heaven, a Paradise from which man fell and a Babel; a faith which was deeply impressed with a conviction that a virgin should conceive and bear a son; that the dragon's head should be bruised, and that through shedding of blood should come redemption. The use of the Cross, as a symbol of life and resurrection through water, is as widely spread over the world as the belief in the Ark of Noah. Maybe the shadow of the Cross was cast further back into the night of ages, and fell on a wider range of country than we are aware of.

¹² For worship of the Cross amongst the Egyptians and other nations, see Lipsius "De Cruce," Humboldt, "Geographie du Nouveau Continent;" "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," by S. Baring Gould, second series; "The Cross and the Serpent," by Rev. William Haslam; *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1870, title, "Pre-Christian Cross;" Lord Kingsborough's "Mexican Antiquities."

"It is more than a coincidence that Osiris by the Cross should give life eternal to the spirits of the just; that with the Cross Thor should smite the head of the great serpent and bring to life those that were slain; that beneath the Cross the Muysca mothers should lay their babes, trusting by that sign to secure them from the power of the evil spirit; that with this symbol to protect them the ancient people of Northern Italy should lay them down in the dust."

To within not many years ago one of the devotions of the Church in vogue among Catholics and contained in our prayer books, but now allowed only as a private devotion and not in our public services, was the beautiful Litany of the Holy Cross. I have already mentioned the Catholic Pilgrims of Maryland, who, on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1633, after calling their settlement St. Mary's and celebrating the first Mass in that part of the country, proceeded to hew down a huge tree, with which they formed a Cross and carried it in procession to the spot where it was erected, and with it, as the Jesuit Father Andrew White states in his "Relation of Maryland," "We erected a trophy to Christ the Saviour, humbly reciting on our bended knees the Litanies of the Sacred Cross with great emotion." The prayers of this interesting litany were addressed through the Cross to Him who died thereon, and although the Catholic Pilgrims chanted "Holy Cross, whereon the Lamb of God was offered for the sins of the world, deliver and save us," it was the Lamb Himself whom they thus addressed. I give in full the petitions of this devout litany as it is not now in our prayer books, in order to show by what endearing titles the Cross is addressed as a vehicle of our prayers to heaven, titles which are herein above verified by cited legends, traditions, prophecies and histories and by American antiquarian researches:

Help of Christians, Pledge of the resurrection from the dead, Shelter of persecuted innocence, Guide of the blind, Way of those who have gone astray, Star of the mariner, Harbor of the wrecked, Rampart of the besieged, Father of orphans, Defense of widows, Counsel of the just, Judge of the wicked, Rest of the afflicted, Safeguard of childhood, Strength of manhood, Last hope of the aged, Light of those who sit in darkness, Splendor of kings, Civilizer of the world, Destruction of idolatry,	Save us, O Holy Cross!	Staff of the lame, Consolation of the poor, Refuge of sinners, Trophy of victory over hell, Terror of demons, Mistress of youth, Succor of the distressed, Hope of the hopeless, Buckler impenetrable, Wisdom of the foolish, Liberty of slaves, Knowledge of the ignorant, Sure rule of life, Heralded by prophets, Preached by apostles, Glory of martyrs, Study of anchorites, Chastity of virgins, Joy of priests, Foundation of the church, Salvation of the world,	Save us, O Holy Cross!
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While thus reviving the unparalleled record and titles of the

Tree of the Cross and its celestial fruits harvested on earth, we must be struck with the contrast this illustrious tree bears to the humble yet beautiful though sad fate of the natural tree of earthly forests. A new and beautiful poem, by Edna Kingsley Wallace, at this moment meets the eye and heightens the contrast between the Litany of the Holy Cross, Tree of the Cross and

"THE SONG OF THE TREE."

Warm in the deep of the prison of sleep,
I lay in the womb of the Earth,
Till the Spirit of God in the tingling sod
Aroused my spirit to birth.
Then fed by the dew and the sun I grew
From a sapling-hood to a Tree,
As tall and elate, as strong and as straight,
As ever a Tree should be.

Now, robed in a sheen of shimmering green,
Bathed in the sunrise red,
My branches glisten, my little leaves listen
For secrets that never were said;
Though the sunshine glint, and the west wind hint,
And the raindrops murmur, I wean
Man never shall learn, nor a Tree discern,
The ultimate thing they mean.

Or stripped to the chill of the north wind's will,
I stand in my strong bare bones;
I dance with the blast as maddening past
The tempests in anguish moans.
With strife and song my spirit grows strong,
In the law of my being I grow,
Till the lightning smite, or the wind in its might,
The growth of the years o'erthrow.

And when long I have lain in the sun and the rain,
And the creeping things grow bolder,
And Earth, my mother, makes Dust, my brother,
As into the ground I moulder,
Then out of my death shall arise the breath
Of flowers of rainbow hues,
So, welcome my life, with its growth and its strife,
Then—Death be the Life I choose!

In this poetic song we perceive that the tree greets and welcomes death, claiming as its only privilege that from the rich mould of its decaying members, mingling with the earth, there might spring the transient wild flowers of the woods, whose beauty fades at the touch and whose life is extinguished with the frost.

But the Tree of the Cross, springing from the seeds taken from the great tree that grew beside the fountain in the Garden of Paradise, is perennial in its inextinguishable life and eternal fruits. It has proved itself the "Help of Christians" and the "Salvation of the World." Its precious fruits are laid before Christian eyes in the books of devotion, but, alas! so seldom do they penetrate the soul, guide the daily conduct and chasten the Christian to the spiritual combat of life! Beautiful as their recital is in a literary point of view as enhancing the Legend of the Cross, it is still more resplendent in the sweet fruits of the soul flowing from the Tree. Then

let us recite them for the soul's reminder. The flowers and fruits of Holy Cross:

The Three Theological Virtues: Faith, Hope and Charity.

The Four Cardinal Virtues: Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance.

Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost: Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude, Knowledge, Piety, The Fear of the Lord.

Twelve Fruits of the Holy Ghost: Charity, Joy, Peace, Patience, Benignity, Goodness, Long-suffering, Mildness, Faith, Modesty, Continency, Chastity.

Spiritual Works of Mercy:

To admonish the sinner.

To instruct the ignorant.

To counsel the doubtful.

To comfort the sorrowful.

To bear wrongs patiently.

To forgive all injuries.

To pray for the living and the dead.

The Corporal Works of Mercy: To feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to ransom the captive, to harbor the harborless, to visit the sick, to bury the dead.

The Eight Beatitudes: 1. Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. 2. Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the land. 3. Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted. 4. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice, for they shall be filled. 5. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. 6. Blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God. 7. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God. 8. Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice's sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Three eminent good works: Prayer, Fasting, Almsgiving.

The Evangelical Counsels: Voluntary Poverty, Chastity, Obedience.

Having given "The Song of the Tree" in the natural order, let us now recall only a few verses from the pathetic hymns, "Crux Fidelis" and "Pange, Lingua," which are chanted in our churches at the procession and kissing of the Cross on Good Friday, using therefor the English translation made by an eminent American prelate, the late Bishop England, of Charleston:

Faithful Cross, O tree all beauteous,
Tree all peerless and divine!
Not a grove on earth can show us
Such a flower and leaf as thine.
Sweet the nails and sweet the wood,
Laden with so sweet a load.
Lofty tree, bend down thy branches,
To embrace thy sacred load;

Oh, relax the native tension
 Of that all too rigid wood;
 Gently, gently bear the members
 Of the dying King and God.
 Sweet the nails and sweet the wood,
 Laden with so sweet a load.
 Tree, which solely was found worthy
 The world's great Victim to sustain;
 Harbor from the raging tempest!
 Ark, that sav'd the world again!
 Tree with sacred Blood anointed
 Of the Lamb for sinners slain.
 Faithful Cross, O tree all beauteous,
 Tree all peerless and divine,
 Not a grove on earth can show us
 Such a flower and leaf as thine.

Having in our title spoken of the Cross in the light of prophesy, it seems but meet to present a passage from "The Catechism of the Council of Trent," published years ago by command of Pope Pius V. ("Composed by decree of the Council of Trent, and the same venerable authority commands all Bishops 'to take care that it be faithfully translated into the vernacular language and expounded to the people by all pastors.'") to show some of the ancient types by which the Cross of Calvary was predicted:

Knowing therefore that nothing is so far above the reach of human reason as the mystery of the Cross, Almighty God, immediately from the fall of Adam, ceased not, both by figures and by the oracles of the prophets, to signify the death by which His Son was to die. Not to dwell on these figures, Abel, who fell a victim to the envy of his brother (Gen. ii., 8), Isaac, who was commanded to be offered in sacrifice (Gen. xxii., 6, 7, 8), the Lamb immolated by the Jews on their departure from Egypt (Exod. xi., 5, 6, 7), and also the brazen serpent lifted up by Moses in the desert (Num. xxi., 8, 9) were all figures of the passion and death of Christ the Lord. That this event was foretold by many prophets is a fact too well known to require development here. Not to speak of David, whose psalms embrace the principal mysteries of redemption (Psalm ii., xxi., xvi., clx.); the oracles of Isaias are so clear and graphic (Isai. i., 3) that he may be said rather to have recorded a past than predicted a future event. (Hier. Epist. ad Paulin. ante finem.)

But the prophetic Cross is further announced to us in the liturgy of the Church itself, and for this purpose I cite another verse from the "Pange, Lingua.:"

Eating of the tree forbidden,
 Man had sunk in Satan's snare,
 When our pitying Creator
 Did this second Tree prepare;
 Destin'd many ages later,
 That first evil to repair.

Allusion having been made in the passage above from the "Catechism of the Council of Trent" to the prophetic Psalms ii., xxi., lxvi., clx. of David, it will prove a pleasing conclusion to our paper to recall the recognition of these prophecies by reciting the following beautiful verse from the "Vexilla Regis.:"

O Sacred Wood! in thee fulfilled
 Was holy David's truthful lay,
 Which told the world that from a tree
 The Lord should all the nations sway.

RICHARD H. CLARKE.

New York, N. Y.

CLEMENT VII., CAMPEGGIO AND THE DIVORCE.

THAT the beginnings of Protestantism in the English-speaking countries of the world must be traced to the nullity suit commonly called the "Divorce," by which Henry VIII. sought to release himself from his marriage vows, is a fact too patent to be called in question; and it is not wonderful that during the last thirty years no incident of English history has been more thoroughly investigated. Professor Brewer, Mr. Pocock, Mr. Paul Friedmann, Canon Dixon, and above all, Dr. James Gairdner¹ have all made valuable contributions to our knowledge of the subject. Neither has the interest in this episode been confined to England alone. Though Dr. Busch has made no progress with his History of England under the Tudors, there is evidence of careful study of the Divorce in his articles in the "*Historisches Taschenbuch*."² Still more, an accomplished Catholic ecclesiastic, Dr. Stephen Ehses, availing himself of the facilities for research afforded by the throwing open of the Vatican archives, has published a volume of documents of first-rate importance which have shed a much needed light on the many obscure points of the story.³ It is strange that the work of Dr. Ehses has not attracted more attention among those whom his discoveries more immediately concern. With the exception of the generous tribute paid by Dr. Gairdner in the articles already mentioned, little notice has been taken elsewhere of these new and valuable Roman documents. Perhaps this fact may serve as a sufficient excuse for referring to them frequently in the following pages. My principal object, however, in the present article is not so much to analyze the work of Dr. Ehses as to protest against the rather serious misrepresentations, as they appear to me, of certain recent critics⁴ of Pope Clement, who find but little to con-

¹ Apart from the large share taken by Dr. Gairdner in the editing of the Calendars, I refer particularly to his three admirable articles in the *English Historical Review* (1896-1897), "New Lights on the Divorce of Henry VIII.," the substance of which he has also digested in his "History of the English Church During the Tudor Period."

² In the years 1889, 1890. See also his separate brochure "Der Sturz von Wolsey."

³ *Römische Dokumente zur Geschichte der Ghescheidung Heinrichs VIII. von England*, Paderborn, 1893. See also the articles by the same writer in the *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 1888 and 1892, and a newly discovered letter of Campeggio's published by him subsequently in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1900.

⁴ I refer particularly to the monograph on "Henry VIII." by Mr. A. F. Pollard, a magnificently illustrated work which appeared in 1902, and to "Thomas Wolsey, Legate and Reformer," by Father Ethelred Taunton, published in the same year. The fact that the latter claims in his Preface to have shed new light on the divorce question seems to throw down the gauntlet to those who hitherto, with Lingard and Brewer, Gairdner and Ehses, have read the facts very differently.

demn in all the negotiations for the Divorce except "the Italian shiftiness and Spanish terrorism" by which these proceedings were brought to naught.

Let me begin with a point which though but remotely connected with Clement VII. has an important bearing on other facts, and is made very clear in the preface of Dr. Ehses' volume. It will be remembered that over and above the *bull* of dispensation which was unquestionably granted by Julius II. authorizing Henry to marry his brother's widow, there was suddenly produced in the course of the divorce proceedings a second dispensation, in the form of a *brief*, bearing the same date as the bull (*i. e.*, December 26, 1503,) and differing from it in some details then considered to be of moment. One such detail was the fact that the brief formally stated that the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had been consummated, whereas the bull by inserting the word "perhaps" (*forsan consummavissetis*) left the matter in uncertainty. The authenticity of the brief was clamorously denied in 1529 by Henry and his agents for interested motives, but the almost unanimous^s verdict of modern historians has been that while the marriage with Arthur was certainly not consummated, the dispensation brief, on the other hand, which took the consummation for granted, was a perfectly genuine document.

In spite, however, of this consensus of opinion, a recent Catholic apologist of Cardinal Wolsey, after very brief discussion, has assumed the contradictory of both these propositions, for no better reason, his readers will suspect, than that this was the story told by Wolsey's Spanish adversaries, and that the story, being Spanish, was likely to be false. It may be instructive before proceeding further to glance for a moment at the evidence.

Prince Arthur, then just 15 years of age, but notoriously in feeble health, was married to Catherine of Arragon, herself not quite 16, in November, 1501, and the union terminated five months afterwards by the death of the prince on April 2, 1502. The fact that this marriage was never consummated has, as just observed, been almost universally admitted. Even the staunchest adherents of the Reformation pay tribute to the high moral principle of Queen Catherine, and it is certain that she repeatedly testified upon oath, and in the most solemn terms that she was still a virgin when she became the bride of Henry. If this circumstance had only been heard of for the first time when the divorce proceedings of 1528 threatened

^s Apart from Mr. Froude, whose paradoxes nobody takes seriously, the only dissentient seems to be the writer of an article in the *QUARTERLY REVIEW* for 1877, said to be Lord Acton. But Lord Acton has been elaborately refuted by Mr. Paul Friedmann, and besides this, many facts have since come to light which were not known in 1877.

the Queen with repudiation, and her daughter with illegitimacy, we might have felt a momentary hesitation in accepting Catherine's protestations. But long before the union with Henry took place it was widely known both in Spain and England that the former marriage had been a marriage only in name; so much so, that in celebrating her second nuptials, in 1509, Catherine was dressed in white and wore her hair loose, peculiarities of costume which were then distinctive of maidens and denied to widows. Moreover, the Queen always appealed to Henry's own knowledge of the truth, and this appeal he never dared to meet by any formal contradiction, much less by his testimony upon oath. Under these circumstances it is strange that the writer just referred to should still treat the consummation as an open question, ignoring all that has been written by men like Brewer, Gairdner, Pocock, Lingard, Friedmann, Ehses, Busch and many others. Catherine was not, perhaps, faultless, but she was an honorable Christian lady, hitherto deemed worthy of all respect, and it is not pleasant to think of her not only as trebly perjured, but even as going out of her way to make a mockery of the sacraments, as this hypothesis seems necessarily to suppose, in order to gain the legate to her side.*

But though no doubt can be felt that Catherine's earlier marriage was not in fact consummated, it is certain that the Papal dispensation which enabled her to wed the brother of her late husband was granted quite independently of this circumstance. The docu-

* All the fresh evidence bearing on this matter which has been brought to light in our own day tends to confirm Catherine's statement. Much has been made in the opposite sense of a letter of Henry VII. published by the Duke of Manchester in his book, "Court and Society From Elizabeth to Anne" (Vol. I., p. 59), wherein Henry testifies that though he feared for Arthur's weak health, he had thought it best that the young bride and bridegroom should be allowed to set up house together. But this fact has never for a moment been in dispute. Catherine in making her story known to Cardinal Campeggio, under seal of confession, told him that though on some seven or eight different occasions Arthur had shared her room "da lui restò intacta et incorrupta come venne del ventre di sua madre," giving him leave to communicate these facts to the Pope. The evidence adduced at the trial against Catherine's allegation proved indeed that the young couple lived together, but was otherwise of the flimsiest character, whereas nothing could be more convincing than the summary of arguments drawn up on the other side, which has been recently brought to light by Ehses (*Römische Dokumente*," pp. 215-221). Again, the Spanish testimonies of 1502-3 bear every mark both of intrinsic probability and accurate information. (See Bergenroth, "Spanish Calendar," I, n. n. 325, 327 and 370, and p. xc....) It was no less a person than Doña Elbira, first Woman of the Bedchamber to Catherine, who, before July 12, 1502, sent word to Spain that the marriage had never been consummated. There is also evidence for the supposition (though on this particular point Dr. Busch dissents) that after Arthur's death Henry VII. thought of marrying Catherine himself. It is incredible that he could have proposed this, had she ever in a true sense been his son's wife.

ment—I am now referring only to the *bull*—has been printed a dozen times. Not only does the preliminary statement assert that the marriage between Arthur and Catherine took place and was “perhaps consummated,” but the dispensation is formally granted to remedy the impediment of *affinity*, an impediment of which, as Dr. Ehses has pointed out,⁷ there could not be question if Arthur and Catherine had never really lived in a marital relation. To say the truth, Wolsey was probably right in thinking that the best legal ground for contesting the validity of the dispensation would have been to urge that the impediment which really existed was one of *publica honestas*, while that which the bull contemplated was one of *affinitas*; from which it would seem to follow that the dispensation did not meet the case and was consequently of no avail.⁸

But here, for the sake of my untheological readers, a few words of explanation may be desirable even at the risk of a digression. If a man contract with a woman, either by formal betrothal or by actual matrimony, there is created between him and her near relatives (and the same, of course, is true for her, with regard to *his* near relatives) a diriment impediment which is known as that of public honesty (*publicae honestatis justitia*). Such formal betrothal contracts (*sponsalia*) hardly exist now, but they were common once. If, after such a betrothal or marriage, the woman died, or changed her mind and married some one else, then the man would not be free to wed the sister or the daughter of his former fiancée without a special dispensation releasing him from this impediment of “public honesty.” If he attempted to do so without a dispensation, the marriage in the eyes of the Church would not be valid. Suppose, however, that a man establish relations with a woman not by mere verbal agreement, but by carnal intercourse, licit or illicit, that is, whether she be married to him or not, then there is created between him and her near relatives a diriment impediment of *affinity*. If he wanted to marry her sister or niece, etc., it would be necessary, under the same penalty of invalidity, to obtain a dispensation removing this impediment. Now, if between an intending bride and bridegroom there existed the impediment of affinity, and through some error a dispensation was obtained, not for affinity, but for public honesty, the marriage, ordinarily speaking, would not be valid. For

⁷ “Römische Dokumente,” Preface, p. xxxii.

⁸ It seems worth while to call special attention to this, as in a recently published School History of England the statement is made that “the Papal dispensation which enabled Henry VIII. to marry his brother’s widow had been obtained on the understanding that the former marriage (with Arthur) had never been consummated.” “Lingard’s History of England Abridged,” by Dom. N. Birt, with a Preface by Abbot Gasquet, 1903. Now, I cannot find any such statement in Lingard, and even if Lingard had made it, the statement would surely be quite erroneous.

affinity is a much more serious bar to union than public honesty, something quite different in its nature and not so readily dispensed. If, however, owing to non-consummation of a reputed marriage, a dispensation from affinity were in good faith asked for, where only one from public honesty was needed, then, if the relation of the parties were clearly explained in the document, there can be no doubt that the dispensation from affinity would nowadays be held to cover the other. And the same would be true if both affinity and public honesty concurred in the same case; for when it is stated that a man wishes to marry his brother's widow, it is obvious that there must exist the impediment of public honesty over and above the affinity which is directly dispensed from. If any one will study the opinions of the canonists of that age (I might mention the "*Rosella Casuum*," 1482, etc., as one of the most popular books of the kind, and typical of the rest) he will not, I think, feel the slightest doubt that the question would in the long run have been decided by canon lawyers then exactly as it would be decided at the present day.⁹

Now, if Cardinal Wolsey had been left to himself this difficulty about *publica honestas* would, I think, very probably have been urged by him as likely best to serve his master's interest in pressing for the divorce.¹⁰ But he was not left to himself. The plea of a wrong dispensation, which would have been serious and respectable as long as it was admitted that there had been no consummation in the first marriage and consequently no affinity, degenerated into a mere quibble if it was at the same time pretended that there *had been* consummation. But this was a point Henry would not surrender. He was a theologian, too, and from the very beginning his pet theory had

⁹ Moreover, as Dr. Ehses again irresistibly argues, when we note the actual wording of the bull of Julius, we see that it is meant to be a great deal more than a mere formal release from the impediment of affinity. The insertion of the words "*perhaps consummated*" are tantamount to a concession of that form of dispensation which would necessarily be required if the doubt suggested were well founded; and there are also other general clauses added. The essential words are: "*Cum matrimonium contraxissetis—Catherine and Arthur—illudque carnali copula forsan consummavissetis—nos vobiscum—Henry and Catherine—ut impedimento affinitatis huiusmodi ex prœmissis proveniente ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis cœterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus matrimonium inter vos contrahere et in eo licite remanere valeatis dispensamus.*"

¹⁰ See Wolsey's letter to the King, July 1, 1527; "*State Papers*," I., p. 194. I am glad upon this point to find myself in agreement with Father Taunton (l. c., p. 181). The difficulty seems to me to have been clearly foreseen on the other side. Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador in London, writes to his own court that it was not considered advisable for Queen Catherine to lay stress upon the fact of the non-consummation of the first marriage ("*Spanish Calendar*," Vol. III., Part 2, pp. 819 and 843). This, I fancy, must have been the reason why she communicated the fact to Campeggio under seal of confession.

been that marriage with a deceased brother's widow was forbidden *jure divino*, and could not be rendered possible by any Papal dispensation.¹¹ But this, of course, as his own supporters admitted, assumed that the former marriage was a marriage in the full and most complete sense, not only *ratum* but *consummatum*. At the beginning, when Henry still hoped to gain the Pope to his side by fair words, he dared not insist upon this pet theory of his, for fear of giving offense. To ask the Pope to declare that his predecessors had sanctioned the violation of the natural law and had issued dispensations in matters which were altogether beyond their competence, would not have been a very diplomatic step. None the less, this objection remained throughout at the back of Henry's mind, and he would never admit for a moment that the first marriage had not been consummated, for this would have cut him off from employing the objection later on. The result was that neither Wolsey's difficulty on the score of *publica honestas* nor the King's theory that marriage with a deceased brother's widow was beyond the Pope's power to dispense, actually figured in the English case as first presented to the Roman Court. We have the fullest knowledge from half a dozen different sources of the arguments which actually were used,¹² and neither of these points is mentioned. I insist upon this because Father Taunton has declared that "*the case as put by Wolsey*"—he means the contention that the dispensation bull was invalid because it made no mention of the impediment of *publica honestas*—was perfectly just, and that the Pope in resisting Henry's claim was deliberately refusing what he knew that equity required! But nothing can be more certain than that at this stage of the proceedings, *i. e.*, until the cause was revoked and Campeggio had left England, the arguments used were of an entirely different

¹¹ This is the point upon which stress is laid in the collusive suit before Wolsey and Warham in May, 1527: "quoniam aliquorum opinione jure divino (ejus modi matrimonia) ecclesiasticis constitutionibus prohibentur omnino," "Letters and Papers Henry VIII.," iv., p. 1427. This was also the question submitted to Fisher June 2, 1527 (*ib.*, n. 3148). This was the statement made by Henry to Catherine on June 22 ("Gayangos," III., 2, p. 276), and this, of course, later on was the question which Henry submitted to the Universities, and to which, owing, as is not now disputed, to systematic bribery, he obtained so many favorable answers.

¹² Ehasz gives two papers summarizing these reasons. See "Römische Dokumente," pp. 21 and 158. Dr. Gairdner has translated the first of these sets in the *English Historical Review*, 1897, p. 689. Then we have three drafts of the Decretal Commission which sets forth the reasons for rejecting the dispensation bull at length. See, for instance, Pocock "Records," Vol. I; "Burnet" (Ed. Pocock), Vol. IV., p. 49. Then we have Wolsey's full instructions to Gregory Casale Calendar, IV., p. 1638, and Burnet, IV., p. 21; and more particularly a document, 16, p. 77, where though the impediment of *publicæ honestatis justitia* is mentioned at the beginning, not the least use is made of it as an argument against the bull.

character. It was only later on, when Henry cared little whether he offended the Pope or not, that the limitations of the Papal dispensing power appear prominently upon the scene, and with that, though even then in a very subordinate position, the difficulty raised by Wolsey concerning *publica honestas* was revived.

Regarding the arguments which actually were used by the King's advisers in 1528 and 1529 I do not propose to speak at any length.¹³ They turned upon the supposed misrepresentations and inadequacy of the motives alleged for granting the dispensation, and they were perhaps the most respectable legal pretexts that could be found under the circumstances, but even an extravagant partisan could hardly describe them as more than pretexts. The difficulty is rather to see how Clement was justified in granting a legatine commission to inquire into them at all. It is not a little startling, then, to meet, in the author just referred to, with such expressions of opinion as the following:

"Clement had from the master mind of England (Wolsey) full knowledge of what the results would be if he denied justice (*i. e.*, refused the divorce); but the Spaniard was an ever present and pressing fear."¹⁴

Or again:

"Clement said, weeping, it would be his ruin to grant the commission. It is, indeed, a pitiful sight to see the Pontiff involved in the clouds of these considerations through which the light of Eternal Justice did not seem to pierce."¹⁵

Or again:

"Clement knew that his motives (for refusing to pronounce the dispensation of Julius invalid) would not bear scrutiny, and he tried to avoid public odium by a characteristic subterfuge."¹⁶

Or to quote a passage to which I have already alluded:

"To while away the time, and to keep up the appearance of friendship, Clement sent dispensations and commissions which were of no good, and made all sorts of suggestions to escape the dilemma. He knew that if he inquired into the case, *as put by Wolsey*, justice, based on his own laws, would probably demand a verdict for the King; but this could only be at the expense of the favor of Charles."¹⁷

What is here described as an appeal for justice is commonly denounced by sober and moderate writers like Mr. Brewer¹⁸ and

¹³ I hope to deal with the "decretal commission" which embodied these arguments and the dispensation brief more at length elsewhere.

¹⁴ "Thomas Wolsey, Legate and Reformer," p. 199.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, p. 190.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, p. 160.

¹⁷ *P.* 188.

¹⁸ Here, for instance, are a few remarks of Mr. Brewer's which I quote for

Dr. Gairdner as an unscrupulous attempt to set right and morality at defiance. Of course, Mr. Brewer and Dr. Gairdner may be wrong, but does their opponent show that he possesses such a mastery of the facts as would justify us in taking his word against the opinion of men who have given their lives to the study of this period? I confess I am very far from finding that mastery of the facts in the volume referred to. Let me give a single illustration.

The question of the dispensation *brief* of Julius, which on its production in 1528 brought the Divorce proceedings to a standstill, has already been alluded to. Ignoring the results of recent research,¹⁹ the writer with whom we are concerned pronounces it to be a spurious document. As to this, of course, no one would contest his right to form his own opinion. But he sums up his indictment in the following words:

"The manifest occasions which the defects of this Brief gave for suspicion as to its genuineness were further increased when Wolsey learnt that at Rome no trace of such an important document could be found, and that Charles persistently refused to produce the original. Clement himself was obliged to write to Campeggio that he authorized him to reject whatever evidence was tendered on behalf of this Brief as being an evident forgery."

For this last statement a reference is given to Pocock, "Records," I., p. 184, and if the reader looks up the document in question he will find himself confronted, as indeed Mr. Pocock's heading plainly states, with a Draft Commission²⁰ prepared in England for Clement's signature, in the hope that he could be bullied into accepting it, but with which we know that he refused to have anything to do. Almost every word in this instrument is contradicted by what we learn from the despatches of the English envoys themselves. It can no more be quoted as representing Clement's views about the brief than a rejected bill before any legislature can be quoted as repre-

poses of comparison: "Never was a more extravagant demand made on any Pope's good nature, and never was a stranger proposal submitted to the highest spiritual authority of Christendom. A man even of less firmness than Clement VII., and less regard for justice, would have resented a suggestion that he should abdicate his functions of supreme judge and lend himself a willing and unresisting victim to such a gross act of injustice." Brewer, "Henry VIII.," Vol. II., p. 236. And Dr. Gairdner speaks of "the crooked paths through which Henry had hitherto pursued his object (the divorce), and the shameful mendacity with which he himself (i. e. Wolsey) had backed it up." *English Historical Review*, 1897, p. 4.

¹⁹ Busch, "England Under the Tudors," Vol. I., p. 377, says: "Each additional contribution to the history of the brief makes its genuineness seem more unassailable." Since this was written Dr. Ehses has added considerably to the strength of the arguments in its favor. See "Römische Dokumente," pp. xxxi.-xlili.

²⁰ "Draft of a Decretal Commission by which the Pope was intended to declare the Breve to be false." Pocock, I., 184.

senting the laws of the country. Father Taunton has forgotten an impressive warning more than once repeated by Mr. Brewer :

"It is necessary that the historical student should beware of a very common blunder, into which many writers have fallen, of treating documents thus prepared in England for the Pope's adoption as if they had emanated from the Pope himself."²¹

Assuming, then, that in resisting the demands of Henry VIII. Pope Clement was, materially at least, promoting the cause of justice, the question remains whether he was to any appreciable extent acting from principle or whether he was simply the feeble tool of the Emperor, Catherine's nephew. That the Pope represented an heroic type of integrity, *justum et tenacem propositi virum*, would be difficult to maintain. Probably the latest historian of Charles V. hits the mark accurately enough when he says : "Clement VII. was learned, clever, respectable and industrious, but he had little enterprise and less decision."²² But to writers like Mr. Pollard, Father Taunton, and to some extent also Dr. Busch, Clement is a contemptible figure, a man without religious principle or moral backbone, and at all times the willing servant of the stronger party. From this view I must beg to record my emphatic dissent. It seems to me to be not only in conflict with the available evidence, but to be founded on a very misleading fallacy.

Let me touch upon the fallacy first. It is often assumed that the motive which most frequently influences a man's conduct is also the only, or at any rate the most powerful motive by which he is governed. Or to put the matter another way, we assume that because on nineteen occasions out of twenty a man squares his conscience with his interest, therefore he is swayed by interest alone, and that when conscience and interest conflict in a grave matter conscience must go to the wall. But it is surely a very narrow and indiscriminating view of human nature which argues thus. A man may be very fertile in expedients for reconciling pleasure and duty, but yet he may be throughout in a measure loyal to duty, and when he is driven into a corner and has to make his choice between one or the

²¹ Brewer, "Henry VIII.," Vol. II., p. 236, note. The above is by no means a solitary example of unfamiliarity with the details of his subject in the author I am criticizing. For instance, on page 169 it is stated that Catherine of Aragon was at least three years older than Arthur. The truth is there was not a year between them. Catherine was born on December 15, 1485 (Bergenroth, "Supplement," p. xix.); Arthur on September 19, 1486. Again we read ("Thomas Wolsey," p. 206): "A few days before the legatine court adjourned, that is to say on July 13, 1530, a petition was sent to the Pope from the Lords, spiritual and temporal, imploring him to consent to the King's desire." But the legatine court was adjourned on July 23, 1529, and consequently twelve months before the petition of the Lords. It would be tedious to give further illustrations.

²² Armstrong, "The Emperor Charles V.," Vol. I., p. 166.

other, it may be duty which gains the day. As we know from the case of Lord Bacon, it would be a rash inference which argued that a judge who takes presents is a wholly unprincipled and unjust judge. The manners of a different age from ours, the fictions and fine distinctions of the law, a training in casuistry or diplomacy, the rather degrading associations of the Secret Service or the intelligence department, and many other things, will often allow a man to retain his self-respect and a certain natural integrity throughout conduct which we may find it in many details hard to justify. So, I believe, it was with Pope Clement. He was, no doubt, a weak man, a man by nature singularly ill fitted to cope with the really terrible pressure to which he was exposed. He yielded at times to the extreme limit of what his conscience would allow. But yet there is no evidence to show that he was ever indifferent to principle or right, that he was the slave of any human master, or that he was prepared in any grave matter to sacrifice conscience to self-interest.²³

In this sense it seems to me that the following passage in one of Dr. Gairdner's articles is well worthy of remark. He has been expressing some doubt of the accuracy of Gardiner's rather boastful accounts of the concessions he had extorted from the Pope:

"Of these later interviews it must be remembered that Gardiner is the sole reporter, and how far he is to be trusted as regards their real character we may judge by what we have already seen. The fear of the Emperor was a frequent taunt, partly admitted as a fact, and at times even put forward by the Pope himself as an excuse for non-compliance with the demands of the English. But no such fear, we may be well assured, could have affected the decision of the Pope's advisers as to whether a certain process was regular or not. If it could have done so, the days of the Papacy would indeed have been numbered; for its functions would have been discredited in the eyes of all Europe, and secular princes themselves would have attached little value to sanctions which would have been given or withheld just as it might please the power which happened for the moment to be stronger."²⁴

²³ There are some very significant sentences in a confidential letter of Sir Gregory Casale to his brother Vincent Casale (Brewer, 5302): "I hear," he says, "you have told Wolsey that if the Pope's fears were removed, he would do everything for the King, *licita et illicita*. But if you rightly remember, I told you that the Pope would do all that could be done; for there are many things which the Pope says he cannot do *veluti esset bulla decretalis*. . . . When, therefore, you say that the Pope will do *illicita*, that must be understood *quae aliquo modo possint colorari*; . . . If the Pope's fears were altogether removed, he will never do what we shall want of him." It is quite clear that Gregory Casale was satisfied that Clement was moved by other considerations besides mere fear of the Emperor.

²⁴ The *English Historical Review*, 1896, p. 700.

I welcome this wise utterance the more heartily for its bearing on certain cynical comments of Mr. Pollard, who, recalling some of the matrimonial decisions of the Popes at this period, urges that when other marriages were annulled upon the flimsiest pretexts, it would be idle to suppose that any mere consideration for law or justice could have prevented Clement from giving a decision in Henry's favor. He narrates, for instance, at length the circumstances of the various divorces which centre round the history of Queen Margaret of Scotland, Henry VIII.'s sister, and in another passage refers to a case still more nearly akin to that of Catherine of Arragon.

"Alexander VI.," he says, "had divorced Louis XII. from his Queen for no other reasons than that Louis XII. wanted to unite Brittany with France by marrying its duchess and that Alexander, the Borgia Pope, required Louis' assistance in promoting the interests of the iniquitous Borgia family. The injustice to Catherine was no greater than that to Louis' Queen. Henry's sister Margaret and both the husbands of his other sister, Mary, had procured divorces from Popes, and why not Henry himself?"²⁵

Now, with regard to the case of Queen Margaret, or the others which he mentions, we have to take Mr. Pollard's word for the causes specified and all other details. It is only when we have before us the actual pleadings and documents that we can judge whether the grounds alleged are flimsy or not. I do not know if these processes are preserved, but Mr. Pollard gives no references, and his account of Louis XII.'s divorce is so completely misleading that he forfeits all confidence. However, in the case of this same divorce of Louis XII. from his wife, Blessed Jeanne de Valois—she was afterwards beatified—we happen to possess the full record of the proceedings, the whole of which have been printed without curtailment.²⁶ It is an extraordinarily interesting history which well deserves a few moments' consideration.

Let me say, in the first place, that however convinced the reader might be of the justice of Jeanne's cause, it would be impossible for him, if he has any respect for legal forms, to regard the process as a mockery. There was a formidable amount of evidence given to prove the compulsion under which Louis as a boy of 14 had originally contracted the marriage, as he alleged, against his will, and the insults with which he had assailed his wife's want of comeliness. Then the husband declared that the marriage had never been duly consummated, in support of which there was the undisputed fact

²⁵ Pollard, "Henry VIII.," p. 151.

²⁶ "Procès de Divorce de Louis XII." Edited by M. Maulde de la Clavière. See especially pp. 932 seq.

that no children had been born, and, however worthy of respect her motive may have been, there was the equally certain fact that Jeanne refused to submit to a medical examination. Instead of this, the Queen, when pressed, elected to allow the case to be decided by the King's oath. Certain interrogatories were drawn up by her advisers. They concerned matters as to which the King had already pledged himself in evidence, taken, as I suppose we should now say, on commission. But the Queen seemingly believed that Louis would not solemnly perjure himself if these interrogatories were administered to him with all legal forms in the presence of the judges. In this she seems to have been mistaken. Though the acts of the process explain to us how the Cardinal President impressively harangued the appellant, admonishing him that it was the part of a true King to fear God and speak the truth, after the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was the Truth itself, and reminding him, moreover, of the eternal damnation which awaited those who forswear themselves, still Louis, though he has not otherwise the reputation of being an impious or a vicious man, took the oath upon the Gospels, answered the forty odd questions addressed to him, affirmed most solemnly that the marriage with Jeanne had never been consummated, and finally signed his name at the foot of a written report of his replies.

Whether this testimony was perjured or not—and the whole question seems to me extremely puzzling—it would not be easy to imagine a more impressive tribute to the strict integrity with which the recognized forms of law were observed in the Papal courts. If a monarch, a powerful monarch, with whom the Holy See was at that time in most confidential relations, had to humble himself and perjure his soul to this extent before he could extort the annulment of his childless marriage from a Pontiff like Alexander VI., there can have been nothing after all so fundamentally corrupt in the matrimonial decisions of the Roman Curia.

Moreover, it is interesting to remark that the account of this transaction current in the historians of the time, is, as the documents of the process show, entirely misleading and always to the discredit of the Holy See.

"If," says M. Maulde de la Clavière, "we were to accept Guicciardini's account, or, for the matter of that, the account almost universally given of this occurrence even in the contemporary despatches of ambassadors, we should have to suppose that the whole procedure in the divorce was a pure formality, that everything had been arranged beforehand between the Pope and the King, and that the cause from the first moved smoothly and smilingly onward to a foregone conclusion." But from three important Papal briefs

discovered by M. Maulde ten years after all the other documents of the process had been printed by him for the French Government, we learn that this was very far from being the case.

These papers established the fact that the verdict remained in suspense to the very last; that the King Louis XII. was reduced to quite an agony of apprehension, and that Alexander VI. maintained throughout an attitude that was both firm and dignified.

"It was evidently," writes M. Maulde, "upon the receipt of this last reply of Alexander VI., dated November 20, that the King made up his mind to take the very distasteful oath tendered him by Jeanne de France. The oath was taken on the 5th of December, and in this way the difficulties of the process were at last brought to an end."²⁷

I may notice here that Jeanne having by what was, as far as we can judge, a perfectly voluntary act, elected to submit her case to the King's sworn testimony, could not regard herself as wronged by the judges who pronounced a verdict in accordance with that testimony. There are no doubt many marriage dispensations and dissolutions of this period in which the Holy See appears to have acted upon grounds that were very technical, not to say frivolous, being aided therein by an extremely complex marriage law prolific in unforeseen flaws and impediments, of which, of course, the canonists took full advantage. But one principle seems to have been steadily kept in view amid all these legal subtleties, and that was respect for the rights of the innocent, at any rate in all cases in which the innocent could succeed in making their voice heard. In this matter I cannot at all subscribe to Father Taunton's conclusion²⁸ that "the question of justice towards Catherine" played no part in the Papal deliberations, but that such words as "injustice, peril and scandal" refer only to the difficulties of the Pope's personal position and the will of the Emperor, his master. "Although these were the pricks which were felt and complained of, the great influence at the back of all was the insuperable difficulty of Catherine's rights, which she would not renounce or surrender. When, as we learn from Gardiner's despatches, Clement was pressed to extremities he declared that he was powerless *ubi vertitur jus tertii*."²⁹ It was for this reason that Campeggio tried so persistently to induce Catherine to enter a nunnery. If she had consented to do this, this would have been practically to renounce her rights as a wife and her further claim on Henry. Supposing this to have been secured, I may confess that I think it not improbable that some technical ground

²⁷ "Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes," 1896, pp. 197-204.

²⁸ L. c., p. 195.

²⁹ Pocock, "Records," Vol. I., p. 127.

would have been found on which to annul the marriage. Moreover, seeing the momentous issues involved in the alienation of Henry, and the extreme perplexity of such matrimonial cases resting ultimately on impediments created by the positive law, I do not believe that in contributing to such a result either Clement or Campeggio would have felt that they were sacrificing principle or acting against their consciences. The one obstacle before which they were powerless was the indisputable right of Catherine to defend the marriage and to plead her cause before an impartial tribunal. If she would not waive that right, nothing could be done.

Another point to which Mr. Pollard scornfully appeals as showing how little religious principle had to say to Clement's attitude towards the divorce, is the various expedients supposed to have been suggested by the Pope in the hopes of satisfying Henry without offending Spain. With regard to such proposals as that Henry should have leave to marry two wives, or that he should settle the matter for himself by marrying Anne in England, and then applying to the Holy See to confirm the accomplished fact, we have the gravest reason to doubt the accuracy⁸⁰ of the reports preserved to us. It is quite possible that something of the sort was mooted, but not in serious earnest. The envoys themselves suspected that the proposed dispensation to marry two wives was a diplomatic trap. The fact was that Henry at that time flatly denied the Pope's power to dispense for the marriage with a brother's widow, and if he had jumped at a Papal dispensation for bigamy, he would have been convicted of gross inconsistency. There was, however, one very startling suggestion which undoubtedly comes to us on better authority.

"Another plan for settling the succession," writes Mr. Pollard, "was that the Duke of Richmond (Henry's illegitimate son) should by Papal dispensation marry his half-sister, Mary."⁸¹ Cardinal

⁸⁰ Dr. Eheses has dealt with this subject in an article in the *Historisches Jahrbuch* for 1892. It is very questionable how far we can trust Gregorio Casale's despatches. "Either you do not write the truth," Wolsey once told him, "or we and you are equally deceived." Brewer, n. 4289. We know that Gardiner left a sheet of paper in Henry's way containing a proposition which purported to emanate from the Pope and which suggested that Henry should take the law into his own hands and act by the light of his own conscience. After Henry had read it, Gardiner told him that it was not a genuine document, but only a fancy of his own. "Non è cosa buona; ma una fantasia che mi era venuta." It is Campeggio who reports this on Wolsey's authority. This letter has only recently come to light. See the *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1900, pp. 260-266.

⁸¹ Mr. Pollard does not make it clear that this suggestion was made to Campeggio by Wolsey and his friends. Speaking of Wolsey and the King's advisers, Campeggio writes: "Et hanno pensato di maritarla condispensa di sua Santità al figliuolo natural del re, se si potrà fare. A che habeva anch' i. pensato prima per stabilimento della successione." Eheses, p. 49.

Campeggio saw no moral objection to this. 'At first I myself,' he writes on his arrival in England in October, 1528, 'had thought of this as a means of establishing the succession.' The Pope was equally willing to facilitate the scheme on condition that Henry abandoned his divorce from Catherine. Possibly Henry saw more objections than Pope or Cardinal to a marriage between brother and sister. At all events, Mary was soon betrothed to a French prince."³²

Astounding as this suggestion may seem, we must remember: first, that this was a solution by which Catherine's rights would not suffer; and, secondly, that it was only entertained by Campeggio as a remedy for what, as Wolsey had again and again insisted, was an absolutely desperate situation, involving no less than the defection of England from the Roman obedience. When the Italian Cardinal was satisfied that this would not content Henry he at once dismissed the idea and does not recur to it in his correspondence.³³ Moreover, whatever the Pope may have said in his ignorance, which he often freely confessed, of the limits to which the Papal dispensing power might be stretched, it was decided when his advisers were consulted that such a dispensation could not be granted.

The idea of the possibility of this union between a sister and a half-brother seems to have originated from an apocryphal instance of such a dispensation, said to have been granted in the time of Pope Martin V. and discussed by many canonists and theologians, *e. g.*, by St. Antoninus of Florence. Most of them seem inclined, like St. Antoninus, to doubt the fact, but some do not think such a marriage so clearly forbidden by the natural law as to lie absolutely beyond an extreme exercise of the Papal prerogative. Curiously enough the reformer Tyndall, the translator of the New Testament, and certainly no Roman, did not consider such a marriage impossible any more than Wolsey or Campeggio.

"Nevertheless," he writes, "the marriage of the brother with the sister is not so grievous against the law of nature (thinketh me) as the degrees above rehearsed. And therefore it seemeth me that it might be dispensed within certain cases and for divers considerations. . . . Wherefore, if greater peace and unity might be made by keeping her (the daughter) at home, I durst dispense with it; as if the King of England had a son by one wife, heir to England, and a daughter by another, heir to Wales, then because

³² Pollard, "Henry VIII.," p. 135. Further on Mr. Pollard, returning to the subject, remarks of this proposal that Clement was quite ready to entertain it because "the more insuperable the obstacle, the more its removal enhanced his power."

³³ He goes on: "Non credo però, che questo disegno basti per rimuovere il primo desiderio del rè." *Ib.*

of the great war that was ever wont to be between those countries I would not fear to marry them together to make both countries one and to avoid so great effusion of blood."⁸⁴

It has been already said that it would be idle to pretend to regard Clement as a man of heroic mould or of the loftiest ideals. Dr. Gairdner has censured, and with justice, the regrettable weakness which allowed him to yield to Wolsey's passionate appeals, and to grant first the secret decretal commission, and then the "pollicitation" or promise not to revoke the cause, of which Dr. Ehses has published for the first time the authentic text.⁸⁵ But there is one plea which may be urged in mitigation of Clement's action in these two instances. If the much harassed Pontiff was committing himself further than justice or prudence allowed, he was nevertheless entrusting his honor to the keeping of one in whom he felt every confidence and who in the fullest degree justified that confidence. The decretal and the pollicitation were not granted by the Pope until after he knew that it was Campeggio who had been chosen and had accepted the charge of representing the Pontifical authority in England. From the beginning to the end of his mission there is not one recorded act of Campeggio's which can be described as falling short of the dignity and impartiality which were to be expected of one who was invested with such high responsibilities. He has been represented by some as playing into the hands of the Emperor. But to Catherine he barely showed decent sympathy, much less favor. To the Spanish ambassador he was affable, but made no sign of further confidences. Popular humor, on the other hand, declared him to be the creature of Henry. He had accepted this legation at the pressing request of the English court. He was already Bishop of Salisbury; he had much to hope for from the King if he were compliant; he had something to lose if he were slack in the cause. But from the first he maintained his independence in the most resolute way. Though very ill provided with resources, he would not accept a penny of the sums that were proffered him, while neither threats nor cajolery could lead him to depart a hair's breadth from the Pope's instructions regarding the custody of the secret decretal. Speaking of the chronicler Hall, who sneers at the meanness of Campeggio's baggage when it was searched at Dover before leaving England, Mr. Brewer says:

"Hall was ignorant of the fact that Campeggio had been repeatedly urged by the King to abandon all preparations for his journey, as all things necessary would be provided for him by the King's liberality. More than once he had refused large sums of money

⁸⁴ Tyndall, "Practice of Papistical Prelates" (1530), p. 331.

⁸⁵ "Römische Dokumente," p. 30.

offered him for this purpose by the Bishop of Bath.³⁶ The King never repeated his offer or fulfilled his promise; and there is not the least reason for believing, as Hall asserts, that the legate received any great reward for his arduous services. No minute to that effect is found among the King's payments."³⁷

In spite of our possessing Campeggio's cipher despatches, the real nature of his ideas about the divorce question is something of a mystery to us; but this we know, that he was responsible for the frustration of the hopes of a final and favorable verdict which Henry entertained to the last. The resolution to prorogue the case and to issue no decision was entirely the work of Campeggio. Moreover, this decision was arrived at and acted upon before any news could have reached England of the Pope's avocation of the cause to Rome.

There seems the more reason for insisting on the worthy part played by the Italian Legate because Cardinal Wolsey's recent apologist, not content with telling his readers that Wolsey was "the only man who came out of the divorce business with clean hands,"³⁸ (!) and with deploring that in his efforts to do Henry's will Wolsey "had been outwitted by Italian shiftiness and Spanish terrorism,"³⁹ has also gone out of his way to present Campeggio in the most unfavorable light. The "diplomatic gout" which delayed Campeggio's journey to England is ridiculed as a contemptible subterfuge. And yet we know that eight months before, when there was as yet no question of Campeggio's coming to England, an English envoy reports that he was in Rome "sore vexed with the gout."⁴⁰ We know that when his name was proposed for this mission a short time afterward (April, 1528) one of the principal objections raised to his appointment was that he was such a martyr to this complaint that it was doubtful whether he would not suffer most cruelly upon the journey.⁴¹ We know both from many outside testimonies and from his own secret cypher despatches that both in Paris and on his arrival in London and for weeks afterwards he was in the most severe pain and incapable of putting foot to the ground. So, again, the fair speeches which Campeggio, like every diplomatic agent, was required by courtesy to use, are construed into evidence of studied duplicity, while all the gratuitous deceptions and protesta-

³⁶ These, however, seem to have been offered in the King's name and by the King's direction. See Brewer, II., p. 293.

³⁷ Brewer, "Henry VIII.," Vol. II., p. 375.

³⁸ Preface, p. viii.

³⁹ P. 202.

⁴⁰ "Burnet" (Pocock), Vol. IV., p. 40.

⁴¹ Pocock, "Records," Vol. I., p. 117. Gardiner there says: "It is feared of him 'ne in itinere laboret podagra cui morbo mirum in modum obnoxius est.'"

tions of which Wolsey was guilty in his appeals to the Pope are treated as innocent. But what more particularly calls for some protest is the insinuation made against Campeggio's moral character. Referring to the Cardinal's earlier mission to Germany, Father Taunton remarks:

"We learn from the Venetian State papers that in the Consistory he (Campeggio) made three conditions before he would accept the office. He required 2,000 ducats to be paid down before he left Rome; the Papal promise, in case of his death during the legation, that the bishopric of Bologna should be given to his son, and that the Pope should also undertake to provide a husband for one of his daughters, both of these children being illegitimate (III. n. 795). The latter fact is mentioned by Giustiniani (II. 1178) and Sanuto's diaries confirm it."⁴²

Further, though I know no evidence to justify such an imputation, the writer adds: "The history of the Campeggio is not of the highest."

Let me remark first, that if the credibility of the Venetian envoy may be gauged by the accuracy of his last statement, it is highly probable that the whole story is mere malicious gossip. It is absolutely certain that Campeggio's five children were born in lawful wedlock. The Cardinal had previously been a lay professor of law at Bologna, where he married a distinguished Bolognese lady, Francesca Guastavillani, in the year 1500. She died in 1511, leaving him three sons and two daughters.⁴³ It was after her death that Campeggio began his ecclesiastical career, was made Auditor of the Rota, and took Holy Orders. One of his sons died young. The other two entered the Church; both became Bishops, and Alexander, the elder, died a Cardinal like his father.⁴⁴ It is additionally unfortunate that to read the account just quoted one would almost necessarily be led to suppose that the illegitimacy of Campeggio's children was a fact established by three independent authorities, to wit: the Venetian despatch, Giustiniani and Sanuto's diaries. Whoever will take the trouble to look up Mr. Rawdon Browne's calendars will find that the three reduce themselves to one, an unnamed

⁴² "Thomas Wolsey," p. 191, note.

⁴³ Von Schulte ("Geschichte der Quellen und Litt. des Kanon. Rechtes," Vol. II., p. 359), who has investigated these facts, is surely a witness beyond all exception. Moreover, Dr. Ehses has accumulated a number of additional details and prefixed a short biography of Campeggio to his "Römische Dokumente," pp. xvi.-xxxi. Campeggio's life was first written by Sigonius in 1581.

⁴⁴ There is not, so far as I know, any evidence to suggest that either of the younger Campeggios were otherwise than worthy and learned prelates. Alexander was a distinguished canonist. Lorenzo resigned his bishopric before his death and gave himself to study and to works of charity.

Venetian correspondent in Rome. "Sanuto's Diaries" are merely the memorandum book in which this scrap of gossip is preserved; and Giustiniani's testimony consists in a casual reference to Campeggio's son without the slightest suggestion that he was illegitimate. That Campeggio was in any conspicuous way grasping or mercenary, the whole of his singularly hard-working and suffering life contradicts.

Finally, I venture to quote a sentence of one of the last of Campeggio's cipher letters from England. Dr. Gairdner believes it to be, and I think that any impartial reader who studies this correspondence will also believe it to be the perfectly sincere expression of Campeggio's true sentiments. The evidence had not yet been taken in the trial, and the Cardinal seems still inclined to think that justice might require a verdict in the King's favor. "But," he says, "when I shall know positively that the King is in the wrong, I shall be ready to give sentence against him fearlessly, even if I were certain to die that moment; do not doubt it."⁴⁵ And he adds: "His Holiness will learn from other sources the position I am in, and how heavy is my burden. May God help me, in whom I trust."

It would be hard to find in the diplomatic correspondence of those days a more striking example of a manly, upright spirit, constant in spite of much physical infirmity and moral obloquy, than is presented to us in the recently published letters of Cardinal Campeggio.

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MODERN ITALY TO A VISITOR.

IT WAS near the end of October when I reached Italy last year. The crowd of summer tourists from England, America and other parts had nearly all flitted homewards, and I met scarcely any English-speaking people except at Florence and Rome. The winter visitors of that description I found in numbers in Naples and Sicily, which serve the wealthy classes of England for a resort in the cold months, much as Florida does Americans. I was consequently thrown entirely among Italians for society and information, and as far as possible my desire was to learn their ways and ideas as they really are, not as an American might wish them to be.

The winter weather did not show Italy at its best, though for some time the St. Martin's summer of November was very beautiful

⁴⁵ Ehses, "Römische Dokumente," pp. 108-109.

in Piedmont. Rain was the chief drawback to outdoor investigations. On passing through the Mont Cenis tunnel a thick fog covered the Italian side and hid the views completely till Turin was reached. In Turin it rained steadily through the first week of November, and in Rome through the first of December. The Tiber threatened one of the new bridges and flooded the road to the Basilica of St. Paul for some days. Rain came spasmodically all through the two last months of the year, but there were enough clear intervals to make some interesting trips through country places with and without the aid of the railroads. A couple of weeks were passed most agreeably in Masserano, a small country town of Piedmont, at the foot of the Alps, and in excursions around it to similar places. An old Italian friend had been Sindaco, or Mayor, of the town for fourteen years, and had resigned office a few months before my coming. From him I learned a good deal about the thoughts and methods of life of the country folk of Piedmont as well of general conditions of modern Italy. After leaving his house my course lay by the Italian lakes to Milan, where some days were spent, stopping at an Italian hotel and boarding at Italian restaurants. Venice was the next stopping place, then, in succession, Padua, Bologna and Florence. The capital of Tuscany kept me a week, which I would gladly have extended to double the time. On the way to Rome brief stops were made at Orvieto to view the wonderfully beautiful and extraordinary basilica which commemorates the miracle of Bolsena, nearly six hundred years ago, and at Monte Rotondo, a typical village community of the country around Rome.

The Eternal City was my abode through Advent and the Christmas holidays. Though many American and Irish friends were met at Rome, I continued the practice of living chiefly among Italians, and in their manner largely. Early in January I quitted Rome for Naples, halting on the way at the famous Benedictine Abbey of Monte Cassino, which itself is one of the historic monuments of Western civilization as the cradle of the great monastic orders. At Naples the same mode of life was followed as at Rome, except that more time was given to visits to places outside the city in consequence of the delightful weather. A trip to Sicily, with stops at Messina and Palermo and a visit to Taormina and Etna on the east coast, was the last stage in my trip. It certainly was shorter than could be desired, and left countless places of high interest unvisited but at least with most of the great divisions of the Peninsula and its modern people.

A fact which is brought home to any one living among Italians of different provinces is the marked difference of temper, cultivation and character between the various provinces which make up the

new kingdom. Florentines differ more from Neapolitans or Piedmontese than the New Orleans creoles do from Bostonians or Pennsylvanians. There is no such homogeneity of national feeling in Italy as in France or England. Tuscany, Piedmont, Lombardy, Venezia, the Roman Marches, the Neapolitan city population, Sicily and Sardinia are each as distinctly national in character as Belgium or Geneva in the French-speaking population. The feeling of local independence goes even further. Padua resents the rivalry of Venice as much as Belgians do that of Holland. In the old Grand Duchy of Tuscany, with hardly three millions of people, who have been united under a single government for nearly four hundred years, Sienna and Pisa still decline to recognize the Florentines as genuine countrymen of their citizens. On my arrival in Naples a gentleman with whom I got into conversation informed me the city population there was "la piu sbirra," the meanest of all Italy, and could hardly be regarded as Italians. I asked was he from the north, and was a little surprised when he assured me he was from Foggia in Puglia, scarcely a hundred miles from Naples. A bright and good-humored little woman who served me with refreshments in a *caffè* an hour or two later cautioned me as a stranger against the Neapolitan lower classes generally. They were idle, ignorant and generally good for nothing in her opinion, though she had lived some years at Naples. She was a Milanese, she was glad to say. This deep spirit of rivalry and distrust between the different provinces of the Italian kingdom is a matter which needs to be counted seriously in reference to the probable duration of the work of Cavour and Vittorio Emanuele. It also suggests the great difficulties in carrying out in practice the centralized administration which those statesmen and their successors have imposed on Italy in imitation of French models.

A few of the points of diversity among the different provinces may help to give a clearer idea of how great it is. In language the bulk of the country population everywhere speaks a dialect of its own quite distinct from that of others. A very intelligent lawyer at Rome assured me that neither Victor Emmanuel nor Umberto spoke correct Italian. They used Piedmontese habitually, which is as distinct from the language of Florence as Lowland Scotch is from English. My legal friend was a Venetian and spoke without prejudice on this matter. For himself he had a strong affection for the Venetian dialect, which he claimed had more elements of Greek and Spanish than Piedmontese. A couple of days later a party of travelers took a table near my Venetian friend and myself, and neither of us could decide what language they were speaking. Another member of our table happening to come in, we asked his

opinion, and he answered at once they were all Piedmontese. He was a captain in the army, but belonged to Novara, in Piedmont, and was quite familiar with the local dialect of his native place, which was hardly intelligible to an Italian from Venice, three hundred miles away.

The difference in dialects is still greater to the south of Rome. In Naples and the country around it the working people, if they have to address an Italian from another district, commonly use signs to signify their meaning. The language of the Sicilian country people is as different from ordinary Italian as Portuguese from Spanish. Many villages, in fact, use Greek or Albanian habitually, even on the mainland of Naples. These Italian dialects are not mere vulgarisms, like the speech of some English counties or that of remote districts in the Southern American States. Many of them have grammars, dictionaries and histories of their own, and even the educated classes who are familiar with classical Italian and use it in their daily work will prefer to speak their own dialect in their families, as Boswell's father once treated Dr. Johnson to an argument in Lowland Scotch. My Venetian and Piedmontese friends both used the best Italian in table conversation and quoted Dante, Tasso and Petrarch with as much familiarity as an educated American would Shakespeare, but as soon as a native of their own provinces appeared neither could resist the temptation to chat a few moments in the familiar native dialect.

These differences of local speech make any generalized plan of elementary school teaching singularly difficult in Italy. The children of the peasantry only speak the local dialect, and to teach them approved grammatical Italian is a task as hard as to teach a French or German child English in the primary classes. Though school attendance has been made obligatory in Italy, it has been found impossible to enforce the law, and it remains a dead letter. This fact, among many others, seems to suggest that modern Italy really needs a system of localized government like that of Switzerland, rather than the centralization which it has been the aim of all Italian Ministers from Cavour to Zanardelli to force on the populations as a means of consolidating them into a State like France or England.

The manners and temper of the people in the various provinces are as divergent nearly as the dialects. In Turin the resemblance to French ways in attention to small details of courtesy is noticeable. In stores, hotels and generally in all intercourse a stranger finds the Turinese anxious to please and good natured in helping him out of his common perplexities. It is somewhat the same at Milan, though with less cordiality. In Venice the popular manners

are good, but there seems little anxiety to consult the convenience of strangers. The Florentines of all classes are well bred, but show a certain half cynical temper. They resemble in this to a certain extent the old aristocratic families of France. Rome is somewhat cosmopolitan, and gives less subject for remark on this head. At Naples the popular manners, without being rough, are reserved towards strangers and have a certain clownishness that is not found in Northern Italy. In Sicily, even in the cities, the manners of all classes are much more reserved and indifferent towards outsiders. In a restaurant or store the attendants take orders almost in silence and with none of the attempts to make themselves agreeable that one meets in Turin or even Florence. Their methods of doing business are also very primitive in many points. Change is very difficult to get, even in stores, for anything above a five-franc bill. It is somewhat aggravating to see every franc one offers in payment rung three or four times and carefully examined on every side before acceptance. Both in Sicily and Naples the offices of money changers, "*Cambia Valute*," are a distinct business, and one generally has to apply to them if he wants change for even a two-dollar or ten-franc note. *Caffes*, so marked a feature of social life in North Italy as in France, are very rare in Naples. I only noticed four on the *Corso* from the Central Railroad station to the centre of the city, more than a mile of well-built and crowded streets. In France there would be more than a hundred in the same distance. As life in Naples is largely out of doors, this absence of places for social meeting suggests a general indifference to conversation and mutual intercourse. It bears out in this the impression given by the manners of the people to a new arrival. The absence of name plates from most of the Neapolitan streets is another example of the indifference to strangers which is very marked. It is all the more remarkable inasmuch as Naples is very extensively visited by foreigners in the winter months. The spirit of commercial intelligence seems strangely lacking in this city of three-quarters of a million of inhabitants. The difference in this respect between the population of Naples and those of Genoa or Milan is greater than between the latter and American or English cities.

The difference is not merely one of manners; it is also one of occupations and disposition. Milan, Genoa or even smaller cities like Biella are fully up to modern ideas of material improvements and commercial activity. The *Societa de Navigazione Italiana Generale* is as great a steamship company and as well served as any in England, Germany or America. Its origin is in Genoa, not Naples. Milan and Biella are as much manufacturing communities as Lowell or Paterson. The electric power works near Milan for

utilizing the force of the Alpine torrents are on a scale unsurpassed in Europe. The railroad service in North Italy is fully up to the best American or English standards and much cheaper than either. Local railroads, electric or steam power, are very numerous through Lombardy and Piedmont. Street cars, public lighting, water supply and other public services are all excellent. In Naples generally there seems to have been little change from the conditions of the eighteenth century in most of these points except what has been of necessity. Paving is generally good in all Italian towns, and the buildings, both public and private, are substantial and handsome, but modern conveniences seem scarcely cared for in Southern Italy or the central parts of the peninsula.

In one important branch of industry, the cultivation of the soil, it must be said that Italy seems in advance of most European nations. The farming through Lombardy and Tuscany is like that of carefully kept gardens, and crops of some kind seem to be gathered at almost every season. The ground is no sooner cleared of grain than it is made to yield a crop of vegetables of some kind before the new harvest is put in. Between the rows of fruit trees, laid out with geometrical accuracy, vegetables or grasses are regularly raised. Irrigation is scientifically conducted, especially in Lombardy. Tradition assigns the methods now followed for utilizing the Alpine floods to fertilize the Lombard plain to Leonardo da Vinci, the almost universal genius of the sixteenth century, who disputed the supremacy of the painter's art with Michael Angelo. In Piedmont, where the mountainous soil does not give the same opportunity for irrigation, every district has its own well-defined system of culture for vines, fruit, vegetables and grain which is strictly followed out. I was struck by the familiarity shown by my Piedmontese friend, the ex-Mayor, with the name and special value of every tree on his small estate. It hardly was twenty acres in extent, yet it was enough to maintain his family in very comfortable style. In these districts nearly everything needed for home consumption was raised, even on holdings of three or four acres. Wine, cheese, firewood, eggs, milk and vegetables are never purchased by a Piedmontese country resident. They are all raised on his own land. The Commune of Masserano comprised about seven thousand acres, and it supported forty-five hundred inhabitants, among whom there was not a single mendicant nor prisoner at the time of my visit. The condition of these Northern Italian peasants in regard to dwellings, food, clothing and personal independence was much better than that of the Irish or even the English peasantry. All through Italy the farming classes generally live in towns or villages. Isolated farm houses, as in America or Ireland, are very rare. The

villages are built of good houses of stone, often three or four stories high, divided into flats according to custom, which seems to run back a couple of thousand years at least. Each village possesses its church or often three or four, its schools, town hall and other public buildings, and the farmers govern themselves in local affairs much as any other town population. In Masserano the palace of the former princes was used as the town hall. There were five churches, two or three being several hundred years old and only used on special festivals. It is rarely in Italy that a church is torn down, even when not needed longer for public service. It is preserved as a monument of the past, and receives some care as a sanctuary.

A feature in Italian cultivation of the land, especially in the south, is the closeness with which it copies the methods of nature in the choice of objects. The olive and cactus plantations of Naples and Sicily to a passer have all the look of free nature. There is none of the ruthless sweeping away of forests by steam machinery or the planting of thousands of acres in fields of wheat and corn that one sees so commonly in America. Trees everywhere find a prominent place in the Italian farming districts. The olive or mulberry groves stretch up slopes where the plough would be almost impossible, and the rocky slopes beyond are often planted with clumps of the *Barbary*, fig or cactus. This fruit, so common in California and so little utilized there, furnishes a large supply of excellent fruit to the Neapolitans and Sicilians. The latter, if lacking in commercial enterprise, are certainly careful cultivators of the land. The rocky island of Capri, near Naples, is a wonderful instance of what industry can effect in the way of extracting food for man from the rocks. The island is not over three or four thousand acres in extent, and most of it is occupied by two bare peaks, one eleven hundred, the other, Mount Solari, seventeen hundred feet high. On the slopes of these peaks and little stretch of sloping land between them the ground is thickly covered with orange, fig and cactus, as well as with vegetables between them. The island supports nearly six thousand people on the yield of these and the fishing carried on in the sea. That the life they lead is not a dismal one may be inferred from the fact that though many of the men yearly emigrate to America, North or South, the majority return to their rocky birth-place after a few years' absence. Even in a material point it seems that modern science has hardly achieved very remarkable advances over the methods of cultivation of Southern Europe as practiced for a couple of thousand years.

The strong liking among Italians of all classes for farming as the occupation of life is very noticeable. It is specially so to an

American from the far West, where men go into wheat or beet raising on the same methods as they buy shares in the Stock Exchange. My friend was an engineer by profession, had graduated from the University of Turin, traveled abroad as far as California and spent two years there, yet he assured me he preferred to make a livelihood for himself and family from his vineyard and orchard than to earn a large revenue otherwise. One remembers how Verdi, the famous composer, passed the later years of his life in farming, and with what deep feeling Virgil sang the praises of the country life in old Italy. The sentiment that cultivation of the ground and raising food for mankind is in itself a better employment of a man's time than turning thousands on stock speculation or the rise and fall of prices is common among educated Italians. It is much rarer in our own land, but it seems to have an evident element of philosophy and Christianity, too, for all that. It is only a couple of hundred years since Penn began the settlement of Pennsylvania. It is ten times as long since the foundation of Milan or Florence. Have not Americans a good deal to learn yet from old Master Time?

The past year was a distinctly good harvest throughout, and the country folk generally seemed prosperous. I heard, however, many complaints of the crushing taxation of the central government. The budget amounted to nearly three hundred and sixty million dollars for the year, or eleven dollars a head on each Italian. The national wealth of Italy is much less than in France or England, yet the burthens on the citizens are nearly as great. The value of the agricultural produce of France for the year was estimated at two thousand eight hundred million dollars, and that of Italy at twelve hundred millions. As France has thirty-eight millions of people and Italy thirty-three it seems that the average earnings in Italy are less than one-half those in France. A County Judge receives six hundred dollars a year, and is considered to be well paid. The town physician of Masserano received four hundred and his office was thought quite a lucrative one. Farm laborers there received from thirty to forty cents per diem, mechanics, as carpenters or masons, from seventy-five cents to a dollar. Through the country districts generally it is safe to say that the franc (twenty cents) represents as much as the dollar does in ordinary life in an American city. From that one can judge how great is the weight of a taxation of fifty-five francs annually on every human being in Italy to-day.

The visit of the King of Italy to France occurred during my stay in Paris, but was a good deal spoken of in Italy afterwards. The general feeling seemed one of moderate satisfaction at the renewal of friendly relations with France. The ill feeling between

the two countries had been mainly caused by the policy of the late Minister Crispi. Of that gentleman I hardly heard a good word from an Italian of any class. Nevertheless he held power during a number of years by arts not unfamiliar in American politics. One asks what a Frenchman will be saying of Combes in a few years hence.

There was also considerable satisfaction expressed by Italians generally over the improvement in the financial standing of Italy accomplished during the last few years. The Minister of Finance, Lucchate, was credited much with this change both in Italy and France. There is no longer a deficit between the yearly tax receipts and the yearly expenditures of Italy, and Italian securities command as high a price on the Stock Exchange as those of France. Both conditions are new in Italy. Since Cavour and Victor Emmanuel first made the modern King till recently its spendings have nearly always passed its revenues, however high the latter might be. The huge Italian debt rolled up within forty years is a proof of this unpleasant fact. It is certainly a good thing for Italians to feel that their national debt is not increasing, even if their taxation is not lessening. It is also good for commercial expansion that Italian paper money is now on a par with gold, and that the fluctuations of values which prevailed a few years ago, like those in the values of American greenbacks during the Civil War, have ceased. It is not so easy to say whether the result shows any special financial genius in the Italian Minister. A measure proposed by him just before Christmas would hardly indicate it. Signor Lucchate asked to be let reduce the rate of interest now paid on church property, bonds issued by the State in compensation for lands and other values forcibly expropriated. To reduce the rate of interest by getting offers to take the national securities by other parties at a lower rate and pay off the present holders, if they decline to accept such rates, is perfectly legitimate finance. To pick out a single class of bondholders and reduce the rate pledged to them without offering any alternative appears mere confiscation, not financial genius of any kind.

Some reform is certainly needed in Italian taxation at present. The expenses of the central government, including the army, navy, public debt and payment of officials of all kinds, consume thirty per cent. of the whole produce of the soil of Italy. Less than one-tenth of the taxation is spent on public improvements of any kind, including schools, harbors, roads and the improvement of agriculture, manufacturing industries or commerce. The letter postage in Italy is double that of the United States on domestic letters or postal cards. As the franc in Italy in common life is nearly equivalent to the dollar in America, this rate is at least six times greater than the

American postage. The number of letters sent by mail is extremely small in Italy in consequence.

In other ways the financial methods of the Italian Government seem lacking in science to a foreigner. A very large part of the revenue is from direct taxes on houses, lands and food, and its collection is both expensive and aggravating. In January the imposition of a new municipal tax in the town of Ronciglione, near Viterbo, caused an advance of thirty per cent. in the prices of bread, wine and meat. A formidable local outbreak was the result, which it needed a large military force to keep from burning the municipal buildings. At Palermo about the same time I found the prices of bread and meat regulated strictly by the city authorities. These things indicate a system of taxes not unlike that of the eighteenth century rather than the twentieth. It may be recalled that it was chiefly the abuses of that system in France that started the French Revolution. Economy in the national expenditures is apparently badly needed in order to lessen these specially dangerous forms of taxation.

It is not so easy, it must be confessed, to reduce the public expenditure, with the enormous debt and the huge army and navy. The latter certainly seems the most suitable field for retrenchment. Ironclads and their support are fearfully costly and their utility is at least highly problematical. Italy has no colonies worth speaking of to defend, and need hardly fear a naval war with any power. Its navy is wholly a creation of the modern government, and its only serious engagement with the Austrians at Lessa in 1866 showed much more the little value of armor-plated vessels against wooden ships than anything else. A cessation of activity in naval construction would seem the simplest road to reducing the crushing weight of taxation.

There does not seem to be as much peculation of the public funds in Italy as in the United States. The populations of all the towns, and even country communes, have been trained from time immemorial in the practice of local administration, and expenditures are watched with lynx eyes everywhere. There was probably a good deal of private profit made out of the public funds during the early years of the government of Victor Emmanuel, but there does not seem much of it at present. A case was going on at Rome during the last months of the past and the beginning of the present year which recalled some familiar American scandals. A former Minister, Bettolo, was accused of having used his position to give contracts for new ironclads to friends at higher prices than the material could be bought in the open market. The case attracted much attention. Its singularity was much greater in Italy than a like case would be in the United States.

It may also be said that the public sentiment in regard to the moral guilt of theft is far more marked in Italy than in America or England. This is specially so in Northern Italy, though I saw but little difference in Naples or Sicily. However, there was a good deal of talk of secret societies in the latter districts. The "Camorra" and "Mafia" of Naples and Sicily were described as societies which protected their members by underhand means against legal punishments for misdeeds. Their character was not unlike that given some years ago to the Molly Maguires in the Pennsylvania coal districts, and it was chiefly given by Italians from other sections of the peninsula. In North Italy there seemed less petty stealing than in almost any country I am acquainted with. The room doors of hotels frequented by Italians seemed always left open, and I never missed the smallest article anywhere. Men leave their baggage in apparent security at most railroad stations in country places without the formality of a receipt. The absence of police guardianship in the numerous places open to the public and stored with valuable art treasures is very striking. The churches are often filled with valuable paintings and works in silver or gold. The custom of hanging up silver *ex votos* for favors received from heaven is very common. In some churches large spaces of the walls are quite covered with them. Nevertheless these buildings are left open most of the day, and instances of theft or malicious mischief are hardly mentioned. The only case of the latter brought to my notice was the breaking of a hand on a marble statue erected by the Bishop in front of the seminary at Biella, and was committed in the excitement of Garibaldi's time. The gardens and villas of almost every Italian city seem as little liable to injury as the churches, though the police guardians are much fewer than in America. These facts seem to show a better developed moral conscience among the majority of Italians than is to be found in most northern countries. Wealth does not seem to give a higher standard of honesty, whatever other benefits it may bring materially.

The poverty of Italy as compared with France or the United States has been already referred to. Wages are scarcely above a quarter of the average in New York or Pennsylvania, and employment, even at such prices, is scarce in some districts. The number of Italian workmen who emigrate temporarily to Switzerland and Germany as well as to France in search of work is numbered by many thousands each year. It implies greater wealth and more active constructive works in these countries than in Italy. The comparative poverty of the latter country is shown in many other ways. One sees little luxury even among the wealthy classes of Rome or Naples such as is seen at Paris or London. Automobiles

and yachts are very rare in Italy ; so are great public entertainments. Lack of funds is given commonly as the cause why works of public utility, as the reclamation of the waste territory around Rome, are not attempted. There are few colossal fortunes among either the commercial class or aristocracy, at least what would be considered such in America. The late Minister of Finances, Sella, was spoken of as a very wealthy man on the grounds of a fortune of twelve million lire—two and a half million dollars. The Roman Prince Borghese was said to have lost twenty-eight million lire in unlucky building speculations. It is easy to see the standard of wealth is not high in Italy.

Still the pressure of poverty does not seem to weigh very heavily in most ways on the working classes. I can certainly say that no part of Italy shows anything like the distress which was chronic in Ireland down to my own boyhood. There appears to be no lack of food for any considerable class, and the clothing, even of the poorest, is far superior to the rags one sees so often in English or Irish cities. Bare feet are common in some parts of Naples, but seemingly more as a matter of choice than of need, as among sailors and dock laborers in the United States. The housing of the working classes, even in the country parts, is mostly in solid stone buildings erected generations ago, but provided with stone stairs, substantial roofs and sufficient windows and doors. Modern conveniences are little needed, but substitutes for them have been in use in Italian buildings since the time of the Romans. In Pompeii one sees to-day the old lead water pipes jointed as a modern workman would join them, the drains, stoves, hot air pipes and wash basins with plugs which seem as if they might be taken from a modern Italian town. One scarcely finds in Italy any buildings as poor as back streets of English or American cities, and still less anything comparable to the mud cabins in which British civilization kept the Irish working classes during a hundred and fifty years of semi-starvation. The house accommodation of the Italians, it may be said, is an inheritance handed down by centuries of good building work throughout the land.

There seemed little discontent with their lot among the Italian working classes generally. Strikes occur occasionally in the northern manufacturing districts as elsewhere, but the general look of the people is cheerful. The number of emigrants who return from foreign lands, not only European, but also North and South America, is very considerable, much more proportionately than in Ireland or England. This implies an attractiveness in the home life, even with its poverty, in Italy not found elsewhere. The class known in popular terms as the "submerged tenth" in England and America

does not seem to be found in Italy. I was amused when my Piedmontese friend told me that the tramp nuisance was becoming serious in his own district. As many as three unemployed wanderers had applied to the town authorities for help within two months of the preceding winter, and he thought the fact ominous. One disgusted him by telling a plausible story, receiving a franc and returning two months later to seek another with a new story. I could not help thinking how an ordinary American Mayor would feel if his town of five thousand people had only to relieve half a dozen of wanderers in a winter.

Two characteristics of the Italians go a good way towards lessening the sufferings which poverty brings generally elsewhere. The habit of thrift seems to be innate with all classes. Houses, clothing and tools are carefully mended as long as they will hold together and serve their purpose. A stage driver in Piedmont showed me with great apparent satisfaction his waterproof cape which he had used for twenty-three years and was still good, though adorned with many seams. Nothing in the way of food for man or beast, for fuel or for any daily need is ever let go to waste. The fallen leaves of the beech trees are carefully gathered in the fall from the roads by old people and children and packed in baskets to serve as bedding for cattle. The attention given to the latter is a pleasing feature of Italian character. I saw no instance of abuse of animals during my whole stay except a tendency to pile excessive loads on beasts of burthen. Donkeys and goats share the same care from their owners as cows and horses. The first named are very widely used and command much higher prices than in England or Ireland.

The absence of drunkenness in Italy is also very striking to a visitor from America or England. Wine is consumed universally as an article of food, and wine shops are common, but one scarcely sees an intoxicated Italian anywhere. There is a certain amount of meetings in the evening in the wine shops to play cards and interchange gossip, but the consumption on these occasions is generally small. Caffes are numerous in Northern Italy, though much less so in Naples or Sicily. They usually furnish wines or brandy as well as coffee, and the great majority of customers no more think of imbibing three or four glasses of the former than of the latter. One hears an occasional disquisition from some supposed scientific authority on the dangers of alcoholism, but in practice drunkenness seems almost unknown in Italy as compared with northern lands.

Of the sentiments of Italians generally towards the existing government it is not easy to speak in language easily understood in America. Most seem to desire the continuation of the unity effected by Cavour, but few speak with any feeling of enthusiasm of

the actual administration. Loyalty to the monarchy is strongest in Piedmont, where the existing royal family has ruled for many centuries, and on the whole with popular good will. Devotion to monarchy in the abstract, such as is expressed by most Englishmen, is little expressed anywhere outside Piedmont. In Tuscany and Venezia, and indeed most parts of North Italy, the popular traditions all turn towards old republican institutions, though few think of reviving them in practice. In Naples and Sicily there seems to be general indifference to what may be the form of government. There is, however, a good deal of complaint that these provinces are badly treated in the expenditure of the public funds and that the lion's share falls to the Italians of the north. The Italian feeling of loyalty to the monarchy does not seem by any means as strong as the English. The army is by no means as much under the control of the King as in Prussia. The soldiers, as in France, seem much more close to the general population than in England or Germany. There is little of the class militarism among either officers or soldiers that exists in the latter countries, and even less than in the small army of the United States. Whether this be useful or not I do not undertake to say; I merely state the fact.

The military police or carabinieri are certainly a fine body of men and generally popular. Even in repressing riots or arresting criminals their methods are much gentler than those of American police officers. Clubbing is unknown and even shaking or laying hands on individuals without absolute necessity is very rare. Most of the municipalities of any size have also their own police force, which is differently uniformed in each city. Generally speaking, there is little interference with the public by police in any part of Italy. It is far less than in England and almost infinitely less than in Ireland. The carabinieri of Italy number about thirty thousand, or less than one for each thousand of the population. The Irish constabulary, with the Dublin police force, also under government direct control, numbers about fourteen thousand for a population of four and a half millions. It is rather more than three times the proportion in Italy. The popularity enjoyed by the Italian police among all classes is in funny contrast with the feelings of the Irish people towards their peelers.

The penal code of modern Italy is very severe in its provisions. It was mainly the work of the late Minister Zanardelli, who threw into it the zeal of a politician for centralization and the cold calculation of a theoretician lawyer. Complaints of its harshness, especially towards petty offenses, I heard alike in Piedmont and in Naples from men who had no prejudice against the general government. Men once convicted, it seems are obliged to carry afterwards a kind

of ticket of leave setting forth the quality of their offense and their conduct in prison. This document has to be exhibited every time its bearer is seeking employment. The effect in increasing the number of criminals, especially in Southern Italy, where the people had never been used to the Code Napoleon, as in the northern districts, was said to be considerable. The feelings of the working classes in Naples towards the law generally are not unlike those of the Irish peasantry towards British legal administration.

Though the first newspapers of Europe appeared in Venice, and the Italian name for such has been carried into most other languages, the press does not exert as much influence as in England or America. It may be that long familiarity has taught the educated classes in Italy to place moderate reliance on oracles based on an experience of twenty-four hours only. The Italian papers are small and nearly all sold for a cent, or at most two. The most influential papers are not those published in Rome or Naples. The *Corriere* and *Avanti*, of Milan, and the *Stampa*, of Turin, are more attended to than any Roman journal, even in the capital. As regards the contents the Italian papers are fairly well arranged both for foreign and local news. The editorial columns of the better class show superior knowledge and literary taste to the general American press in matters of history, art and literature. In political and commercial news there is less difference. The huge Sunday editions in vogue in America would be looked on as sinful waste of raw material by any Italian. They take papers for the daily news, not as encyclopædias. There is less sensationalism in the Italian press than either the English, American or French. The *Avanti*, of Milan, towards the end of last year made a fierce attack on Rosati, a member of the new Ministry of Giolitti. It charged him with the unscrupulous use of methods like those with which the late Senator Morton was credited at the time of the Tilden election. The charges did not go as far as those against the recent Republican Governor of Kentucky, but they had influence enough to drive Rosati to suicide a few days after the formation of the Ministry. Journalistic attacks of this kind, however, are much rarer in Italy than in the United States.

Primary schools are well extended in the northern part of Italy. The day school is an institution known there some centuries before the invention of printing. The earliest historian of Florence enumerates several thousand scholars in the schools for reading and writing in Florence of the thirteenth century. School methods received much attention and distinguished teachers of the young enjoyed high honor in Lombardy in the fifteenth century. The Italians, however, have not the same simple faith in the efficacy of

schools for the sufficient training of the population in every way that is felt in American cities. The duty of parents to supplement the teachings of the school room by those of home is more fully recognized by nearly all educated Italians. There is also much more importance attached to training in morals, religion and manners than is given to those subjects in America or England. I had an opportunity to see the home training given to young children in the home of my host in Piedmont, and it was certainly attractive. An evening or two after my arrival I was asked to visit the children's chapel when the three little ones were about to retire. It was filled up with a little altar adorned like that of a church, and the three children repeated their prayers very seriously and sang one or two simple hymns before it on their knees. The eldest boy of five then went through an imitation of the Benediction service of the Church with a toy monstrance and the deepest gravity, after which he gravely extinguished the lights and the three filed out of the room silently. Sacred pictures and statues are common gifts to children, and they seemed early taught to treat them with a respect very different from that given their ordinary play toys. This system seemed quite common in the homes of Northern Italy.

The day schools in the little country towns were well filled, though the children seemed generally younger than the average in America. Italian Sisters of Charity had charge of the municipal school for young girls and boys. Teachers for the others were appointed by the Town Council, though the provincial prefect, as representative of the central government, had some voice in the matter and in the courses of instruction. There was at least one priest among the school teachers. He was a canon of the parish church, and had sufficient time at his disposal to fill the functions. I was told that the Bishop of Biella required candidates for ordination to obtain certificates as primary teachers before receiving Holy Orders in his diocese. There seemed little clash in the primary schools of Piedmont, at least between the government and the Church authorities.

In the higher education, especially in the universities, the action of the Ministry is much more absolute. Italy has been the parent of European university education. The Universities of Salerno, Bologna and Padua are the oldest in Europe, and the organized teaching of law and medicine had its beginning in their schools. Italy at the time of its formation into the modern kingdom was more fully provided with universities and academies than any other European land. Their efficiency seems shown by the number of great Italian names in science of every branch during the last four centuries. Nearly every one of the modern physical sciences—geology, chemistry, optics, scientific botany, anatomy and electricity

—are traced to an origin in Italian schools. The names of Da Vinci, Galileo, Toricelli, Galvani, Volta, Matteucci and Secchi are evidence of the thoroughness of Italian scientific culture under its old university system. The universities shared the diversity of character of the sections to which they belonged. Padua excelled in medical studies, Salerno and Bologna in legal, Florence in literature and history. The new government, in pursuance of its general policy, has brought all the universities under the control of a Minister of Public Instruction, who lays down a cast-iron system of obligatory courses in every branch of knowledge for all alike. At Venice and Turin, at Rome, Palermo and Naples the same lessons and textbooks are imposed by ministerial decree. Early this year much disturbance in the universities was caused by a decree of the Minister of Public Instruction issued just before the downfall of the Zanardelli Ministry. It changed the subjects of the courses in law of the universities, suddenly transferring those of the first year to the second or third and vice versa, while still demanding attendance at twenty full courses as an absolute necessity for admission to the legal profession. Protests were made on every side by the professors and rectors, but with what result I cannot say.

The turning of the Italian universities from centres of independent intellectual culture in each part of the country into mere training schools for the professions and government offices seems a serious danger to the national intelligence. It is none the less so because it is introduced in the name of modern science and improved discipline. A cast-iron rule follows the students from the lycei to their final admission to professional life and leaves little or no time for independent studies, such as have given such glorious fruit in Italy during the past four centuries. Nearly all the graduates in law and medicine, it must be added, become candidates for positions under the government after passing through their courses in the universities. These are barred absolutely to all but the graduates marked with State approval; no matter what the acquirements or talents of one who has acquired knowledge outside the State schools, he is not allowed to practice professionally or to share in the public offices. The students in the colleges still conducted by the religious orders, as those of the Jesuits at Mondragone or Monaco, are thus debarred from most avenues of professional life. The modern system is largely moulded on the centralized methods established in France by Napoleon I., and which have hardly raised the intellectual standards of France to any notable degree. In Italy itself it is instructive to compare the intellectual progress achieved during the last six centuries in the kingdom of Naples, occupying nearly half the country and the cluster of small independent States—Florence,

Lucca, Sienna, Pisa, Genoa, Venice, Milan and Padua, which divided the soil of North Italy. The comparison does not tell much for centralization in an intellectual point.

The religious conditions of modern Italy and the attitude of its government towards the Church seem hardly well understood among either Catholics or non-Catholics in the United States. I will only try to give such facts as I found during my residence, and the deductions that seem to flow from them. In the country districts of Piedmont where I traveled there seemed little difference between the attitude of the bulk of the people towards the Church and that of the Catholic counties in Ireland. Nearly every one attended Mass on Sundays and holy days as a matter of course, and the attendance at the daily Masses, which began very early (much before 6 A. M.), was much larger than in Ireland. The attitude of the congregations was everywhere serious and devotional and the numbers approaching the sacraments very large. I was much impressed by the way in which the Piedmontese congregations took an active part in the public services. The prayers after Mass and the alternate verses of the Vespers were repeated by nearly every one aloud in correct Latin and musical harmony. The chant was mostly Gregorian. I was present at the even service on the festival of the patron saint of Masserano, which was observed strictly as a public holiday. The psalms chanted were distinct from the ordinary Vespers, yet fully half the congregation chanted all the responses in good Latin. This implies an amount of true mental culture really remarkable among a remote country population.

There were daily services for the dead all through November in every country church. In the evening they generally closed with the Litany for Souls Departed and Benediction. All sang the responses to both with deep fervor. It was most impressive in the dim light of a November evening to hear two or three hundred voices reëcho the petitions formulated by the priest, "Sancte Stephane ora pro eis" and "Omnes sancti martyres orate pro eis." The churches generally had no lights except around the altar. The deep chant rolled back from the gloom of the nave where hundreds knelt motionless.

Pilgrimages to shrines consecrated to special devotions are a common form of devotion in Northern Italy. They recall in a way the old "Patrons" of the Irish Catholics and the famous St. Patrick's Purgatory in Ulster. I was asked by my host to visit the sanctuary of Our Lady of Oropa, about forty miles from Turin, and we walked there from Biella up a steep but well-made road. The sanctuary contains a small wooden statue of the Blessed Virgin brought from Palestine in the fourth century by St. Eusebius, the martyr Bishop of Vercelli under the Arian successors of Constantine. On special

feasts twenty thousand pilgrims climb the steep road to offer public prayers at this shrine, and many spend some days there on retreats of more or less duration. For their lodging a palace-like collection of buildings has been gradually built, and free lodging in good rooms, with bed, bedding, etc., is given free on demand to all. The hospice is in a gorge of the lower Alps, about four thousand feet above the sea level. The buildings are of granite, solidly built and seven stories high on the front. They run back nearly seven hundred feet in two lines about a hundred and fifty feet apart, crossed by transverse buildings into courts. I was told they can accommodate ten thousand pilgrims at once. Additions to the buildings are being constantly made by private offerings. A glorious domed church three hundred and twenty feet high to the top of the cross and a hundred and forty feet in diameter is now being slowly raised up here among the mountains at nearly the altitude of Mount Washington. The faith which accomplishes such works must be a living fact.

Varallo Sezia, about forty miles from Oropa, has a sanctuary of another kind which is as remarkable in its way. On the top of a mountain six or seven hundred feet above the town and reached by a narrow and rocky road a space of about thirty or forty acres has been devoted to a kind of panorama of the scenes of Our Lord's life on earth. There are forty-three chapels devoted each to a particular fact of Our Lord's earthly career, His birth at Bethlehem, calling of the Apostles, the Passion and Crucifixion. The chapels are of various forms and sizes, but each is filled with groups of statuary backed by wall and ceiling paintings so as to form perfect tableaux like the grouping of actors on a stage. Most of the figures are in wood or gesso, artificial stone, and colored. Some of the greatest Italian artists, including Gaudenzio Ferrari, the friend of Raffaele, have worked on these chapels, and the effects in some are almost marvelous. The Transfiguration especially is wonderful. As at Oropa new additions are being made to the buildings at Varallo. The central church has been finished within the last few years in Mosaic and marble at the cost of an Italian gentleman. The doors of bronze are very fine.

The devotion of all classes to these shrines is very marked. I found records at Oropa of visits by several members of the Sardinian royal family in the past. The late King Umberto was among them, as well as his brother, the ex-King of Spain. The King also I found credited with a devotional visit to the Church of the Blessed Sacrament at Orvieto a few years ago and with a contribution towards the completion of its noble façade.

In the Italian cities the churches were also well filled and large

numbers approached the sacraments. At Milan on Sunday evening a sermon was preached at which I saw about five thousand in attendance, nearly half of them men. The early Masses on week-days before day were also quite largely attended. It was nearly the same at Florence and Venice, possibly even more so at the latter. The intense interest felt by the Milanese, Venetians and Florentines in their respective cathedrals seems a genuine patriotism much deeper than political enthusiasm. The cult of the patron saints of St. Ambrose at Milan, San Marco at Venice, San Antonino at Florence and San Gennaro at Naples is of a similar kind. Padua is full of memories of Saint Anthony, and his basilica is the central feature of the city. St. Catherine holds like sway at cultured Sienna to-day.

Donations for religious purposes are more common by far in modern Italy than most strangers are aware of. The shrines of Oropa and Varallo have been mentioned. The façade of the Basilica of Orvieto, the most beautiful architectural exterior I have yet seen, is quite modern in much of its detail. Magnificent bronze doors, costing half a million francs, were placed in the Duomo at Florence a little before my arrival. Of more private donations for distinctly religious objects I was told that the Bishop of a single diocese in Piedmont holds four million francs in trust for perpetual Masses for the dead founded since the time of Cavour.

The way in which the religious orders have largely returned to their old abodes since the general laws for their suppression in Italy is very instructive. The famous Convent of San Marco, at Florence, was confiscated and made a national monument more than thirty years ago, yet I found the white-robed Children of St. Dominic officiating there quite undisturbed. Franciscans, Dominicans, Passionists, Sisters of Charity and members of other religious orders are to be met everywhere through Italy. It would seem that the hostility towards them on the part of the government had little other motive than the vulgar one of getting hold of their temporal property. In many cases the convents have been bought back like that of the Camaldoli at Naples, and the authorities seem quite satisfied to leave the members to follow their rules in peace. Even the majority of the politicians have none of that bitter hostility to the Christian religion which is found among the infidel element in France or Germany or the half-Protestant, half-agnostic public of England or the United States. Sella, the Finance Minister of Victor Emmanuel, was buried at his own desire under the sanctuary of Oropa. Mass is daily said in a private chapel of the Pantheon for the souls of Victor Emmanuel and Umberto.

All these things indicate a strong vitality in the Church in Italy

to-day. Its moral power is not denied by any Italian, though political interests are supposed to be involved in keeping it in check instead of aiding its moral influence over the people. It is not easy to map out the future, but it certainly looks as though the somewhat shaky equilibrium of the modern Italian State needed imperatively a greater moral force for its permanence than can be obtained from political action or so-called scientific statesmanship. It is just thirty-three years since Victor Emmanuel entered Rome as King of Italy. It is nearly sixteen hundred since Galla Placidia raised the basilica where St. Paul's body still rests. Time is with the Popes and the Church in Italy to-day.

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Rome, Italy.

THE MORALITY OF THE AIMS AND METHODS OF THE LABOR UNION.

THE great anthracite coal strike of 1902 forced the American people to realize more clearly and more acutely than ever before the power of organized labor. The interest thus aroused has been increased, both in extent and intensity, by the subsequent activity of unionism and the wider publicity given its principles and methods. The demands for higher wages and other industrial advantages have seemingly been larger and more frequent than at any previous period; the proportion of the demands granted has likewise been exceptional; the membership of labor organizations has grown at a remarkable rate, so that it is now reckoned at between two and two and one-half millions; the methods of certain labor leaders have brought them into unfavorable notoriety, and the use of violence in strikes has been all too prominent; finally, certain fundamental assumptions, such as the right of the unionists to be dealt with as organizations, the right to refuse to work with non-unionists, the right to exercise some control over the dismissal of employes and over other conditions of work, have been frankly claimed and energetically defended. In consequence of these and numerous similar facts, the labor union has been the subject of very general discussion and of not a little criticism. It has been examined from the viewpoint of the welfare of the laborer, the employer, the consumer and society. Its ethical aspect, however, has received the greater share of attention. We are constantly being told that this or that particular method or claim of the unions is "right" or "wrong," "just" or "unjust," "fair" or "unfair," "justi-

fiable" or "unjustifiable." In the ethical portion of the discussion, however, two questions that should be kept distinct have frequently been confused, namely: Is it right that the labor union should exist? and, are its characteristic methods free from moral censure? Since the labor union is, like any other human association, neither good nor bad in itself, the first of these questions can be answered only by ascertaining the morality of the end at which the labor union aims, while the second becomes an inquiry into the means employed to reach that end.

THE LABOR UNION'S AIMS.

The purposes of the labor union are, briefly, two: to give pecuniary aid to members in time of sickness, accident or unemployment, and to secure better conditions of employment than would be possible if the men acted as individuals. The first of these aims is much the less important, and tends year by year to occupy an ever smaller place in labor union consciousness. Indeed, the mutual insurance feature must, as Sidney and Beatrice Webb observe, be regarded, "not as the end or object, but as one of the methods of Trade Unionism." (*Industrial Democracy*, p. 165.) The common funds of the association are used chiefly to support members who are out of work because of a strike or lockout. Thus the mutual insurance afforded is for the most part only against the necessity of accepting unfavorable terms from the employer. The first aim tends to become subordinate to the second, a mere means, a method of securing or retaining industrial advantages. Therefore, the justification of the labor union as an institution turns upon the morality of combining to get higher wages, shorter hours or other economic advantages, and of resisting the efforts of the employer to reduce the laborer's present position in any of these respects.

Laborers have a moral right to unite to obtain better terms from their employers if this action would involve no injustice to either employer or consumer. They may, for example, rightly combine to get higher wages when these would not be unfair wages. But if they are at present receiving all the remuneration to which they are morally entitled their action is wrong and unjust. For men have no more right as an organization than as individuals to "better their condition" by causing other men to enter into an extortionate contract. What is true of wages applies also to the length of the working day and the other conditions of employment that are commonly at issue between master and man. Again, if the purpose of the organization be merely to enable its members to retain present advantages that are fair the union will be morally good. It will

be unlawful only when the members enjoy conditions that are in excess of the requirements of justice. Hence, whether the union aims at making things better or preventing them from being made worse, it will be justifiable only on condition that its members have a right, as against either employers or consumers, to the object sought.

This reasoning assumes that there is an element of justice in the labor contract. Neither employer nor employé may exact from the other all that he can, but only as much as is his right. Owing to the prevalence of false theories of politics and rights, this elementary truth has been, and still is, too frequently ignored. Professor Sidgwick confesses that during the greater part of the nineteenth century political economy as well as the business world assumed that a contract made without force or fraud was generally a fair contract. This extraordinary theory of contractual justice would justify alike the starvation wages of the sweat shop and the extortionate prices of the most tyrannous monopoly. If it were sound the question of the morality of labor union aims would be idle and irrelevant. Whatever the unions could obtain without fraud or force they would have a right to take. They could be condemned only on grounds of expediency. Happily, there is in progress a very general reaction from this immoral doctrine, and almost all men now admit that there is a fair price and an unfair price for labor, as well as for all other goods that men buy and sell. The world is returning to the concept of "just price," which the economist, as Professor Ashley tells us, "has been accustomed to regard as quite out of place in political economy," but which in the ages of Faith was elaborated with scientific precision and carried fairly well into practice throughout the Christian world. Interwoven with all the criticisms of labor unions is the assumption and frequently the explicit assertion that they are asking not merely what is unwise, but what is unjust.

Now it is the general belief of all classes of men, a small section of employers excepted, that the laborer of to-day receives less than his just share of wealth and opportunity. The organized struggle of the laboring classes, says John Graham Brooks, "assumes that the present competitive wage system does not bring justice to labor," and he adds that "our society is full of extremely influential persons who say point blank that labor's protest is in the main a righteous one and should prevail," ("The Social Unrest," p. 154.) In proof of the latter statement he quotes a large list of these "influential persons," beginning with Wagner, the composer, and ending with Leo XIII. Although the determination of the laborer's just share of economic and social goods is neither so simple nor so easy

as is frequently assumed, the general conviction just mentioned is undoubtedly correct. Reference is had, of course, to the laboring class as a whole, not to a small highly paid section; for it seems sufficiently clear that some groups of workmen receive at present a wage that meets all the requirements of justice, and consequently that any attempt on their part, whether by organization or otherwise, to exact more favorable conditions would be an act of injustice. Even in the case of these, however, the labor union will usually be necessary in order that effectual resistance may be offered to those forces that tend to reduce the position of labor below an equitable level.

In order to realize these aims the labor union is not only justified but indispensable. Unbiased and well informed men no longer accept the complacent and utterly gratuitous theory of Bastiat and his school concerning the beautiful compensations and harmonies of unlimited competition. Natural economic forces do not tend automatically and inevitably to a continuous betterment of the position of the laborer. It has been proved by abundant and bitter experience that the unchecked tendencies of the industrial world all point in the opposite direction. So conservative a writer as the late Francis A. Walker declared almost thirty years ago that there was no virtue, no tendency even, in strictly industrial forces to make good the loss caused by specific instances of unemployment, wage reductions or other labor misfortunes. (See "The Wages Question," ch. iv.) Fifteen years later we find him writing: "Nothing, economically speaking, can save industrial society from progressive degradation except the spirit and power of the working classes to resist being crowded down." ("Elementary Course in Political Economy," p. 266.) The fact is that, instead of being endowed with the fatalistic character that is still too frequently attributed to them, economic forces are for the most part created and controlled by the human beings that compose economic society; and if the laborer leaves their direction entirely in the hands of the consumer and the employer his economic position must grow steadily worse. The consumer generally cares only for cheap goods, and even with the best intentions cannot, merely as a consumer, do much to check this tendency. The majority of employers are neither sufficiently benevolent, sufficiently far-sighted nor, in a régime of sharp competition, sufficiently powerful to afford the laborer adequate protection. No entire class or industrial grade of laborers has ever secured or retained any important economic advantage except by its own aggressiveness and its own powers of resistance, brought to bear upon the employer through the medium of force (economic) or fear. It is not denied that individual employers have voluntarily bettered the

condition of their employés, or willingly refrained from making it worse; but these instances are exceptions and, considering the whole number of employers and the entire history of the wage system, rare exceptions. Now, it is obvious that the alertness, the aggressiveness, to seize and make the most of opportunities for advancement, the energy and power to resist being crowded down, can be made efficacious only when crystallized in organizations. This *a priori* expectation has been realized in experience. The labor union has secured large gains not only for the employés of single establishments, but for entire groups of workers, and it has probably been even more effectual in preventing losses. To quote the United States Industrial Commission: "An overwhelming preponderance of testimony before the Industrial Commission indicates that the organization of labor has resulted in a marked improvement in the economic condition of the workers. . . . And it is regarded by several witnesses as an influence of great importance in moderating the severity of depression and diminishing its length." ("Final Report of the Industrial Commission," pp. 802, 804.)

THE LABOR UNION'S METHODS.

I. THE STRIKE.—Both in its general effects upon the community and in the place that it occupies in the minds of workingmen, this is the most important of labor union methods. Even when it is carried on without violation of the rights of any one, it usually causes losses more or less grave to employer, employé and the general public. It has, moreover, a strong tendency to foment the passions of anger and hatred, and it puts before the workers temptations to physical force that cannot easily be resisted. In view of these facts, commonsense and respect for the moral law dictate that a strike should not be resorted to unless three conditions are verified, namely: that a peaceful solution of the difficulty has been found ineffective; that the grievance is great in proportion to the inconveniences that are liable to result, and that there is a reasonable hope that the strike will be successful. Of course, it is always understood that the strike is on behalf of some advantage to which the laborers have a right. Where any one of these conditions is wanting, the calling of a strike will be unjustifiable and immoral.

Two of the subordinate methods—subordinate because in nearly all cases incident to the strike—that are sometimes employed by union workmen (and others likewise) are violence and the sympathetic strike. Concerning the prevalence of the former practice, there is a great deal of exaggeration in the public press, and especially in the statements of some employers. For example, the executive committee of the recently formed "Citizens' Industrial Asso-

ciation" asserted a few months ago that within the last few years "the cases are innumerable in which workingmen have been disabled and murdered." If words are to be accepted in their ordinary sense this assertion is simply false. John Mitchell maintains that the amount of violence in strikes is infinitesimal when compared with that which attends the ordinary course of life. "After all, violence is a less common accompaniment of labor disputes than is often supposed." ("Final Report of Industrial Commission," p. 879.) Within recent years there has been a considerable improvement in this matter—an improvement both in the attitude of the leaders and in the conduct of the workers. Nevertheless, it seems to be even now true to say that the use of physical force in strikes is not of the nature of a rare exception. The conclusion seems reasonable that a large proportion of workingmen believe that they have a moral right to use this method both against the intractable employer and against the laborers who would take their places. They seem to claim a certain "right to their jobs." They quit these with the expectation of resuming them when their demands shall have been conceded, and they seem to hold that the employer and the so-called "scab" are in the position of men attempting to deprive them of their rights. They conclude, therefore, that they are justified in meeting this aggression with the weapons of might, just as they would resist an attack on their persons or property by robbers.

In this claim which we suppose the laborer to make there are two distinct issues which, though often found together, are separable both in logic and in the world of reality. The first is the laborer's right to his job, while the second is his right to just conditions of employment. The latter right can exist in the absence of the former, and both might be valid without conferring on the laborer the right to defend them by force. Moreover, it is clear that even though there be no such thing as a right to a job, both the employer who discharges his men without just cause and the workers who strike without a real grievance will be guilty of violating charity.

Does the laborer possess this so-called right to his job? The question, of course, concerns moral, not legal rights. The Abbé Naudet strongly maintains that such a right exists in the case of skilled laborers. These men have spent a considerable time in learning their present trade, and cannot readily become acquainted with another equally remunerative. The civil law should guarantee them a right to their avocation (*propriété de la profession*) similar to that which the officer enjoys with regard to his rank in the army. The skilled laborer performs, after a costly apprenticeship, a duty to society, and in return has a right to receive adequate protection in his position. ("*Propriété, Capital, et Travail*," pp. 383-390.) The

Abbé Naudet would vindicate this right of the skilled man as against the unskilled, even in the case of a job for which both are competing and which neither has previously held. Whatever may be said about this particular class, the reasons for asserting that *some* workmen have a right to remain in their present employment as long as they conduct themselves reasonably are much stronger than is commonly assumed. And they are based not merely on the principles of social or legal justice, but have to do with the justice that exists between men as individuals. Here is a laborer with a family and owning perhaps the home in which he lives. If he loses his present position, he must either accept a much less remunerative job or leave the city. Certainly it seems in accordance with not only the spirit, but the accepted principles of justice to say that if this man is discharged without reasonable cause the injury done him amounts to a violation of his rights. There is, indeed, no obligation issuing immediately either from the natural law or the wage contract binding the employer to keep this particular man on his pay roll, but such an obligation seems to flow mediately from the conjunction of law and contract. The laborer has a natural right to enjoy reasonable conditions of existence. This abstract right takes, on the occasion of the wage contract, the concrete form of a right to reasonable security of position, as well as a right to fair wages. If we compare the right thus claimed with the right of the first occupant to a given portion of land we shall see that it is not essentially different from or essentially inferior to the latter. The first arrival on a piece of land has, in common with other men, a natural right to live from the produce of the earth, and, as a corollary of this, a right to hold a portion of the earth as his private property. But he has no immediate natural right to the *particular section* of the earth that he has seized. There is nothing in the nature of this land nor in his own nature which would dictate that he should have it rather than his neighbor, who arrived a little later. How comes it, then, that, according to all Catholic moralists and the practically unanimous usage of all peoples, the land belongs to the first comer rather than to the second? Simply because this arrangement is reasonable. The indeterminate, general and abstract right which by nature every man has to private property must, if men are to live reasonably together, become determinate, particular and concrete in some reasonable way; and one of the reasonable ways is by assigning validity and sacredness to the contingent fact of first occupancy. On precisely the same principles the laborer that we are considering seems to have a right to his job. His indeterminate and abstract right to private property in the goods that are essential to right living is for the present converted into the determinate and

concrete right to fair wages from this particular employer, and it would seem that the latter right is not properly and reasonably safeguarded, does not, indeed, contain all that is involved in the right to a reasonable living, unless it includes the further right to continue to receive these wages as long as he honestly earns them and the employer is able to pay them. True, there is nothing in the nature of things to suggest or require that John Jones should continue to employ John Smith, but neither is there anything in the nature of things obliging John Brown to recognize the right of John White to a particular piece of land. What the natural law and natural justice obliges Brown to respect is White's right to some private property; and through the contingent fact of first occupancy this general right has been transformed into the particular right in question. Similarly, the right of John Smith to the private property that is necessary for reasonable life has been transformed into the right to a particular job. Both rights are finally determined and in a sense created by contingent facts, which derive their entire moral and juridical value from the circumstance that they afford a reasonable method of concreting and safeguarding individual rights.

Hasty and unqualified denials of the right to a job are usually based on the assumption that a contract cannot give rise to any obligation of justice that is not expressly set down in the contract itself. If this theory were true, the employer would be bound to pay a living wage only when he had agreed to do so. The fact is that special relations—mere propinquity of various kinds—create special obligations, not merely of charity, but of justice. Americans have duties of justice to one another that they do not owe to foreigners. Brown is obliged to recognize White's right to a definite portion of a newly discovered territory because the latter is already in possession, but he may take any other part of the land that he chooses, regardless of the wishes of Green, who has not yet arrived; Jones is obliged to protect Smith's right to a decent living by paying him a living wage, but he is not obliged to do likewise with respect to Johnson, who is not in his employ. In the use of his faculties and of the goods of the earth, every man is bound in justice to respect the rights of every other living soul, which means in the concrete relations of life, not that he is to concern himself about the rights of all mankind in precisely the same degree—to refrain, for example, from occupying a tract of land because somewhere on the globe there exists a fellow-man whose property rights are unrealized—but it means that he is to give special attention to the claims of those with whom he comes into immediate contact, and whose rights, consequently, are more directly affected and more likely to be violated by his conduct. Propinquity in a hundred ways creates, fixes

and limits men's concrete rights because only in this way can indeterminate and conflicting claims be reconciled. The reasonable conclusion from this long discussion seems to be that men who are performing their tasks efficiently and to whom discharge will bring very grave inconvenience have a right to their jobs that differs in degree only from the right to a living wage and the right to land because of first occupancy.

From this principle it follows that the employer has a corresponding right to the services of his employés as long as he treats them justly. They do him an injustice if they leave him without a reasonable cause. A sufficient reason would be, for example, the desire to remove to another locality, or to get better wages at some other kind of work. In large establishments, however, changes of this nature would usually be made by the men individually and at different times, and consequently would not cause the employer serious inconvenience. It very seldom happens that the entire group of men in a given business quit their employer in a body with a view to getting employment elsewhere. Almost always their intention is to get back the old jobs when they shall have secured some advantage. Assuming that they have no just grievance, the loss inflicted on the employer by this interruption of work will in itself constitute an act of injustice. The reason that the employer has, within the limits indicated, a right to the continued services of his men is precisely the same as that on which rests the right of employés, also within due limits, to their jobs, namely, the right to the requisites of reasonable living, as modified by the facts of relationship and environment. In view of these considerations it would seem that Carroll D. Wright was mistaken when a few months ago he declared with reference to a miner who had been wantonly discharged that employés have not only a legal but a moral right to quit work whenever they choose, and that the employer enjoys the corresponding right arbitrarily to dismiss.

The second assumption upon which strikers sometimes seem to base a right to use violence is the right to just conditions of employment. We have said that this right could exist even in the absence of the right to a job. But the question naturally arises, and is in fact often asked: How can this right, which is in a general way valid, have any bearing on the positions that the strikers have vacated? or affect in any way a man who is no longer their employer? They must try to secure their rights in a wage contract with some one else, since their former master has no further relations with nor obligations to them. The answer to this presentation of the matter is that it is too simple, too theoretical to represent the facts of actual life. Few, indeed, are the strikes in which there is

such a complete severance of the old wage relations. Even in the case of strikes that fail the great majority of the workers involved usually go back to their former places. New men are not taken in sufficient numbers to carry on the work alone, and not all of them are retained permanently. Some of them, indeed, never intended to remain beyond the strike period, nor does the employer desire them any longer. These are the "professional strike breakers," men of great animal courage and recklessness, whose character and antecedents make them unsuitable as permanent employés. Of course, these men are not engaged in every strike, nor do they ever form more than a small minority of those taking the places of the strikers. At any rate, the general fact is that both employer and strikers fully expect that the great majority of the latter will finally get back their old jobs; consequently the effort of the employer is in *the concrete* an attempt to compel the men to return to work on his terms. If these terms are unjust, the employer and those who coöperate with him by taking the places of the former employés are in very fact engaged in an attack on the rights of at least as many of the latter as will resume their old jobs.

In these cases, and a fortiori on the assumption that the men have a right to their places, are not the employer and the new workers acting the part of unjust aggressors, whom it is licit, within due limits, to resist by force? This is the question that many laborers seem to answer in the affirmative. The Abbé Pottier would turn the problem over to wiser minds, but declares that the use of force will certainly not be justifiable unless three conditions are verified, namely: that there be no less objectionable means by which the strikers can obtain justice; that this particular means be efficacious, and that the good to be derived from it be great and certain in proportion to the evils that will ensue. ("De Jure et Justitia," pp, 208, 209.) In America, at any rate, the last condition is never realized. The wrongs endured by labor are insignificant when compared with the disorders that would follow any recognition of the claim that violence is lawful in justifiable strikes. That the State does not, or cannot, protect the laborer's natural right to a living wage, just as it protects his right to security of life, limb and property, is to be regretted, but the private use of force to defend the former would bring about a condition of veritable anarchy. It would be equivalent to a rebellion against existing political institutions, and consequently could be justified only in the conditions that justify rebellion. Now, conditions of this force and magnitude are most certainly not created by either the exactions of capital or the sufferings of labor. Evils of equal importance are tolerated by the law in every civilized society, yet no one maintains that they ought to be

abolished by private violence. The use of it to redress the grievances of labor cannot be too severely condemned.

The sympathetic strike is of two kinds—against another employer than the one concerned in the original dispute, or against the latter by a section of his employés having no personal grievance. An example of the first occurs when brickmakers quit work because their employer persists in furnishing material to a building contractor whose men are on strike. Their sole purpose is to embarrass the contractor and compel him to concede the demands of his own employés. It is, of course, clear that the brickmakers have committed an act of injustice if they have violated a contract requiring them to remain at work for a definite period. Even in the absence of any contract, their action will be, generally speaking, contrary to the law of charity and likewise contrary to justice. It is in violation of charity because it shows a want of Christian consideration for the welfare of the innocent employer, and it sins against justice because it inflicts upon him a grave loss without sufficient reason. As stated above, employer and employé are too intimately dependent upon each other in the realization of their natural rights to make *arbitrary* severance of their relations consistent with justice. Employés have no right to cause their employer to suffer on behalf of men who are mistreated by some one else. No doubt there are extreme cases in which the outside employer is bound in charity to assist strikers by refraining from doing business with the man against whom they have struck, but these are rare. On the other hand, when the sympathetic strike affects only the employer concerned in the original strike, it will sometimes be not merely licit, but laudable. For example, if the "common laborers" in a business have quit work on account of oppressive conditions, the skilled workers might do a good action by striking on behalf of their fellow employés. The obligations owed by the skilled men to their employer would yield before the claims of the laborers whom he is treating unjustly. Their position is analogous to that of one nation extending aid to another in resisting the unjust aggressions of a third. The case of France assisting the American colonists to throw off the yoke of England furnishes a good example. The obligation of remaining at peace with the oppressive nation does not extend so far as to render illicit all sympathetic action. Similarly, a disinterested spectator may come to the relief of a weak man who is suffering at the hands of a strong one. The case for the sympathetic strike becomes clearer when we remember that a single labor union frequently includes men performing very dissimilar tasks. They agree to act as a unit in defending not only the rights and interests of the whole body, but those of every section of it.

Hence a strike of all the employés of a given employer may be called to redress the grievances of a small proportion. If the cause is a just one, this action will usually be lawful and frequently commendable; for it is becoming more and more evident that only by this means can the weaker laborers, the great army of the unskilled, obtain adequate protection.

2. **THE BOYCOTT.**—Although the boycott is usually begun on the occasion of a strike, it is frequently continued long after the strike has failed. It seems, therefore, worthy of a place among the labor union's primary methods. In essence it consists of a refusal to have business or social intercourse with a certain person or persons. If the cause on behalf of which it is instituted is just, it will, within due limits, likewise be just, provided that it is used solely against those who are acting unjustly. Cardinal Gibbons recommended a boycott not long ago when, in a sermon in the Cathedral in Baltimore, he asked the people of that city not to patronize clothing manufacturers who had their goods made in "sweat shops." This would be a boycott entirely unconnected with a strike, and it would be justifiable in view of the intolerable conditions that he wished to remove. But the boycott must always be kept within the limits of fairness and charity. It must be free from all violence and threats of violence, and it must not be carried so far as to deny to the boycotted what the theologians call the "*communia signa charitatis*." By this phrase are meant those social acts that are dictated by the most fundamental of human relations—those manifestations and tokens of common humanity which man owes to his fellows, even to his deadliest enemy, from the simple fact that they *are* his fellows. Hence the boycott is carried to immoral lengths when it comprises a refusal to give or to sell the necessities of life, or any other action of equivalent harshness. With these reservations, and in the hypothesis of a just cause, the boycott may become licit both against the unjust employer and against the workingmen who will not strike or who take the strikers' places. Lehmkuhl says that laborers who are contending for a living wage may use *moral* force against workers that refuse to coöperate with them, to the extent of denying to the latter all except the fundamental forms of intercourse above described. ("*Theologia Moralis*," Vol. I., No. 1119.) Mueller lays down the same principle. ("*Theologia Moralis*," Vol. II., p. 594, 8th edition.)

This is the "primary" boycott. There is another form, called by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission the "secondary" boycott, and by the United States Industrial Commission the "compound" boycott, which consists in a refusal of intercourse with innocent third persons who are unwilling to join in the primary boycott. This

form has been condemned by both of the bodies just mentioned, and rightly, for in all except extreme cases it constitutes an offense against Christian charity. To be sure, men may licitly persuade or try to persuade outsiders to assist them in a just boycott, but they go to an immoral excess when they unite to inflict inconvenience—often grave inconvenience—on those who refuse to be persuaded. This is the general rule; it is not denied that there may occur instances in which the obligation of disinterested persons to join in a laudable boycott would become so grave and direct as to render them justly liable to the penalty of being themselves boycotted when they fail to discharge this obligation. The sweat shops, for example, against which Cardinal Gibbons spoke, might possibly become so degrading that the buyers of clothing would do right to withhold their patronage not only from the guilty manufacturers, but even from merchants who persisted in handling the sweat shop goods. Cases of such gravity could, of course, occur but seldom. Moreover, when the utmost that the moral law will allow has been said in defense of the boycott, one all-important consideration remains, namely, that it is, like the strike, a dangerous and extreme method, should be employed only as a last resource and then only with the greatest caution.

3. THE "CLOSED SHOP."—This phrase refers to the unionist policy of refusing to work with non-unionists. The "shop," that is to say, any establishment in which the union has got a foothold, is to be "closed" to all except the union's members, not "open" to all comers. The union wishes to organize all the workers in a trade, so that it will be in a better position to bargain with the employer. If this motive is not justifiable, the unionists, it is evident, sin against charity by attempting such compulsion toward their fellow laborers. They offend against the rule which requires men to do unto each other as they would be done by—to treat one another as brothers. The unionist maintains that the ends that he seeks to attain are amply sufficient to justify the policy of the "closed shop." Workingmen who refuse to join the union and yet work side by side with its members share the advantages that the union makes possible. They desire to reap where they have not sown. They, furthermore, frequently render impossible collective bargains between the union on one side and the employer on the other, because they are not amenable to union discipline. It is not fair that the union should be held responsible for the fidelity of men over whom it can have no effective control. Finally, the "open shop" is impossible, since it tends inevitably to become either all union or all non-union. There is constant bickering and ill feeling between the two classes, and, worst of all, the non-unionist too

frequently allows the employer to use him as a lever to lower the conditions of the whole establishment or group. In a word, the demand that all shall join the union is made in the interests of self-protection. Now, any one of these three reasons is sufficient to absolve the union from the charge of uncharitableness in its policy of the "closed shop." To what extent they are realized in the industrial world need not now be discussed; but it seems quite probable that one or more of them finds quite general application. We may say in a general way that the cause of unionism, which is the cause of labor, renders more or less necessary the organization of all workers. Still less does the method in question seem to be contrary to justice. Neither employer nor non-unionist can show that any right of his is violated by the mere fact that the unionist refuses to work with the latter. Where the union is very strong, it is quite possible that this action will deprive the non-unionist of all opportunity of working, and consequently of earning a living. If, indeed, the refusal of the unionist were absolute—if he were to say to the non-unionist: "In no circumstances will I work with you," he would undoubtedly sin against justice. He would violate the non-unionist's right to live from the bounty of the earth, just as truly and as effectually as the owner of an island who should drive a shipwrecked voyager into the sea. As a matter of fact, the unionist does nothing of this kind; his refusal is conditional; he says in effect that if the non-unionist will not join the organization he shall not work, but this condition is frequently, perhaps in all but a small number of cases, reasonable. Therefore, even though the "closed shop" policy should deprive the non-unionist of all opportunity to work, the blame, so far as justice is concerned, should be placed on his own perverse will.

These are the general conclusions. They are evidently subject to some qualifications. For there are laborers whose unwillingness to join the union is due to weighty reasons of personal inconvenience, and not merely to a selfish desire to escape the burdens of unionism or to compete unfairly with the unionist. Again, it seems probable that many of the unions, as at present constituted and led, cannot be trusted to administer moderately and equitably the immense power that comes from complete unionization. This, however, is a question more of expediency than of rights. Undoubtedly the employer has the right to oppose the "closed shop" so long as his action does not tend to force unjust conditions upon the laborer. Within the same limits the non-unionist has the right to keep himself aloof from the organization. The rights of all three, the employer, the non-unionist and the unionist, in this matter are not absolute, like the right to live, but are conditioned, first, by the con-

sent of the other party whom it is desired to bring into the contract, and, second, by the effects that the intended action will have on the rights of others. These several rights have of late been the subject of much loose thinking and looser speaking. The legal and the moral rights of the non-unionist have been hopelessly confused. But, as John Mitchell pointed out in his clear and able address before the Civic Federation Conference in Chicago, the question is not legal but ethical; for there is no law on our statute books which forbids unionists to refuse to work with non-unionists, or to attempt by peaceable means to unionize any shop or trade. "The rights guaranteed to the non-unionist by the Constitution," which are so indignantly and patriotically proclaimed, have absolutely nothing to do with this question. Some of the attempts to set forth the moral rights involved are equally absurd. Very decidedly, the non-unionist has *not* the right to work when, where, how and for whom he pleases, and even if he had, it would not give him the right to compel the unionist to work beside him. A man has no more right to work when, where, how and for whom he pleases than he has to fire off his pistol when, where, how and at whom he pleases. No man has "a right to do what he pleases with his own"—neither with his life, nor his faculties, nor his property, nor his labor, nor anything that is his. The non-unionist has no right to work for John Jones if the latter does not wish to hire him, nor, in general, to work in any circumstances involving the consent of others without having first obtained such consent. If one were to take seriously some of the hysterical denunciations of the "closed shop," one might be tempted to infer that this policy was entirely new to the world and in defiance of all the lessons and precedents of history. The truth is that it was enforced for centuries by the trade and craft guilds throughout Western Europe. Speaking of the charters obtained by the English craft guilds from Henry II., Ashley says: "The only definite provision was that no one within the town (sometimes within the district) should follow the craft unless he belonged to the guild. The right to force all other craftsmen to join the organization—*Zunft-zwang*, as the German writers call it—carried with it the right to impose conditions, to exercise some sort of supervision over those who joined." ("English Economic History," Vol. I., p. 82.) Imagine a modern labor union, say the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Workers, clothed with this legal privilege! The non-unionist would be prevented not merely by the refusal of the unionist to work with him, but by the law of the land, from securing employment on any street railway in the country unless he became a member of the union. Yet this was the arrangement that arose and flourished under the guidance

and encouragement of the Catholic Church. And it was right. In those days men believed in the reign of law, in the doctrine of live and let live, in security of occupation for the honest worker, in preventing the selfish and irresponsible worker from injuring his fellows; and they knew nothing of that insane individualism that ends logically in the crushing out of the weak and the aggrandizement of the strong.

4. THE LIMITATION OF OUTPUT.—The unions are not infrequently accused of fixing an arbitrary limit to the amount of work per day that their members shall do or allow to be done in a given establishment. While this practice is not formally recognized or defended, there is a great deal of evidence tending to show that it is more general than labor leaders seem willing to acknowledge. Be this as it may, the morality of limiting a man's output depends entirely on the point at which the limit is placed. Indiscriminate condemnation of this method is just as unreasonable as indiscriminate condemnation of the strike, the boycott or the "closed shop." The unionist is charged with preventing the more efficient workmen from producing a greater amount than those of medium ability and with refusing to allow machinery to be operated at its highest capacity. His reply is that the exceptional man is welcome to turn out all the work that he pleases, and to get all the wages that he can, provided that his output is not made the standard for the majority. He complains that in a given trade, say bricklaying, the man of exceptional skill and quickness is often set as a pacemaker. To equal what is for him an ordinary rate of speed, the efforts of all the others will have to be extraordinary. This is manifestly unfair. Workmen of average capacity—that is, the overwhelming majority—toiling day after day, should not be required to perform more than an average, normal day's work. They ought not to be expected to work continuously at the highest pitch of exertion of which they are capable; for this is to violate the laws and standards of nature. Man's fullest and most intense exertions were intended as a reserve for special emergencies, and the attempt to put them forth continuously means disease and premature decay. It is consequently inhuman and immoral. By all means let the exceptional man produce more and receive more than the others, but let him not be constituted the standard to which they are compelled to conform.

The unionist will sometimes admit that he hinders the most productive use of machinery, but his defense is that machines are frequently run at a speed that demands unreasonable activity and an unhealthful intensity of effort. This claim is true to a greater extent than most persons suspect. "Perhaps the most significant

feature of modern industry is the increasing intensity of exertion, owing to the introduction of machinery and the minute division of labor. . . . The result is that the trade life of the workingman has been reduced in many industries." ("Final Report of United States Industrial Commission," p. 733.) "I have seen in a New England factory," says John Graham Brooks, "a machine working with such rapidity as to excite wonder that any one could be induced to follow it nine hours a day. Upon inquiry the foreman told me how it had been managed. 'This invention,' he said, 'is hardly six months old; we saw that it would do so much more work that we had to be very careful in introducing it. We picked the man you see on it because he is one of our fastest. We found out what it could do before we put it into the room. Now they will all see what it will turn out when it is properly run.' 'Properly run' meant to him run at its very highest speed. This was the standard pressure to which all who worked it must submit." ("The Social Unrest," p. 191.) In the chapter from which this extract is taken there is a mass of evidence sufficient to warrant the conclusion that running machinery at such a high speed as to demand from the tender the fullest exertion and intensity of which he is capable is the settled policy of a very large section of the owners of machinery. As Dr. Cunningham puts it: "There is a temptation to treat the machine as the main element in production and to make it the measure of what man ought to do instead of regarding the man as the first consideration and the machine as the instrument which helps him." ("The Use and Abuse of Money," p. 111.) The result is that the machine tenders are worn out, useless, unable to retain their places at fifty and not unfrequently at forty-five. If the trade union or any other lawful social force can "restrict output" sufficiently to prevent this process of slow murder it will vindicate the moral law and confer a benefit upon society that will be felt not merely to-day, but for all future ages. The purpose of machinery is to improve life, not to destroy it, and the unionist is right in so far as he insists that it shall not be perverted from its proper function. In one word, restriction of output is right when it strives to protect the worker against being compelled to perform more than a normal day's work; when it goes beyond this point it is unjustifiable and dishonest.

5. THE LIMITATION OF APPRENTICES.—Employers of skilled labor often complain that the unions will not allow them to train as many apprentices as the trade requires. The unionist replies: "They ask us to put in more apprentices when there is no shortage of workmen; when we can furnish first-rate men who are now out of work. That would mean that we were to help train new men to compete with our own members out of work." ("The Social Un-

rest," p. 5.) The issue here drawn seems to be one of fact: do or do not the unions allow a sufficient number of apprentices to be trained to meet the demand? If we look a little deeper, however, we shall find that we are confronted by two incomplete and therefore inaccurate statements of the same fact. The employer's real burden of complaint in most cases is that he cannot get enough apprentices to supply the demand that would exist if wages were lower, and wages would be lower if he could increase the supply. This contingency the unionist recognizes, fears and tries to prevent by shutting out some of those who wish to enter the trade. He is probably quite willing to admit them in numbers sufficient to meet the demand at current wages, or at the higher wage to which he thinks he is entitled. The fundamental difference, then, between him and the employer in this matter seems to be one of wages. What, then, is to be said concerning the morality of the practice? Conformably to his theory that the skilled laborer has a right to the trade that he has learned, the Abbé Naudet maintains that the limitation of apprentices should be enforced by law. (*"Propriété, Capital, et Travail,"* pp. 388, 389.) So far as the relations between himself and his employer are concerned, it would seem that the unionist is guilty of no injustice or uncharity in keeping down the number of apprentices, provided they are still sufficient to supply the needs of the trade at fair wages. In other words, the limitation should not go so far as to create a scarcity that would cause wages to become extortionate.

There is, however, another aspect of the question besides the relations between employer and employé. The more difficult is the entrance to the higher trades the greater are the disadvantages endured by the great mass having no special skill—"the common laborers." "One result of the organization of the skilled trades," says Mr. J. A. Hobson, "has been to render it more difficult for outsiders to equip themselves for effective competition in a skilled trade. To some extent, at any rate, the skilled unions have limited the labor market in their trade. The inevitable result of this has been to maintain a continual glut in the low-skilled labor market." (*"The Problem of the Unemployed,"* p. 20.) This glut would be relieved to some extent if the entrance to the skilled trades were unrestricted. For those remaining in the ranks of the unskilled would not be obliged to compete quite so sharply with one another. And those who were allowed to move up would receive a considerable benefit. In the skilled occupations the tendency would, of course, be downward, but they are for the most part fairly well organized and pretty well able to take care of themselves. Even after the influx of members consequent on the removal of restric-

tions they would be in a much better position than the great body below them. It is the almost complete helplessness of the latter that makes the "labor question" so threatening and so difficult of solution. The skilled workers, as a rule, receive tolerable justice, and do not constitute a serious problem. In view of these facts there seems to be an obligation of charity forbidding the skilled workers to render the elevation of their less fortunate fellows as difficult as they sometimes do by the limitation of apprentices.

6. TYRANNY AND DISHONESTY.—These features of the labor movement cannot in the strict sense of the word be called methods, but they have attracted sufficient attention and criticism to deserve notice in any treatment of the morality of union practices and tendencies. A peculiarity of recent discussion of the labor union is the amount of denunciation visited upon the walking delegate. He is regarded by many as the chief cause of labor disturbances, while as a matter of fact he is merely the representative, the business agent, as he is called technically, of the union, appointed to execute its will, not clothed with the powers of an autocrat. Only in rare instances has he the power of his own motion to declare a strike or inaugurate any other movement of similar importance. Generally speaking, all his larger acts, tyrannical or otherwise, are the acts of the men whom he represents. He could not long retain his position were he to conduct himself with the lordly independence and indifference that is sometimes attributed to him. "For trade unions at large in the United States the walking delegate represents the opinion and will of his union more closely than most Congressmen represent the opinion and will of their constituents." ("The Social Unrest," p. 151.) And he is absolutely necessary if the union is to attain its object of enabling a group of individuals to act as a unit in dealing with their employer. To eliminate him would be to eliminate the union. This, however, does not mean that some of the petty tyrannies practiced both by him and the privates in the ranks could not consistently with the welfare of the union be abolished. In the manner in which strikes are sometimes called and conducted; in the reckless, inconsiderate, even cruel use of the boycott; in the oppressive enforcement of the "closed shop" policy, hardships are inflicted on the employer, the laborer and the general public which cannot be adequately described except as mean advantages taken of temporary helplessness. Especially is this true of the innocent third party, the customer or consumer, who is dependent both upon the union and the employer. Want of space forbids giving instances of such petty annoyances and injuries, but any one who has come into actual and interested contact with the disputes between labor and capital knows that they are not isolated

exceptions. It is a question not of any one definite method, but of a reprehensible habit of mind and will which finds numerous and various outlets for practical expression. The unionists make the mistake of enforcing a too rigid interpretation of their rights in circumstances where their opponents or their innocent dependents are peculiarly unable to help themselves. They—or some of them—should try to realize that even in war certain weapons and practices are tabooed by all civilized peoples; that the use of oppressive tactics by the employer does not justify them in retaliating in kind; that, in the words of the poet:

It is excellent
To have a giant's strength; but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant.

The charge of dishonesty is directed almost entirely against the leaders. Those who make this accusation oftenest could not, in all probability, name half a dozen among all the union leaders in the United States. It is safe to say that many of them have in mind only one man, the notorious Sam Parks. The fact seems to be that the proportion of labor leaders who are dishonest is smaller than the proportion of dishonest politicians or dishonest public officials. Parks was, indeed, both unfaithful to his fellow unionists and extortionate in his dealings with employers. He misused the funds of the union, called strikes with a view to being paid for declaring them off, and in return for bribes allowed employers to hire non-unionists instead of unionists. Yet even he represented the will of the union, inasmuch as the majority of its members were not sufficiently vigilant and aggressive to depose him. "How was it possible for such a man to control absolutely his thousands of iron workers?" asked Ray Stannard Baker of a labor leader, and got this reply: "If you will explain how Croker bossed the Democratic party of New York—a party full of honest men—when every one knew he was grafting; how he collected money from the wealthy owners of the street railway companies and gas companies, and from other prominent business men, I will explain how Parks gets his hold on the building trades." (*McClure's Magazine*, November, 1903.) There is no reason in the nature of things why a labor leader should be proof against the temptation to misuse his power for private gain any more than there is reason to expect that a public official will always be scrupulously honest and faithful. Especially if, as Mr. Baker has shown to be true in the case of Parks, there are employers who prefer a dishonest labor leader. Mr. Baker maintains that some employers, particularly in the building trades, do not want honest walking delegates any more than they want honest building inspectors. They bribe the latter in order to escape com-

pliance with the civil law, and the former in order to circumvent their agreements with the union or to secure an unfair advantage over a rival employer. They have induced labor leaders to supplant with cheaper workers the men whom the leaders were sworn to serve, and to foment strikes against competitors. Mr. Baker makes the latter charge against the Fuller Construction Company, "the trust of the New York building trades," whose buildings somehow went up without interruption during the big lockout last summer. Walking delegates of the type of Parks and Murphy deserve all the denunciation that they have received, but it must be remembered that not all their offenses were acts of brutal extortion. They made other dishonest contracts with employers—contracts which required a willing bribe-giver as well as a bribe-taker. If the case of these men stood on a bad eminence of complete isolation, it could be dismissed as unworthy of much attention, but unfortunately it seems to be merely one in a system that will not easily or quickly disappear. It is not reasonable to expect that men who will bribe a public official should hesitate about bribing the agent of a labor union. And, as already noted, we ought not to expect a higher grade of honesty from the representatives of labor than from the representatives of the general public. In the words of District Attorney Jerome: "This corruption in the labor unions is merely a reflection of what we find in public life—and this corruption in public life is merely a reflection of the sordidness of private life."

7. EXCESSIVE DEMANDS.—A large number of the friends of labor are tempted to oppose the whole labor movement because of what seem to them unreasonable demands for higher wages and shorter hours. They complain that the unions very frequently show a disposition to take all that they can get, regardless of considerations of justice, and an utter indifference to the welfare of the consumer. Now, it is beyond reasonable doubt that unfair conditions have been demanded and obtained by some unionists. For just as there is a wage that is too low to be equitable, so is there one that is too high. Laborers have no more right to force wages indefinitely up than employers have a right to force them indefinitely down. Very few laborers seem to realize that a limit to the material advancement of the great majority of them has been fixed, not only by justice, but by the country's resources. In the present state of the arts of production and of the productiveness of nature, it is absolutely impossible that all Americans, or even a bare majority, should be provided with annual trips to Europe, automobiles or palatial dwellings; or even with long vacations, a horse and carriage and a piano. After the primary wants of all had been supplied—which is very far from being true at present—there would not be enough of these

secondary goods to go round. In the most equitable scheme of distribution practicable they would have to be reserved for a minority comprising two classes: those who could make the best use of such superfluities, and those whose social services are so important that they can demand and receive from society an exceptional remuneration. This is not to imply that all who at present enjoy these things fall into either of these classes. We are not now concerned with the inequalities of the existing distribution, but with the indestructible and undeniable fact that the physical impossibility of an indefinite improvement in the condition of the mass of laborers renders the claim to such advancement ethically invalid. Consequently they ought not to indulge in vain expectations nor talk glibly about rights that have no foundation in reality. In spite of these general truths the difficulty of determining the upper limit of fair wages for any concrete group of laborers is so great as to compel a prudent moralist to pause before attempting to estimate it in dollars and cents. All fair-minded men admit that the laborer has a right to a wage sufficient to maintain himself and family in the conditions of a comfortable, reasonable and moral life, and that this minimum varies for different classes, in accordance with the nature of their work and the standard of life to which they have been accustomed. But this is merely an irreducible moral minimum; it is not necessarily the full measure of complete justice. To deny this is to assume that of all the classes of the population, laborers only have not the right to use their power of entering into advantageous contracts—in their case, wage contracts—for the purpose of obtaining a higher standard of living. This position would scarcely be maintained by any moralist of authority. Consequently those persons who assert that the unions have demanded more than is just would probably find it difficult to prove this assertion in more than an insignificant minority of instances. And this minority is undoubtedly smaller in proportion than the number of employers who receive excessive interest or excessive profits.

There seems to be a large amount of truth in the charge that the unions are frequently indifferent to the welfare of the consumer. A particularly flagrant type is described by Ray Stannard Baker in *McClure's Magazine* for September, 1903. Certain employers' and employés' associations in Chicago have entered into an agreement which prevents the laborers concerned from working for any one who is not a member of the employers' association. On the other hand, the employers bind themselves not to hire any one not belonging to the association of laborers. The result is a monopoly more thorough than any combination of laborers alone or of employers alone. And they seem to have used their power to exact both

unfair wages and unfair profits, the excess being charged to the consumer. Similar combinations, though not so oppressive nor so strong, exist elsewhere. And yet any one who is acquainted with the industrial history of the last century is bound to acknowledge that the consumer is only receiving a modicum of poetic justice. During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century the whole organization of industry was directed to the supreme end of producing cheap goods. The human beings who produced the goods were almost entirely ignored by that portion of the community that is somewhat vaguely described as "the general public." "Cotton is already two pence a yard or lower, and yet bare backs were never more numerous among us. Let men cease to spend their existence incessantly contriving how cotton can be made cheaper, and try to invent, a little, how cotton at its present cheapness could be somewhat justlier divided among us." Thus Carlyle, in that passage in "Past and Present" which contains his merciless castigation of the Gospel of Mammonism and Competition, as it was preached and practiced in the England of his day. Indeed, the gospel of cheap goods is still somewhat widely practiced, for example, in the sweat shops of our great cities and in the cotton mills of the Southern States. At any rate, the consumer stands in no immediate or grave danger. Long before his exploitation by the labor unions—either singly or in combination with employers—becomes general, the State will undoubtedly resume a function that it should never have abdicated, namely, that of limiting the power of either labor or capital to exact extortionate prices. In this respect they managed things better in the Middle Ages. To quote Ashley: "Then, again, it is the merit of the guild system that it did for a time, and in a large measure, succeed in reconciling the interests of consumers and producers. The tendency of modern competition is to sacrifice the producers; to assume that so long as articles are produced cheaply, it hardly matters what the remuneration of the workmen may be; but the guild legislation kept steadily before itself the ideal of combining good quality and a price that was fair to the consumer, with a fitting remuneration to the workman." ("English Economic History," Vol. II., pp. 168, 169.)

THE REASONABLE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE LABOR UNION.

The unfavorable criticisms of the labor union which have been so frequent of late come mostly from employers who hold a partisan theory of the wage contract, or from public speakers and writers who cling to a false theory of individual freedom. Representatives of the former class are very numerous in the Citizens' Industrial Association. Some of these seem to let pass no opportunity for

denouncing the infringement of their rights committed by the unions that insist on the "closed shop," the limitation of apprentices and similar practices; and they seem to believe in their assertions. A good example of this habit of mind is seen in a speech made by the toast master of the last banquet held by the Building Contractors' Association in Chicago: "It is ridiculous to think that you should be obliged to waste your time discussing your rights with walking delegates, business agents and labor leaders. You have your rights, and no man should be able to step in and dictate to you and tell you where your rights begin and end." Employers of this type are very fond of the word "dictate" in condemning the attempt of the unionist to lay down conditions without which he will not enter the wage contract; whereas, the simple truth—self-evident to all except the prejudiced—is that in a two-sided contract, such as that between employer and employé, every condition, concomitant and consequence that affects both parties should in all reason and justice be determined by both parties. The non-unionist who says to his employer: "Unless you give me a rise in wages I will not work for you any longer" is just as truly and as effectively "dictating" as the unionist who says: "I will not continue in your employ if you hire men that do not belong to the union." The same remark applies to about every other condition that the union regularly insists upon; and the employer has no more right or reason to assume that his employés should have no voice in the determination of these conditions than that they should have no voice in fixing the rate of wages. He would be incensed—and rightly—if they should refuse to hear any objection that he might have to the "closed shop," and should take the position that any attempt to induce them to concede this point, or even to discuss the question, constituted an attack on their "sacred right to work under whatever conditions they pleased." Yet this contention of the laborers would be no more tyrannical, unjust or unreasonable than the employer's assumption that any attempt to secure or to discuss the "closed shop" is an invasion of his right to "manage his business as he pleases."

One potent cause of this unreasonable position is the fact that many of the conditions of employment which the unionist now insists on helping to determine have until recently been under the exclusive control of the employers. Very naturally many of the latter do not take kindly to the relinquishment of powers which they had come to regard as rights. In the beginning they opposed the union as such because its officials "interfered" between them and their own employés; now they object to the unions "going beyond their proper sphere." Mr. John Graham Brooks says that employers spoke

very friendly words before the Industrial Commission concerning the right of labor to organize and the usefulness of the unions, "when they kept to their proper business, . . . but the labor organization which most employers approve is a docile, mutual benefit association. It is a trade union that makes no trouble for them. The actual trade union which exists to maintain what it believes to be its group rights, to make its bargains collectively and to struggle for every advantage it can get, few employers would tolerate an instant if they could avoid it." ("The Social Unrest," p. 37.) The explanation of this attitude is, of course, to be found partly in the desire for gain, but it is to a large extent due to the desire for power, "the passion for masterhood," which in days gone by kept the serf in subjection to the lord and the slave in subjection to the master, and which still shuts out the Negro from all but menial occupations. Consciously or unconsciously, too, many employers continue to regard the laborer as the lord looked upon the serf—a being of a lower order who was not qualified and should not presume to have a great deal to say in shaping the relations between himself and his master. The instinct of superiority which in one or other of its myriad forms is as old as the race and as long lived is hurt when the superior is placed on an equal footing of contractual power with those who have long been regarded as inferiors.

Disinterested public speakers and writers who find fault with the principle of unionism or with its legitimate methods are largely influenced by a false conception of the liberty and rights of the individual. This conception, this theory, was supreme in France and throughout the English-speaking world at the beginning of the modern industrial régime one hundred years ago, and is still sufficiently strong to work immense harm in every relation of social life. "The principle which was in the mind of every eager politician Adam Smith and the Physiocrats applied to industry and trade. . . . Adam Smith believed in the natural economic equality of men. That being so, it only needed legal equality of rights and all would be well. Liberty was to him the gospel of salvation; he could not imagine that it might become the means of destruction—that legal liberty where there was no real economic independence might turn to the disadvantage of the workmen." (Toynbee, "The Industrial Revolution," pp. 13, 17.) Precisely this happened. The doctrine of unlimited competition, of no interference with the industrial activity of the individual, either by the State or by private associations of men, which was adopted as the supreme principle of the economic order that was ushered in by the great mechanical inventions at the end of the eighteenth century, soon led to the awful wage-slavery that for almost fifty years disgraced England. Not

only women, but children from six years up were kept at work for sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, and the factories were operated by night as well as by day. "In stench, in heated rooms, amid the constant whirling of a thousand wheels, little fingers and little feet were kept in constant action, forced into unnatural activity by blows from the heavy hands and feet of the merciless overlooker and the infliction of bodily pain by instruments of punishment invented by the sharpened ingenuity of insatiable selfishness." (Alfred, "History of the Factory System," Vol. I., pp. 21, 22.) This was only the logical result of the doctrine of unlimited individual freedom, the freedom of the citizen to sell his labor, and that of his wife and children, in whatever conditions and on whatever terms he saw fit, without let or hindrance from "paternalistic" legislation or from the "interference" of labor organizations. Trade unions were under the ban of the law, for they restrained freedom of contract. When philanthropic men tried to secure the passage of factory laws limiting the working hours of women and children and fixing an age below which the latter could not be employed, they had to meet the same arguments for individual rights and liberty that are used to-day against the efforts of unionists to restrict the self-destructive and class-destructive activity of the selfish, the weak and the ignorant individual laborer. Not all the crimes that have been committed in the name of liberty are political.

What, after all, is liberty? Negatively, it is absence of restraint; positively, and more adequately, it is presence of opportunity. We speak here only of the liberty that is called physical. Now, physical restraints are not all imposed by the strong arm of the civil law or by the muscular force of one's fellows. There is, besides, the restraint exercised by hunger, and cold, and the various other forms of helplessness due to the forces known as *economic*. Political and legal liberty are not the whole of social liberty, for a man may be free from subjection to a political despot and be legally empowered to enter every contract that is within the limits of reason, and yet be hindered by economic conditions—restraints—from making a contract that will safeguard his welfare and his rights. Since the only rational end of liberty is the good of the individual, such a person is not completely free; he is without that opportunity which is the positive and vital side of all true freedom. The man, for example, who must work to-day or go to bed—if he can find a bed—hungry is not free in the same sense as the employer who, if he fail to come to terms with this particular laborer, can afford to wait until next week. There can be no genuine freedom of contract between men whose economic position is so unequal that the alternative is for one grave physical suffering, and for the other a monetary

loss or an unsecured gain. Whenever this condition is realized, the liberty of contract possessed by the isolated laborer becomes the liberty to injure himself and his fellows by helping to establish an iniquitous rate of wages. Such an extreme of liberty is, despite the eloquent sophistry of the defenders of individualism, not worth preserving. It is a curse both to the individual who makes use of it and to society. Neither the liberty nor the right to do unreasonable things is a desirable possession. And when the labor union, by means of the collective bargain, the "closed shop" or any other legitimate method, makes this suicidal and anti-social exercise of freedom impossible, it deserves the approval of every intelligent lover of liberty, since it makes possible the only real freedom, which is opportunity.

Catholics especially should not allow themselves to be misled into opposition to the labor union by this specious plea of freedom for the individual "to work when, where and under what conditions he likes." This unreasonable extreme of liberty is no part of either Catholic theory or practice. According to Catholic doctrine, liberty is merely a means to right and reasonable self-development, and the liberty that does not tend toward this goal is baneful and false. In the Middle Ages—especially toward the close of that period—when Catholic principles dominated the political and industrial institutions of the greater part of Europe, the two opposite evils of tyrannical absolutism and anarchical individualism were equally unknown. "The doctrine of the unconditioned duty of obedience was wholly foreign to the Middle Age," says Gierke in his "Political Theories of the Middle Age;" and Mr. W. S. Lilly justly observes: "The monarch was everywhere bound by pacts, solemnly recognized and sworn to, as a condition of his unction and coronation, and was hemmed in on all sides by free institutions, by the Universal Church, 'the Christian Republic' as it was called, by universities, corporations, brotherhoods, monastic orders; by franchises and privileges of all kinds, which in a greater or less degree existed all over Europe." ("A Century of Revolution," p. 8.) On the other hand, the fiction of the physical and mental and economic equality of all the members of the commonwealth and their complete individual independence was nowhere assumed or aimed at. The very obvious fact that all the citizens have not the same interests, but are divided into classes, chiefly on economic lines, was frankly recognized; hence the individual was primarily regarded, not as one of a multitude of equally powerful atoms, but as a member of a certain class. Accordingly the different classes received from the civil authority recognition and privileges—as in the case already cited of the craft guilds—which were more or less adapted to safeguard their

peculiar welfare. The result was a truer and fuller, because more positive, liberty for the individual.

Here in America legislation does not formally recognize the existence of classes or class interests. It ignores the fact that for the great majority of individuals their class interests are their primary interests; that where they have one interest in common with all the other citizens of the country they have ten that are vital only to their particular class. The Constitution seems to assume that laws can be framed which will be equally favorable to all individuals, while, as a matter of fact, the balance of effect of almost every legal enactment of an economic nature is to benefit one class at the expense of another. As a consequence of this solicitude for an abstract individual citizen that never existed and never will exist, so long as men are born with unequal powers and perform different social functions, just and beneficial legislation is constantly prevented, or when enacted is declared unconstitutional. For example, the law providing for a progressive income tax was annulled by the Supreme Court as class legislation, because it imposed a heavier burden on the larger incomes. Yet this was one of the law's vital purposes. The attempt to regard as equal men who are not equal hinders proportional justice; for, as Menger has finely said, "Nothing can be more unequal than to treat unequals equally." To remedy this condition there is no need to return to the industrial organization of the Middle Ages, to the guild system; for it could not be adapted to the regime of machinery and large businesses. This is not the only objection to a return of the old order, but it is sufficiently powerful to convince any well informed man that the plan—and we sometimes hear it proposed seriously—is utterly impracticable. What is wanted is recognition of the political and social principle that underlay the guild organization of industry, the principle that so long as different economic classes exist each must receive the measure of protection, encouragement and privilege that is required to secure its rights and welfare. To this end it is necessary that the members of each class be organized; that the organizations be not merely tolerated and controlled, but assisted by law as well as by public opinion; that the labor union and every other lawful association be afforded adequate means to defend itself against both the unjust aggression of other classes and the destructive competition of the helpless, the ignorant and the selfish individuals of its own.

Criticism—constant and vigilant criticism—of the excesses of the labor union is, of course, demanded in the interests of justice and social order; but if it is to be effective it must not only be free from the prejudice begotten of self-interest or erroneous theories, as just

described, but it must be, moreover, based on adequate knowledge. This implies that some attention be given to the presentation of the case of the union by its own members. What is true of every social class must be fully and frankly recognized as true of workingmen, namely, that certain features and needs of the group can be understood by no one, no matter how good his intentions, so well as by the men who compose it. The failure of the older school of English economists to take into account this very obvious fact brought upon their science the hatred and contempt of the laborer. From their high and serene a priori ground the economists had proved to the benighted English workingmen that the whole principle of unionism, and especially the contention that wages could be raised by combination or by any other form of "artificial effort" that ran counter of the "wage fund theory," was ruinous and false. But the workingmen would not listen, and they had the satisfaction of seeing their position justified both by the logic of events and by the revised verdict of the economists. "Thus economic authority to-day, looking back on the confident assertions against Trade Unionism made by McCulloch and Mill, Nassau Senior and Harriet Martineau, Fawcett and Cairnes, has humbly to admit, in the words of the present occupant of the chair once filled by Nassau Senior himself (Professor Edgeworth, of Oxford) that 'in the matter of Unionism, as well as in that of the predeterminate wage fund, the untutored mind of the workman had gone more straight to the point than economic intelligence misled by a bad method.'" ("Industrial Democracy," p. 653.) Herein is contained a lesson for those well-meaning writers and speakers of to-day who feel competent to pronounce a final appreciation and criticism of unionism without having read the principles of a single trade union or made a serious attempt to understand the unionist's point of view. If criticism is to be intelligent and effective, it must proceed from a study of facts and conditions at first hand—or as nearly so as possible—and from a due consideration of the aims, and knowledge, and beliefs of *all* the classes concerned.

The conclusion that seems justified by this lengthy and yet summary study of the labor union is that the aims of the union are substantially right, and that of its methods, only violence, tyranny and the tendency to make excessive demands are in all circumstances unjustifiable. When confined within reasonable limits all the other methods are lawful, both legally and morally. It is freely admitted that the unions have sometimes—perhaps correct language would authorize the term "frequently—been too hasty in making use of their extreme, though legitimate, methods, and too willing to push them to their furthest limits. And it is always assumed that no

one of the methods is justifiable unless the concrete demand on behalf of which it is employed is reasonable. It must, however, be noted here that the verification of this condition is not always as easy as the unionists seem to imagine. Certainly the determination of the equities of any dispute between employer and employ  s can no more be entrusted exclusively to the latter than to the former. The maxim that no one is a competent judge of his own cause does not admit the laborer as its unique exception. The tributes sometimes paid to the working class by union speakers and writers imply that the members of this class are the people, and that wisdom and fairness will die with them. As a matter of fact, some of the worst of the "labor-crushers," whether among overseers or employers, are men who were formerly wage-earners; and some of the most exclusive and selfish social groups in existence are the unions that control certain trades—"the aristocracy of unionism." An abundance of facts of this kind—to say nothing of the unchangeable limitations of human nature—forbids the calm observer to take seriously the promises of socialism concerning the reign of justice and equality that will arrive when the Proletariat gets control of the political and industrial power of the nation. Laborers are no more immune from error or the liability to abuse power than any other class of human beings. Happily, one is not constrained by any rule of logic or common sense to make an act of faith in the moral perfection of the laborer as a preliminary to belief in the principle of unionism. For the man who is interested in the welfare of the toiler, and who wishes to see our present social order preserved, it is sufficient to realize that the aims and methods of the union are substantially just; that, as long as religion has such small influence on industrial relations, the union is the only social force that can afford adequate protection to the great mass of laborers; and, finally, that the existing unions constitute the only power that can prevent a wholesale going over of the workers to socialism.

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TRACES OF REVELATION IN HOMER.

ANY one who sets himself to dig after the roots of Homeric religion, will, nine cases out of ten, feel like casting his tools to the four winds of heaven just as soon as he reaches the gods of Homer. What an odd set they are, anyhow—"That motley crew of the gods of old," as Goethe calls them¹—a puzzle, take them how or where you will. What has brought about this jumble that we try to unify and to classify as Homeric religion? Are there in it any traces at all of primitive revelation?

In the first place, there are a few that insist it is all primitive revelation—all theology learned by Homer from contemporary Hebrews or from the law of Moses and set forth under the disguise of pagan myth and symbolism. A list of these zealots, who went to such lengths as to claim Homer was inspired, is given by Abbot Cesarotti in his colossal and scholarly edition of the *Iliad*.² Gladstone, in his "Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age," relies upon this list, and, indeed, draws well nigh as freely from the work of Cesarotti as he does from that of Nägelsbach.³

The patriarch of this school of Hebraistic sympathizers was Pelagius, a Roman patrician of the fifth century. He wrote the gospel story in verses extracted from Homer, but was killed by the Emperor Zeno before he had finished his poem. It is commonly put down as a fact by Gladstone and others—though violently pulled up as a fiction by Cesarotti and most critics—that Eudocia, the learned and pious wife of Theodosius, completed this work, and that her output is the very book which nowadays floats around under the caption "*Centones Homerici*"—Patchwork, or, better still, Crazy-work from Homer.

Later on we find Mme. Dacier working along the same line of argument, save that she gives her fancy still more of an airing among the clouds of conjecture. She claims that Plato, for instance, borrowed the dogma of the Trinity from Timaeus, the Locrian, who had got it of the Italian school. In the *Epinomis*, she argues, he lays down as a principle the first good, the word and the soul; the first good is the Father, the word is the Son of the first good, the soul is the Spirit.⁴ In like manner, to her the very little-nesses of Homer's gods are great; she hangs on for dear life to

¹ "Der alten Götter bunt Gewimmel" (*Die Braut von Corinth*).

² "Ragionamento Storico-Critico," *L'Illade di Omero*, Padua, 1786.

³ "Homerische Theologie und Nachhomerische Theologie."

⁴ *Œuvres de Platon*, Vol. I., p. 194; quoted by Chateaubriand, "Genius of Christianity," trans. by White, Baltimore, 1856, p. 55.

every passage of his, and defends it with energy alike and pathos from the doleful and baneful taint of paganism.

Gerard Croesius is led far away on this false scent, and strives to demonstrate etymologically, archæologically and otherwise that the peaceful faces of the venerable Hebrew patriarchs hide behind the masks of Homer's gods and demi-gods; that Illios is Jericho; Helen, Rahab; Nestor, Abraham; Agamemnon and the Achæians are Joshua and the Israelites; Penelope is Sarah, her insolent maidens are Hagar, her geese (*κῆνες*) are, as a matter of course, the Chanaanites. But what will this paragon of philology do with Odysseus? Make him Abraham? Not unless old Nestor be given a new mask. Yet Odysseus should be Abraham, for Penelope is Sarah. What is to be done? Croesius gets out of the difficulty nicely. Odysseus is, throughout the entire Odyssey, a man of many a shift, and can, therefore, readily make shift to symbolize Moses, Abraham and Lot, each in his turn.

Joshua Barnes went a step further in this realm of absurdity and nonsense, and drove himself, if no one else, into the stupid conviction that Homer was Solomon. Mark how he made good his point. Homeros, read after the Hebrew fashion, from right to left, is Soremo; and Soremo, by metalepsis, becomes Solemo; then, too, as e and o are interchangeable root vowels, we have Solomo. Anybody can now step over to Solomon. Mr. Barnes must have been a very shy man to have got comfort in such a fog.

Archdeacon Williams, in his "Homerus," published not very many years ago, resuscitates the Hebrew Homer, and ranges so far in his hierodidactic mysticism as to say that in Homer "we can trace most of the essential principles by which the Christian religion is distinguished."

But enough of this twaddle. Now that we bask in the exhilarating sunshine of a higher criticism, it teases us not a little to find that such addling moonshine ever passed muster as Homeric criticism at all. The poor old bard would wriggle and squirm in his grave if he knew people had Hebraized him so. Such crotchets and twisted views are curiosities of literature that have been toothsome morsels to the elder Disraeli and men of his sort, but can no longer interest us except as historic landmarks in Homeric criticism.

We shall try to show that there is in Homeric religion a trace, but only trace—and a scarcely discernible trace, at that—of primitive revelation. This traditive element we can hardly get at at all. It is well nigh overwhelmed by the element of invention. For though the gods of Homer are, take them all in all, meant to be above the human, none the less they are very human withal⁶—

⁶ II. 5, 860; 14, 140; 18, 217; 21, 407.

indeed, now and then, even far and away below the human. Only the note of immortality sets them distinctively above man; and, by a strange paradox, this very note is distinctive not of the godly essence, but of him that eats ambrosia, and is therefore shared in by the matchless ambrosia-fed steeds of ill-fated Achilles. As for the rest, whether in the physical or in the moral order, the ways of the gods are pretty much the ways of men; the traits of the former differ from those of the latter in degree rather than in kind.

First, what do we find in the physical order of things among the Olympians? Fights with men, quarrels among themselves, scarce a god that is not thwarted or made ridiculous, all manner of limitations of powers.

We say the gods fight with men. Whatsoever battles are waged round Priam's well-walled town are battles of the gods every bit as much as of Hector and Achilles. Plans are made in heaven and carried out on earth. Mutual hate and hostility and all the hellish passions that war sets ablaze within the breasts of men, are stirred up in the bosoms of the deathless gods. Upon the strong and mighty shield of Achilles, Hephaistos fashions an army of mortals led by Ares and Athene.⁶ Even golden Aphrodite betakes her to the fray. On her horse-taming Diomedes makes fierce onslaught, knowing she is a coward goddess, fitter far for loves than man-ennobling battle. A tiny bit of slender skin he lifts from off her shapely hand, wherefrom the ichor flows.⁷ Straightway the laughter-loving goddess goes to tell her pain to Ares, takes his steeds and hies her swift to Olympos, falls upon the lap of her mother Dione and wails the fate that has brought her so much pain and shame. Meanwhile her lover seeks revenge; but noble-hearted Tydeus' son is more than a match for him; set on and guided by Athene, Diomedes drives his spear full tilt against huge Ares. Loud bellows, then, the mighty god of war—loud as ten thousand fell warriors in grim array—and fares him to wide heaven there to cry.⁸

The gods not only fight with men, but quarrel among themselves as well. Athene escapes the lance of Ares, picks up a stone, hurls it at his neck and lays the graceful god sprawling graceless on the ground. Seven rods he covers.⁹ Athene laughs outright at him. With wonted folly the giddy Aphrodite rushes headlong in; she never knows that she is worthless in battle. A stunning blow from Athene's fist brings her to—or rather takes her from—her senses, and Aphrodite lies stretched in pain by Ares' side. Hera wrenches

⁶ Il. 18, 516.

⁷ Il. 5, 336.

⁸ Il. 5, 855.

⁹ Il. 21, 407.

the quiver from and lays it heavily on fair-tressed Artemis. We fairly hear the whack on whack and see the chaste huntress writhe and twist. In vain! She cannot get off from the whipping.

Moreover, there is scarce a god but is somehow or other thwarted or made ridiculous either by gods or by men. Ceres beholds her lover slain by Zeus. Hermes is worsted and put into a dreadful fright by Leto. Poseidon is baffled by Laomedon,¹⁰ nor is he able to take vengeance at the wrong done his big boy Polyphemos.¹¹ Hera is strung up by Zeus in midair, and dangles an anvil from each foot.¹² Her son, Hephaistos, is tossed by Zeus from high Olympos. All day he flies, and falls at night on Lemnos, and little life is in him. Thereafter he hobbles through the banquet halls and sets the blessed gods all laughing by his gait.¹³ Nor is Hephaistos the only butt of this hearty laugh. He turns it against his foe by fetching the gods to make a laughing-stock of Ares and Aphrodite ensnared in their shame.¹⁴

Lastly, the various powers of the gods—their sight, hearing, etc.—mighty though they may seem at times to be, are inevitably very much circumscribed. It could not be otherwise, since the gods are not self-existent, but are all born of Okeanos and Tethys. The sight of Helios cannot pierce the golden cloud that covers Zeus and Hera.¹⁵ Hephaistos sees not the adulterous carryings on of Ares and Aphrodite, till Helios plays the part of tale-bearer.¹⁶ The sottish pair see not the meshes in which the angered husband traps them. Such is their sight; their hearing is no better. The gods hear only when spoken to. From Olympos, Iris hears the petition of Achilleus;¹⁷ Thetis also hears him¹⁸, and Poseidon Aias.¹⁹ If not addressed, they rarely hear what is said. In motion they generally use steeds, or trip it lightly on land and water,²⁰ or wing it somehow through the air. They are not omnipresent by any means. Thetis cannot bring the prayer of Achilleus to Zeus for twelve days, because Zeus has gone to the Æthiopians for a dinner.²¹

So much for the physical limitations of the gods; their moral

¹⁰ Il. 21, 451.

¹¹ Od. 9, 525.

¹² Il. 15, 18.

¹³ Il. 1, 597.

¹⁴ Od. 8, 326.

¹⁵ Il. 14, 344.

¹⁶ Od. 8, 271.

¹⁷ Il. 23, 199.

¹⁸ Il. 18, 35.

¹⁹ Od. 4, 505. See also for like examples, Il. 8, 198; 15, 222 and 463; 16, 232 and 514; 23, 384; Od. 5, 283; 6, 20; 14, 310; 16, 263; 21, 413; 24, 164.

²⁰ Il. 14, 285.

²¹ Il. 1, 423.

limitations are, if possible, even less godlike; they are deceitful, unchaste and lacking in most virtues. The swineherd Eumalos surpasses most of them in moral goodness.

Their worst blemish is deceit. The worldly-wise among men demand an oath to confirm promises of the gods. Sharp-witted Odysseus takes such an oath from Kalypso and from Kirke. Small wonder. Even the higher deities are forever tricking and deceiving. On the plea of conciliating Okeanos with Tethys, Hera obtains from Aphrodite the girdle of love that steals the wits even of the wise,²² and straightway sets herself, by this same girdle, to steal the wits of Zeus and defeat the Trojan cause so very dear to Aphrodite's heart. Sleep gives aid, but first requires the queen of gods to swear by earth and sea she will repay him. Together both they beguile and overpower the father of the gods, while Poseidon leads the Danaans on.²³ In many and many a way Hera entraps Zeus to the gain of her dear Achaïans. On the very day on which Heracles is to be born, she gets great promises from her spouse in favor of the descendants of him that shall that day be born of woman by Zeus;²⁴ hurries the birth of Eurystheus in Argos, delays that of Heracles in Thebes and sets at naught all the cherished plans of the thundering lord of Olympos. No wonder he snatches her by the hair and hurls her from the mountain of the gods! Hera's deceit is matched by that of many of the gods. Even Athene tells a fib, and under form of Deiphobes, beloved of Hector, so works upon the fleet Trojan as to make him stand, fight Achilleus and meet his doom.²⁵ In this wise the gods mislead poor men by craft and plunge them deep down into dire misfortunes, and even sport with the right that men should have to truth. This is just as we should expect it to be, since all the gods, even Zeus, are mere playthings, subject to the caprice and whims of Ate, goddess of delusions,²⁶ and of Moira, blasting fate.²⁷

In unchastity, the gods are degraded far below the level of men. We are delighted with the seemingly modesty that graces Nausikaa and calls forth from Odysseus a respect he showed not to Kalypso nor to Kirke. The chastity of Penelope shines out as that of Homer's ideal wife; the basest lust is depicted in the scenes of Ares and Aphrodite at the house of Hephaistos, and of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ida.

In other virtues, too, are the gods very deficient. Nägelsbach

²² Il. 14, 205.

²³ Il. 14, 352-356.

²⁴ Il. 19, 95.

²⁵ Il. 22, 239.

²⁶ Il. 19, 95.

²⁷ Il. 16, 434.

deems that holiness and moral excellence form no essential element in the Homeric conception of them.²⁸ They are easily angered, jealous of slights and petty neglect, envious and relentless in nagging the unlucky mortals that have rubbed up against them. Of course they are good and just at times, but only at times. Their strength rather than goodness inspires men and calls forth fear rather than love. Homer seems to know nothing much, if anything at all, of love of God to man, love of man to God and submission to the divine will.

Such is the Olympian set—not one whit better than the smartest smart set that soars above the lowlier ones of to-day. Can we wonder the gods were scorned and berated by one of Homer's noblest characters, the wronged and valiant Menelaos?²⁹ May we not join Eusebius,³⁰ and lay no blame on Plato³¹ for insisting that, in the ideal state, people should not read, either with or without allegorical explanations, about the battles of the gods of Homer, nor about Hera "hanging dangling down, oh," nor about Hephaistos' airy flight?³² What have we to say of this jumble? Is there in it a trace of revealed truth? Not one bit of it! This is all the inventive element—the make-believe, trumped-up part—the funny side, as it were, of Homeric religion—the farce of the gods. There is a traditive element, a very sober side, too, in Homer's religion—a tragedy of deity. But of this later on.

This inventive element is so overwhelming that most writers on our subject lay aside at the outset all possibility of a traditive element in Homeric theogony, and scout the very idea that the faintest shadow of a trace of primitive revelation may be pointed out therein. Among these authors most say Homer's religion is all mythology; Herodotus, Isocrates, Plato and a few others seem to make it all Homerology.

Herodotus³³ thought Homer set the ball a-rolling and Hesiod pushed it on.³⁴ They gave the gods titles, prerogatives, personal and moral traits, and duties. They coined their own gods. As for Hesiod, he may have put a few notions of his own into the Homeric rhapsodies, but his gods are in the main those of Homer, and he seems to depart from the latter's theme only in the acknowledgment of spirit (*daimones*) that are not gods. These three myriads of dwellers in the air, mediators between gods and men,

²⁸ "Homerische Theologie," p. 103.

²⁹ Il. 3, 365; 13, 631.

³⁰ "Preparation for the Gospel," 13, 3 (Migne, "Greek Fathers," 21, 1066 b).

³¹ Rep. 2, 378.

³² Cf. Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," trans. by Darnell, London, 1862, p. 282.

³³ 2, 53.

³⁴ Döllinger, p. 75.

protectors and guardians of us all,³⁵ are wonderfully like the choirs of angels of primitive revelation. But our question is not of Hesiod. Among the Attics, Isokrates insists that the gods never deliberate and act as Homer makes them to do; but the poet wishes to teach us that if they cannot read the future, much less can man.³⁶ We have already mentioned how wrongly Plato blames Homer for travestying Hellenic theogony. Even Gladstone claims³⁷ that Homer was a maker not only of a language, but of a religion.

We think he was a maker of neither, but took things pretty much as he found them. We admit that, with all the inventive genius of a poet, he drew largely upon fancy for the coloring he gave things, and maybe even invented a few gods of his own; but we admit nothing more.

Homer's fancy must have idealized things not a little bit. His poems give evidence of a time when fancy and affection enlarged upon everything, when there was little of questioning, no stopping at absurdities, all was forward—all belief. In such a time, it seems as likely as not that the author of the *Iliad* drew from fancy as well as from fact, in portraying his gods with their political party splits, their hierarchy, contentions, revolts, stormy meetings, their gobbling up of food and swilling down of wine.

The assertion that Homer may have invented a few gods of his own we base on his love of the concrete. He is ever getting away from the abstract; it is his bugbear; he cannot abide it. He personifies anything and everything only to be concrete. We are amazed by his boldness and dash. Is a thing lofty and far away? He brings it down to the every-day level of the concrete matter-of-fact. He never serves out vague generalities. Hence, in his intensely rapid onrush of thought upon thought, he is ever as clear as the fountain Arethusa of Ithaka; though often in a hurry, he never raises such a dust as to hinder us from seeing his meaning through and through. His concreteness and personification keep him close to the thought he wishes to produce in us. He that made his arrow bitter, his darts hungry for human blood, the ground to laugh in the blaze of gleaming armor, the deathless horses of Achilles to weep for Patroklos;³⁸ he that wrote of the black cloud of grief,³⁹ of purple death,⁴⁰ of black pains, the unharvested deep, the wine-dark sea, the pitiless day; he may readily be supposed to have added to the stock of concrete representations of religious notions, and to

³⁵ "Works and Days," 109-150; also 250.

³⁶ *Adv. Soph.*, sec. 2.

³⁷ "Studies on Homer."

³⁸ *Il.* 18, 426.

³⁹ *Il.* 17, 591; 18, 24.

⁴⁰ *Il.* 5, 83.

have given new food to the fancies of those that roamed fancy-free in his land of unshackled doubt and misbelief.

But the religion of Homer is that of an age, not of an individual. The singer of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* belonged to a people of an intellectual culture that was very high—higher, by a good deal, than the intellectual culture of college men that drop Greek and elect jigs in its stead.⁴¹ It was that singer's duty to reflect the thoughts, traditions and customs of the age whereof his mind was a mirror. No matter how great his use of fancy, that singer's plastic touch had no power to soften whatsoever things had been handed down with rigid features, no power to mould whatsoever things had been fixed and known. Whatever of the popular creed was at all stable, his airy music could never shake. The religious ideas he weaved into his poems were the ideas of the people, not merely his own—they were Hellenic theogony, not Homerology.

If not Homerology, is the religion of Homer to be looked on as all mythology? So think some of the ancients and the vast bulk of modern critics that have expressed an opinion on this matter.

The ancients were fully aware of what we have styled the farce of the gods of Homer, and were ever at a loss how to put more tone into that farce. From the sixth century B. C., desperate efforts were made to drive allegorical explanations through the Homeric poems, and thereby to bring order out of the chaos of Homeric theogony; but the drivers met with as little success as have the Hebraizers of Homer. Theagenes of Rhegium (520 B. C.) was, according to Döllinger,⁴² the first to patch an allegory on the top of the Homeric and Hesiodic poems. Heraclitus waxed wroth that any took offense at the story of Hera hanging in mid-air; all this meant only the formation of the elements and the universe.⁴³ Metrodorus made not only gods but heroes, too, to stand for natural phenomena, and put himself to his wits' end to get quit of the mist he raised.

These ancients old Eusebius lashed and rightly maintained, in his work on the "Preparation of the Gospel," that long before Homer's time the traditive element of primitive revelation had been on the wane among the Achaians and their neighbors, and that the gods of the Hellenes were no well wrought system of allegorical myths, but mere corruptions of revealed truth "handed down from times of utter darkness and a bestial life."

Of late the mythological theory of Homeric religion has met with strong defenders. Among these Dr. Döllinger stands out

⁴¹ The newspapers tell us that the students of one of our largest American colleges may this year elect a course in Irish jigs and count it for the B. A.

⁴² "Jew and Gentile," p. 281.

foremost. In his "Jew and Gentile" he admits the Bible as revealed truth, and hence cannot deny an original consciousness of divinity; but insists that this consciousness was early and entirely clouded by guilt among heathen people, and that the deification of nature and her powers lies at the root of all heathen religion.⁴⁴ In the same batch with him are "many and learned men, chiefly of the tribes of the Alemanni," to quote Lang's charming letter to Eusebius,⁴⁵ "who have almost conquered the whole inhabited world . . . they maintain that the gods of the nations were, in the beginning, such pure natural creatures as the blue sky, the sun, the air, the bright dawn and the fire." They allow to the gods no moral feeling whatsoever. The wrath of Poseidon at getting nothing for his pains in building Troia's walls is the very same raging of the billows that goes on to-day near Schliemann's excavations, with as little regard to moral feeling as it showed in the days of Laomedon. Forces of nature could not be fully understood, much less expressed, if taken apart from human nature, and so it came to pass that they were personified and deified.

Now all this may be, from a poetic standpoint, grand, ideal, sublime, intellectual and a great deal more. But in the face of facts it is much of it in the air; it will not stand criticism. We admit that there is in Homeric religion a vast deal of just such mythology as critics find in it. We deny that his religion is, from start to finish, only mythology—only the deification of nature powers—nothing more. Such an opinion has never been welded into any sort of system on which critics will agree, nor has it ever been backed up by arguments of even seeming force.

The lack of any scientific system resulting from this opinion is evidenced by the fact that, as Lang says, its expositors "are nowise at one with each other in their explanations." They are like the old-timers that filled the worn-out chairs of a moribund philosophy before good Eusebius' day. "For of old some boasted that Hera was the air, and some that she signified the love of woman and man, and some that she was the waters above the earth, and others that she was the waters under the earth, and yet others that she was the night, for that night is the shadow of the earth; as if, forsooth, the men who first worshiped Hera had understanding of these things."⁴⁶

The reason why no one system of Homeric theogony has ever been accepted by critics is the mass of contradictions inevitably wrapped up therein. Let us see a few of these contradictions.

⁴³ Schol. in Il. 15, 18.

⁴⁴ Page 65.

⁴⁵ "Letters to Dead Authors," N. Y., 1882, p. 163.

⁴⁶ Lang, p. 165.

A system of religion built up entirely on the deification of nature forces should present all the greater nature forces personified and deified in prominent, unmistakable, clear-cut relief. Homeric religion presents nothing of the kind. Air, earth, sun, moon, sea, wind are of the first importance in nature, and yet are either not deified at all or are set in an obscure background in Olympos. The more active a god is, the greater do his powers vary; the more frequently he appears at work in the poems, the more doubtful, far-fetched and insignificant his relations with nature forces seem to be; the closer he brings his character and personality into touch with us the less the likelihood that we may tag any single nature power to him and keep it there.

Take a few examples. Take Apollo, for instance. What in the wide world is Apollo the deification of? Light? Why, then, have we Helios? Plato makes Apollo god of poetry, prophecy, healing and archery.⁴⁷ If of healing, why have we Paieon? If of poetry, why the Muses? If of archery and destruction,⁴⁸ why Athene, goddess of war? Why Ares? Why the huntress Artemis? Apollo also is said to be the deification of prudence and craft.⁴⁹ If the former, why Mercury? If the latter, why Hephaistos?

It is claimed by some that Zeus is the deification of air. Why, then, is he said to dwell in the ether?⁵⁰ The scientist of to-day would look for the ether in him, not vice versa. If Zeus be the air, why does not he deliver Æneas from the hands of Achilles without putting strength into the warrior's knees?⁵¹ What becomes of Hera?

Who is Homer's deification of the sea? Poseidon, they say. Why not Okeanos? He seems the greater. From Father Ocean all the rivers flow and every sea, and all springs and deep wells. He fears, indeed, the lightning and dread thunder of great Zeus;⁵² but is not bound to hearken to the call of Themis, at the command of Zeus, nor haste him to the father's house on many-folded Olympos' beetling brow.⁵³ Why not Nereus to personify the sea? He is father of all the nymphs of the deep, and is styled the old man of the sea; he never leaves his home, whereas Poseidon is met with rarely on the sea, often at the head of his serried ranks upon the far-famed battlefield of Troia.

And so the list of incongruities goes on. In the face of such

⁴⁷ Cratylus 405 A.

⁴⁸ Od. 8, 323 and 329; 17, 494; 15, 410.

⁴⁹ Il. 22, 247.

⁵⁰ Od. 15, 523.

⁵¹ Il. 20, 92.

⁵² Il. 21, 198.

⁵³ Il. 20, 7.

facts we cannot admit that any acceptable system has ever reduced Homeric religion to the mere deification of nature powers and nothing more.

These many contradictions are a necessary sequel to the unscientific method of forcing facts into shape with a foregone theory, in place of shaping and paring and moulding the theory to suit the facts. No wonder, then, that the arguments, with which these critics back up their theories, are not even of seeming worth. When they want to get at the nature of a god, they first examine his name, tear it to very shreds, torment the letters thereof, bunch and rebunch them at will. If Greek will not serve their turn, away they fly to the Hebrew, Arabic or to some other non-Arian tongue. And this they call throwing light on the subject.

Why, this method is old as the hills, and was worn threadbare two thousand and odd years ago. All this sort of thing was laughed to scorn even in the crude, unscientific days of Sokrates. In the *Cratylus*, Plato makes his master to spin out some very odd derivations. Hera, for instance, is the deification of air, because the man who made names repeated the word ἀήρ very fast, and found he was saying ἥρα. Apollo is the physician, because the washer (ἀπολούων); the prophet, because he tells simple truth (ἀπλοῦς); the archer, because he is always shooting (ἀεὶ βάλλων). This is all very ingenious. So, too, is the way in which the maker of names gave us Athene. He deified the mind of God, and got θεοσνύη, took a for γ, in the true foreign style, dropped o and σ, and had δένα; by repeating that fast he hit upon Athene. "Indeed," says Sokrates, "I bethink me of a very new and ingenious idea that occurs to me. . . . My notion is that we put in and pull out letters at pleasure, and alter the accents."⁵⁴ Stalbaum says the reader must be stupid as a stump if he do not see that Plato is here taking his fling and having a bit of fun.⁵⁵

Yet this pseudo-Sokratic method of analysis is the very method applied by Müller and many of the German critics in the study of Homeric religion. The result has been nothing much of truth, unwarranted conclusions, backed up by only the shadow of argument, and such a medley of opinions with regard to who's who in Olympos, as to force fully home to us the waggish conclusion Andrew Lang comes at: "Quot Alemanni, tot sententiae."

Thus far we have demonstrated the absurdity of basing Homeric religion on the fully developed system of the Hebrews, the impossibility of its being an outgrowth of Homer's fancy, the utter improbability of its upbuilding merely by a human instinct systematically

⁵⁴ Lang, "Letters to Dead Authors," p. 168.

⁵⁵ Cf. Plato's "*Cratylus*," trans. by Burges, London, 1850, p. 326, note 81.

to personify and to deify the great nature powers. The religion of Homer is not all theology nor all Homerology nor all mythology; it is a combination, as Jebb says,⁵⁶ "of various elements belonging to different stages of thought;" it is part theology and part mythology—in a word, theom mythology. Its real starting point seems most naturally to have been the ancient theistic traditions that held sway among the patriarchs of old. This traditive element was gradually corrupted, slowly disintegrated by the inventive elements already described; the truths of primitive revelation lagged behind and fell away into the background, while the falsehoods of invention sped on apace and took full fling in the foreground of the anomalous, disconnected and disjointed mass which, for want of any fitter name, we style the religion of Homer.

On what plea do we cling to this traditive element? Because there seem to be likely enough traces of primitive revelation in the Homeric poems—in the tragedy of deity, in minor details and in the very mythology of these poems.

First and foremost let us note well the solemn tragedy of deity that is enacted in the very midst of the farce comedy of the gods. Besides their gods, the Hellenes had their deity whose influence their ancestors must have early and long felt, early and long seen, early and long loved; else there would be no trace of this deity in Homeric times.

Yet traces of this deity crop out in scores of lines. The mythological gods are spoken of by name or grouped together under the concrete *οἱ θεοί*,⁵⁷ whereas *θεός* and *θεοί*⁵⁸ always designate a nobler, more abstract being than the commonplace dwellers on Olympus—a being far and away beyond invention, and very like to the God of primitive revelation. Unto *god* and *gods* are assigned attributes truly divine, utterly out of keeping with the ridiculous limitations already observed in the many-faced individuals that go to make up *the gods* and to fill up the noisy agora of Olympus.

Again and again we are told gods can do all things.⁵⁹ They can even make the wise to be fools and the scatter-brained to be level-headed.⁶⁰ Who could expect more of them? Again, gods are most blessed, and set apart from cares.⁶¹ A youth guided by them will never go wrong.⁶² For they are the authors of all good things.

⁵⁶ Homer, p. 83.

⁵⁷ Il. 4, 15.

⁵⁸ Od. 1, 32.

⁵⁹ Od. 3, 231; 4, 236 and 753; 10, 306; 14, 444.

⁶⁰ Od. 23, 12.

⁶¹ Il. 24, 526.

⁶² Od. 3, 375.

Therefore, let not the rich man boast, but take the gifts of gods in quiet.⁶³

Moreover, gods know all things⁶⁴ and watch over all things; nor do they love wrong doings, but, as honest Eumaios tells us, always reward justice.⁶⁵ Injustice, or sin, is not an inward corruption, but folly or insolence.⁶⁶ Gods punish this insolence and folly. They watch man's good and evil deeds and follow him up, therefor.⁶⁷ Hence old Laertes wonders if there be gods at all, since they have not pounced upon Penelope's overbearing wooers.⁶⁸ His wonder comes at length to an end; the vengeance of gods is meted out to the wooers in full and dreadful measure. Indeed, the idea of divine retribution stands out so prominently that the destruction of evil-doers and of scorners is given as proof positive that gods exist. No evil at all may come from gods; Zeus will not allow the notion that it may.⁶⁹ Man, then, has nothing to fear from gods, the controllers even of destiny,⁷⁰ the guides of every undertaking.⁷¹ Man needs them and must at all times pray for their aid;⁷² and if ever, as Phoenix says, any one do wrong, he must turn the hearts of gods from anger by his incense, vows, drink offerings and burnt offerings.⁷³

Such are a few of those traces of deity which appear ever and anon in the sum of the Homeric poems. If we set these grand attributes by the side of the absurdities of invention, we shall hardly allow that they were turned out from the workshop of a poet's fancy or were made to order as part and parcel of a mythological system based on the deification of nature powers. It remains, then, that what we have named the tragedy of deity, as opposed to the farce comedy of the gods, is a remnant of what we know to have been primitive revealed truth of ages past and gone even before Homer's early days.

Besides these general attributes of deity there are in the poems of Homer minor details of custom, law and story that add to the likelihood of our contention. These details are very numerous; a few will serve our purpose. Blackie calls attention to the great number of stories in which future retribution is impressed on us.⁷⁴

⁶³ Od. 18, 140.

⁶⁴ Od. 4, 379 and 468.

⁶⁵ Od. 14, 83.

⁶⁶ Cf. passages collated by Nägelsbach, p. 270.

⁶⁷ Od. 11, 487.

⁶⁸ Od. 24, 351.

⁶⁹ Od. 1, 33.

⁷⁰ Od. 9, 592.

⁷¹ Il. 16, 688.

⁷² Od. 3, 49.

⁷³ Il. 9, 496; cf. Jebb, "Homer," p. 59.

⁷⁴ "Horræ Homericæ," p. 57.

A few such are the stories of Sisyphos, Tantalos, etc.;⁷⁶ the deathless passage of wronged Menelaos to Elysium;⁷⁶ the punishment of perjury;⁷⁷ the judgments passed by Minos upon souls entering Hades;⁷⁸ the downfall of Ilion and the bloody ending of the wooers. The upright Bellerophon, who held out against the solicitations of the wife of Proitos and was falsely but successfully denounced by her,⁷⁹ is an exact parallel to the story of Joseph solicited by the wife of Potiphar. In regard to customs we may mention as instances in point the whole idea of sacrifice and the sanctifying of the seventh day noted by Eusebius.⁸⁰ The form of Homeric society is in very many points as patriarchal as is that of Old Testament life. Chateaubriand felt that Nestor must have belonged, if not to the same family, at least to the same age, as Jacob.⁸¹ It seemed to him only a step from the palace of Pylos to the tents of Israel. Such grand simplicity marks both Bible and Homer alike. The simplicity of the Bible is that of an ancient priest who has steeped his mind in the wisdom of heaven, and now pronounces from the recess of the sanctuary the measured words of awful truth.⁸² The simplicity of the poet of Chios is that of the worn-out old sailor who has drunk "life to lees," but now is forced to "rest from travel," and sitting by the crackling hearth goes o'er his long and checkered life once more. These few details are only a small fraction of those that show how likely it is that the ideas of primitive revelation were transmitted through the ages of evolution of Pelasgic thought.

But of greater importance is the evidence we get from the very mythology of Homer. Even some of the individual gods of invention show traces of primitive deity. Some are at times—though only at times—omniscient. For instance, Helios is addressed by Agamemnon: "Thou that seest all and hearest all!"⁸³ Poseidon forsoes the children to be born of Tyro and himself.⁸⁴ Kirke sees the future of Odysseus.⁸⁵ Athene knows the future, and guides Odysseus thereto.⁸⁶ Again, many of the gods exercise a kind of inspiration of men. Athene inspires Diomedes,⁸⁷ Apollo Hector,⁸⁸

⁷⁶ Od. 11.

⁷⁶ Od. 4, 563.

⁷⁷ Il. 3, 278.

⁷⁸ Od. 11, 568.

⁷⁹ Il. 6, 160.

⁸⁰ "Preparation for the Gospel," 13, 12; Migne, "Greek Fathers," 21, 1103a.

⁸¹ Chateaubriand, "Genius of Christianity," p. 352.

⁸² Chateaubriand, p. 354.

⁸³ Il. 3, 277.

⁸⁴ Od. 11, 249; cf. also Od. 5, 238 and 345.

⁸⁵ Od. 10, 490.

⁸⁶ Od. 13, 306 and 339.

⁸⁷ Il. 5, 124; 10, 507.

⁸⁸ Il. 15, 243; 20, 375.

Iris Achilleus,⁸⁹ Eidothea Menelaos,⁹⁰ Athene Telemachos,⁹¹ and so on.⁹²

In Zeus, the chief god of invention, we may with good reason hope to chance upon even likelier traces of deity of revelation. The father of the gods is not always the miserable, degraded, mythological creature duped and lulled to sleep by Hera on Mount Ida, tricked by Iris,⁹³ saved from chains by the giant Briareus,⁹⁴ and barely a match for Poseidon.⁹⁵ Zeus is at times a divine character that cannot, as Welcker tells us,⁹⁶ have been trumped up by the soaring fancy of a poet nor breathed into the Hellenic theogony by a lover of nature powers. Throughout the Iliad and Odyssey he is an hundred times identified with *δεός* in its meaning of providence or moral governor of the world.⁹⁷ His is the omniscience of deity⁹⁸—what Hesiod calls “the eye of Zeus that seeth all and knoweth all.” He is stronger than all the gods together,⁹⁹ the source of all governing authority¹⁰⁰ and even of fate (*the fate of Zeus*), the distributor of prosperity and adversity,¹⁰¹ the angered judge of men with crooked minds that reckon not of his vengeance.¹⁰² By his will he revives the gasping Hector,¹⁰³ and by his wise mind hears prayers said never so far away,¹⁰⁴ and sunders the bow-string of Teucros.¹⁰⁵ Not mortals only, but gods as well, have recourse to him in time of trouble. Even Poseidon asks his permission to destroy the Achaian ramparts¹⁰⁶ and to block the way of the too venturesome Phæacians.¹⁰⁷

We cannot set these divine attributes of Zeus by the side of his contradictory limitations and withhold our assent to his two-fold personality. Cesarotti shows that even ancient critics give this assent. Plutarch, for example, thinks that, whenever Homer speaks of the accomplishment of the will of Zeus and the providence of

⁸⁹ Il. 13, 166.

⁹⁰ Od. 4, 367.

⁹¹ Od. 15, 9.

⁹² Cf. also Il. 5, lines 341, 744 and 838; 14, 353; Od. 5, 95 and 100.

⁹³ Il. 13, 168.

⁹⁴ Il. 1, 399.

⁹⁵ Il. 15, 238.

⁹⁶ Griechische Götterlehre.

⁹⁷ Gladstone, “Studies on Homer,” p. 225.

⁹⁸ Od. 1, 37; 14, 119; 20, 75.

⁹⁹ Il. 8, 17.

¹⁰⁰ Il. 16, 387.

¹⁰¹ Il. 24, 527.

¹⁰² Il. 16, 385.

¹⁰³ Il. 15, 242.

¹⁰⁴ Il. 16, 231.

¹⁰⁵ Il. 15, 463.

¹⁰⁶ Il. 7, 445.

¹⁰⁷ Od. 13, 125.

god,¹⁰⁸ he refers to a deity distinct from Zeus. That deity is, according to Gladstone,¹⁰⁹ a "depository of the principal remnants of monotheistic and providential ideas." How is it Zeus has this two-fold personality? Because in him the Pelasgian meets the Olympian or Hellenic system of religion. The Pelasgian Zeus was very likely even nearer to deity than is the Zeus of the Hellenes. For the Pelasgians had not yet taken up polytheism, when they left Central Asia. Herodotus¹¹⁰ says they had no gods until told by the oracle of Dodona to import them from Egypt. Later came the Hellenes, generally acknowledged to have been of the same stock as the Pelasgi;¹¹¹ and at their coming a new outcrop of polytheistic ideas began to choke and to smother the remnants of monotheism. In the Homeric age this combat of the old with the new ideas was still going on; that age was Pelasgian as well as Hellenic. In fact, Homer at times seems to identify the Pelasgians with the Hellenes. The Homeric Zeus, then, is just what we should expect to find him—a strange mix-up of the grand attributes of the deity of revelation, set off, or rather well nigh utterly hidden, by later Pelasgian importations from Egypt and ingrafted Hellenic inventions. He represents to us a composite picture that defies all other analysis than that we have given; its background is large, deep, awful, grand, still faintly glowing with a warmth of color that reminds us of a dazzling glory past and gone; its foreground is cramped, shallow, trivial, full of littlenesses, dull in coloring, devoid of warmth and glow; its body is an indescribable something made up of contradictions that will never be got to blend.

Our question hitherto has for the most part been limited to the general attributes of deity. May we go more into detail? Are there, for instance, in Homer any traces of the Messiah? Primitive revelation, in whatsoever land we trace it, should ever show forth some distorted remnant of the belief in a Mediator between God and man. Is there, in Homeric mythology, any such distorted remnant? We think there is. The two gods that are the best—out and out the best—of Homer's gods seem very likely to be corruptions of primitive revelation of the Messiah. I mean Athene and Apollo. Let us study these two gods awhile.

Take them all in all, they show forth more traces of the divinity than the whole Olympian set massed together. They are the only gods that are never made ridiculous. Zeus is chained, Hera is wounded; no violence is ever suffered by this blessed pair.

¹⁰⁸ *Il.* 1, 5.

¹⁰⁹ "Studies on Homer," p. 222.

¹¹⁰ "Euterpe," 52; cf. Rev. A. J. Thébaud, S. J., "Gentilism," *N. Y.*, 1876, p. 281.

¹¹¹ Thébaud, p. 308.

Poseidon cannot harm them; he slinks away from Apollo,¹¹² and leaves off nagging poor Odysseus whenever Athene guides the hapless wanderer.¹¹³ Athene acts from a severe sense of duty, unalloyed by the selfish motives that often rule in Olympos; she is never outwitted by an opponent, always knows what it concerns her to know, brings to a happy end every work she sets herself to do. Apollo is never foiled, save only twice, and then by Athene;¹¹⁴ first, when she observes the Trojans making havoc of the Argives in the press of battle and persuades Apollo to stay the fight by a combat man to man of Hector with heaven-sprung Aias;¹¹⁵ secondly, when she guides Diomedes and Odysseus in the Doloneia.¹¹⁶

These two gods receive special honor from both gods and men. Whenever Apollo enters the council chamber of Zeus, the gods rise to greet him.¹¹⁷ Mortals are aware of this honor. Several times does Hector wish he were honored as are honored Athene and Apollo.¹¹⁸ Men often invoke Zeus and these two, rarely others. There is in Homer no invocation of the important gods Aphrodite, Ares, Hephaistos, Hermes and Hera. Penelope calls on Artemis to end her existence;¹¹⁹ Poseidon is invoked by his descendant Nestor, his son Polyphemos and the envoys to Achilleus; Thetis is prayed to by Achilleus.¹²⁰ As for the rest, it is always Zeus, Apollo and Athene that are invoked.¹²¹ To these three gods is directed the remarkable triune invocation, always the same, word for word, letter for letter, with never a change of even a particle, as invariable as the doxologies of the breviary:

Ah, Father Zeus and Athene and Apollo!

This prayer always leads up to mighty hopes and manly feelings. We find it when Agamemnon wishes he had ten such warriors as Nestor,¹²² and, later on, that all his mail-clad Achaians had within their breasts a spirit like to that of the two Aiantes;¹²³ when old Nestor¹²⁴ and Laertes¹²⁵ wish they were young again; when Alkinoos would have Odysseus to be husband of Nausikaa;¹²⁶ when

¹¹² Od. 7, 311.

¹¹³ Il. 21, 468.

¹¹⁴ Od. 3, 55.

¹¹⁵ Gladstone, "Studies on Homer," p. 75.

¹¹⁶ Il. 7, 36.

¹¹⁷ Il. 10, 515.

¹¹⁸ "Hymn to Apollo," 2-5.

¹¹⁹ Il. 8, 540; 13, 827.

¹²⁰ Od. 20, 61.

¹²¹ Il. 1, 352.

¹²² Il. 4, 119; 10, lines 278, 284, 462 and 507; 16, 514; 17, 19.

¹²³ Il. 2, 371.

¹²⁴ Il. 4, 288.

¹²⁵ Il. 7, 132.

¹²⁶ Od. 24, 376.

Menelaos wishes that Odysseus were home among the wooers,¹²⁷ and Telemachos that his mother's tormentors were worse off than Iros,¹²⁸ and Achilles hopes that not one of all the Trojans nor one of all the Argives may escape death.¹²⁹

Athene and Apollo are the only gods entirely free from the needs of body. Neither sleeps, eats, drinks, rests; is wearied, pained or wounded; shows any signs of sensual passion or physical weakness. They act for and from themselves, nor ever betake them to Zeus for aid. They move unlike the other gods. Hera's horses spring many miles at a pace, or she leaps with strides that hurdle even the topmost peaks.¹³⁰ Hermes flits through the air and skims o'er the crests of the waves.¹³¹ Poseidon fares with swift steps, and is drawn by bounding steeds.¹³² Athene and Apollo never journey at all. They start and there they are; that is all. No matter what the distance be, they cover it in a moment.¹³³

This wonderful pair seem to have power over mortals that is all their own. The gods do not in general appear to one mortal without being seen by all. Athene reveals herself to Achilles alone,¹³⁴ and Apollo to Æneas.¹³⁵ They even make men. Apollo forms an image of Æneas, and sets it fighting on the field of battle;¹³⁶ Athene forms a like image of Iphthime and bids it appear in a dream to Penelope.¹³⁷

Lastly, these two gods often exercise the very mythological powers sacred to Zeus. Athene wields the thunder.¹³⁸ Only she and Apollo use the aegis, when it is not borne by aegis-bearing Zeus. This dreadful shield is Athene's special armor; it belongs to her as the chariot does to Hera.¹³⁹ While bearing it, she may not be smitten even by the thunderbolt of Zeus.¹⁴⁰ As a rule, only Zeus ushers in important events by such an harbinger as the flight of birds. Yet on the home-coming of Telemachos to Ithaka, Apollo sends him greeting by that fleet messenger, the falcon;¹⁴¹ and as Diomede and Odysseus set out on their famous Doloneia, Athene

¹²⁷ Od. 4, 341; 17, 132.

¹²⁸ Od. 18, 235.

¹²⁹ Il. 17, 97.

¹³⁰ Il. 14, 225.

¹³¹ Od. 5, 49-55.

¹³² Il. 13, 17.

¹³³ Od. 1, 102; Il. 15, 150.

¹³⁴ Il. 1, 198.

¹³⁵ Il. 17, 321.

¹³⁶ Il. 5, 449.

¹³⁷ Od. 4, 796 and 824.

¹³⁸ Il. 11, 45.

¹³⁹ Il. 5, 735; 15, 229.

¹⁴⁰ Il. 21, 401.

¹⁴¹ Od. 15, 526.

cheers them with a heron, which they do not see, but whose flapping wings they hear.¹⁴²

Such remarkable traits easily set these gods apart from all their companions. How shall we explain their mutual relations, this startling consistency in Athene and Apollo? If only one of the pair were so very different from the other gods, we should say that in that one the element of invention had not covered over the element of tradition quite so much as in the rest of Olympians. But the existence of two gods so out of fashion with the troupe that play the farce comedy of Olympos, so near to the deity of primitive revelation, and so at one with each other in character, would be a hopeless solecism past all explanation, did we not get light from primitive revelation.¹⁴³ We consider that, in these two gods we have traces of the Messiah—a distorted remnant of the belief in a Mediator between God and man. How do we make good this opinion? By recourse to the Rabbinical writings. According to these, as Schöttgen tells us,¹⁴⁴ the Messiah was looked forward to under a two-fold title—as the Schechinah, conceived in the feminine, and the Metatron, conceived in the masculine gender—the Logos or Wisdom of God, and the Light or Glory of God.¹⁴⁵ This tradition among the Hebrews is remarkable for its resemblance to the characters of Athene and Apollo. Athene is the Logos, the Wisdom of Zeus,¹⁴⁶ the Pelasgian concept of that which was represented by the Hebraic feminine Schechinah; Apollo is the Light, the Pelasgian concept of that which was represented by the Hebraic masculine Metatron. Why, these Hebrew and Pelasgic traditions go hand in hand! Furthermore, parents are found for all the gods save only these two. Athene is sprung from Zeus without a mother,¹⁴⁷ the Messiah's divine nature is begotten of the Eternal Father. Apollo is born of Leto by no god nor man; the Messiah's human nature is born of woman by no man. And as this woman, in Hebrew tradition, shines by her offspring, so Leto shines only by hers. Yet to Leto are given such varied epithets of praise as no god nor goddess ever received. Of other goddesses, certain epithets are distinctive. Artemis is chaste and fair-tressed, Hera is white-armed and large-eyed. Leto's praises are ever varied, as are the praises of Mary in the Old Testament.

¹⁴² Il. 10, 274.

¹⁴³ Gladstone, "Juventus Mundi," Boston, 1869, p. 269.

¹⁴⁴ Schöttgen, "Jesus der Wahre Messias," Leipzig, 1748, p. 523. In their targums, or Chaldaic paraphrases of the Old Testament, Onkelos and Jonathan often interpret *Elohim* and *Jahve* by *Light of God*, *Glory of God*, *Word of God*. Cf. Cornely, *Compendium Introductionis in Sac. Script.*, p. 100.

¹⁴⁵ Gladstone, "Juv. Mun.," p. 205.

¹⁴⁶ Il. 5, 880.

¹⁴⁷ Il. 5, 880.

Such are the myths of Homer that we deem likely to be traces of a primitive revelation. We claim nothing but likelihood for our argument; yet feel that we have certainly hit nearer the mark of truth than do Rationalists. To some of these worthies hardly a story of the Bible but is a sun-myth or a star-myth. With their cocksureness of principles and recklessness in conclusions, one might readily work up our old John Gilpin's Ride or Gulliver's Yahoos into sun-myths. Is not this saying too much? No, it is not! Judge for yourselves. Why, in a recent work that Charles Morris introduces to the public, even the crucifixion of Christ is made to truckle to a sun-myth! Think of it! Such a stupendous fact of history is said to be the same as Homer's threadbare yarn of Hera bound with fetters and hanging in space between heaven and earth!¹⁴⁸ Oh, the blasphemy of it all!

The conclusion Formby drew with regard to Rome we may apply to Homer.¹⁴⁹ The very myths, by which Rationalists would prove the Bible a story book, swing back as a boomerang and smite these Sanscritizing mythologers with a force not at all expected. The result is that such scholars as Creutzer, A. W. Schlegel and Otfried Müller have all come around to the view that pagan mythology is at root only a corruption of primitive revelation.¹⁵⁰ Out of the same sort of gradual disintegration of monotheistic theology, have in this wise come the demons of the Hindoos; the devs and jins of the Persians; the gods, daimones, nymphs, fauns and satyrs of the Greeks and Romans; the stormy divinities, giants and trolls of cold and rugged Iceland; the dwarfs of the German forests; the imps and elves that tripped in the fairy moonlight of English midsummer nights; the fays and sprites that tricked it all the great world over.

At the dispersion of the Pelasgi from kith and kin of the steppes of Asia, the old-time traditions were separated from the warming rays of their source, their glow and vitality began to ooze out, divine tradition began to disintegrate and to be lopped off piece by piece, new ideas were got from the nations round about—chiefly from the Egyptians and Phoenicians—and were ingrafted upon the well-nigh lifeless monotheistic stock, theology was superseded by theom mythology. The upshot of it all was an out-and-out misconception of the essence of God. He became an odd mixture of the human and the divine. In place of man's being made to the image and likeness of God, God was made to the image and likeness of man—and a revoltingly distorted image at that. Man's bearings towards him-

¹⁴⁸ "Aryan Sun-Myths." Introduction by Charles Morris, Troy, 1889, p. 132.

¹⁴⁹ Rev. H. Formby, "Monotheism, the Primitive Religion of Rome," London and New York.

¹⁵⁰ Hettinger, "Natural Religion," tr. Bowden, New York, 1890.

self, his family and to society at large were all tagged on to the remaining shreds of primitive revelation.¹⁵¹ But things didn't square. However, that mattered little. If De Quincey is anywhere near to the truth when he says that "in the mingled yarn of human life tragedy is never far asunder from farce,"¹⁵² we should not take it as surprising that the Pelasgi and Hellenes added a farce of the gods to the tragedy of deity. Of course, all this changing was not a sudden process, by any manner of means, but a very gradual accretion of the human and obliteration of the divine. Pelasgian religion became humanistic. As a result Hellenism was far more humanistic than theistic, while Hebraism was far more theistic than humanistic. In Hellenism, the beauty of holiness gave way to the holiness of beauty; in Hebraism, the holiness of beauty was smothered over by the beauty of holiness.

This juxtaposition of Hellenism and Hebraism leads us to another question. Is the traditive element of Homeric religion explained solely by stray remnants of primitive monotheism that held out against the principles of destruction? We think not. The likelihood of Hebraistic influence on Homeric religion, held to by Eusebius, but made little of for many centuries after him, is nowadays admitted. Almost every year it is becoming more and more likely that the Hellenes of Homer's age had intercourse with the Hebrews, and that Hebraistic religious ideas infiltrated into the pores of Homeric religion. The Homeric poems were written, according to Nepos, an hundred years before the first Olympiad; according to Apollodorus the Grammarian and Euphorbus the Historian, an hundred and twenty-four years before the foundation of Rome, *i. e.*, about 876 B. C. Relying on these statements, Eusebius, in his *Chronicles*,¹⁵³ claims that the poems belong to the period in which Josaphat ruled over Judah, and Elias and Elisaeus were prophesying. On the face of it, we should suppose that the two greatest peoples of that period had something to do with each other. The Phœnicians had doings with the Hebrews, as we know from the Bible; and with the Hellenes, as Homer tells us. It seems most probable that, through the medium of the Phœnicians, the two great literary nations were brought into contact. Critics used to say there was no writing in the age of Homer, and therefore it could have happened that there was not the intercourse we speak of; no critic says so now. There was writing in the Isles of Greece, even during pre-Homeric days.¹⁵⁴ Evans has clearly demonstrated that communi-

¹⁵¹ Gladstone, "Studies," p. 34.

¹⁵² "Cæsars," p. 37.

¹⁵³ L. II.; Migne, "Greek Fathers," 19, 430.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Rev. Daniel Quinn's article in *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* for October, 1902.

cation existed between the islands of the Ægean and Babylon. A genuine Babylonian tablet with cuneiform writing has been found in Cyprus. In Colossus, Central Crete, have been found some wonderful clay tablets not unlike cuneiform inscriptions. In some of these tablets are ideographic pictographs, facing either from right to left—in true Hebrew fashion—or in the early Greek style, boustrophedon, from right to left and left to right alternately; in others of these tablets is a linear script whose characters have been found in other islands of the Ægean, in Egypt and in Palestine. Hence, in pre-Homeric days there was communication by writing between the islands of the Ægean and Palestine. Indeed, from the discoveries of Stillman in Central Crete and Evans in Eastern Crete, pre-Homeric intercourse by writing between the Pelasgi and the Hebrews is at the very least most probable. When the Rosetta stone will have been found whereby these writings of the Ægean may be unriddled, then at last, let us hope, will be broken the veil of mystic silence that has long enshrouded the meaning of Homer's myths; then shall we be able to trace back to their source all the nobler elements of Homeric theogony and show with greater satisfaction that revelation is in part the origin of Homeric religion.

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THE MARTYRDOM OF PRIMATE PLUNKETT.

IN the art section of the Cork Exhibition last year the writer saw some articles that seemed somewhat out of place amid the brand-new specimens of embroidery and lace and filigree work and articles of *virtu* that were displayed in glittering profusion in the glass cases and cabinets of the same department. They were a set of old and faded and tarnished ecclesiastical vestments, a bishop's mitre, a rochet, and a pastoral staff. Looking at these curious relics at close range the visitor might have seen fastened to one of them a card intimating that the articles were relics of the Venerable Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, and that they had been lent for exhibition by the Countess of Fingall. Nothing more was said; so that the ordinary passer-by who had never heard, in all probability, anything about Dr. Oliver Plunkett, and probably cared less, would never have known that he was gazing on the faded vestments of a martyr and beholding the mute testimony of a tragedy as shocking as ever stained the annals of human injustice. In the gay and brilliant mazes of a charming scene these quaint and tar-

nished symbols of ecclesiastical dignity looked sadly out of place; and the Catholic might perhaps have viewed their exposition there as something painful and out of keeping with the solemn memories they evoked. Yet, after all, if it did seem irreverent, they must have awakened a spirit of inquiry in some, and this in itself must lead to good. And thus the martyrdom was working out its purpose.

The Countess of Fingall is of the family of the martyred prelate, and of the same name. Those who had the arrangement of the exhibits never thought of stating that the Archbishop of Armagh had suffered martyrdom: perhaps they thought so dreadful a fact had better be kept in the background in the bright atmosphere of a popular exhibition, with its bands, its fireworks and its whirl of amusements. The unthinking crowd would surge by, never troubling itself about a forgotten Archbishop; but the one, more thoughtful and inquisitive, would wonder what these old vestments meant and would proceed, perhaps, to discover who and what the wearer was and what he had stood for. And so might the martyr's blood not have been poured out in vain.

Strange, is it not, to be transported in fancy from a scene so gay and full of sunshine and summer verdure to the gloom of the Catacombs and the dust of forgotten centuries? Yet one glance at these withering insignia, with their tarnished bullion and their fraying lacework, effects the wonder. They flash upon the mind a picture as harrowing as any beheld in that arena "where murder breathed its bloody steam," as thrilling in its constancy for Christ as the recording angel ever noted. As the eye rests on those speaking memorials, they change their hue. They are bleached and made snow-white; they shine like the face of Christ in His transfiguration. They reflect the glory that surrounds the martyr host as they move in adoration before the great white throne. They are emblematic of a martyr nation, as well as a martyr faith.

A twofold interest attaches to the story of Oliver Plunkett. It illustrates not only the malice of the religious code under which Ireland for centuries groaned and bled, but also the contempt for the constitutional law of England under which it was pretended Ireland was in all legal procedure dealt with. The so-called trial which preceded his execution was conducted according to the forms of English law, yet from the very outset that law had been most grossly outraged, in having the accused brought from the country wherein the offenses charged against him in the indictment were alleged to have been committed, to another wherein no charge could be laid against him and in which he had no residence. English law, no doubt, provides for change of venue in jury trials, when-

ever it can be pretended or shown that local conditions are unfavorable for the vindication of justice. But not even in the case of Sir William Wallace was there previously beheld so gross a stretching of this principle as when Archbishop Plunkett was dragged from Dublin to London to be tried by an English court and a Cockney jury. Wallace probably had often been on English soil in the course of his war against English power: there is nothing to lead one to believe that Oliver Plunkett ever did more than pass over it in the course of a journey to Ireland, before he was dragged to London a manacled captive. As an example of tyrannical wrongdoing both in matters of faith and matters of civil law, the student who takes up this remarkable case must find it without parallel in modern history; nor can he fail to note how curiously its cold recital annotates the boast of the most English of the English poets—

A land of settled government,
Where freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent.

It is exceedingly instructive to examine closely the particular cycle of history under notice, in order to test the sincerity of those critics of the Papacy and the Catholic system who anathematize the former on the ground of arrogance. The Papacy is condemned because it asserts a spiritual supremacy over the children of the Church; and it is further held up to odium because it claimed its proper temporalities. Now, we behold in the case of Ireland a power which was entirely civil in its origin, claiming not only civil supremacy, but spiritual as well; asserting that claim with the most ruthless ferocity for nearly three centuries, and even trampling in the dust its own code of civil jurisprudence in order to vindicate its pretense to own the souls as well as the bodies of a people different from themselves in race, in language and constancy to their religion.

When Dr. Oliver Plunkett was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, in Rome, he was given a heritage of martyrdom or exile. The primatial see had been foremost in opposing the iniquitous claims of the Crown to spiritual supremacy, and Archbishop Dowdall, the first to face the storm, had incurred a twofold vengeance by reason of his not only denying this claim, but covering with ridicule the apostate bishops, Brown and Staples, in a public disputation on the respective claims of the Mass and the Book of Common Prayer. This famous dispute was held in the hall of St. Mary's Abbey in Dublin, in the same chamber, very likely, wherein the impetuous Geraldine called Silken Thomas erstwhile had flung down his insignia as Irish Viceroy and declared himself henceforth a rebel against the tyrant who had treacherously slain his father in London Tower. This dispute may be regarded as the pivotal event in de-

ciding Ireland's attitude on the portentous problem offered for her solution. It determined unequivocally that her prelates, priests and people took their stand for weal or woe with the Church which Rome had given their forefathers and the faith which Patrick had sown in the ready soil of their fervid minds. The victory of the Archbishop in the keen contest was proved by the rage with which it inflamed the defeated side; and it is a matter for much regret that so important a discussion is only known to the world by brief historical references. In that same ancient Abbey of St. Mary's, which was often the central seat of the English power in Ireland and the place where its governmental policy was frequently settled in council, were stored archives of rare value to the historian, and many of these must have been hidden away, or hastily carried away, or destroyed, when the hurricane of persecution came with a roar upon the doomed land. Portions of the crypt of the venerable pile still remain open to the quest of the antiquary. They are situated many feet below the level of Capel street, and may be reached by staircases at the back of some shops and stores whose fronts open on that thoroughfare. Few who pass along the sidewalks of Capel street imagine that a little below them rise the graceful groined roofs of the substructure of St. Mary's—mayhap of the very halls in which the fortunes of a nation or a reigning sept or powerful feudal house were more than once settled for ever. It is true that these dim crypts are choked to half their ceiling's height with rubbish hardened into solid earth; yet if archæological zeal were directed to the spot, this difficulty might be overcome with comparative ease, and the results of the quest might throw valuable light on many obscure points in Ireland's fortunes during the Tudor period, so full of pathos and heroic constancy and splendid piety. When Ireland again possesses an archæologist and scholar like the late Sir John Gilbert, perhaps the exploration of these interesting ruins may be undertaken and result in the discovery of precious manuscripts connected with this most absorbing epoch in Ireland's history and reveal the course of reasoning by means of which Armagh's intrepid Archbishop, Englishman as he was, overthrew the sophisms of England's King and council. Dowdall suffered much in exile, but he did not attain the martyr's crown. This was reserved for his successors in the primacy, Richard Creagh, Edward McGauvran and Oliver Plunkett.

It is curious that historians differ about the date of Dr. Plunkett's birth. His birthplace is undisputed: it is given as Loughcrew, in the county Meath; but three different years are set down for his nativity—namely, A. D. 1616, 1629 and 1631. He belonged to the noble house of Fingall. But little is known of his family life or

early training, since the period in which his youth was spent was one of the stormiest in Ireland's chequered history. It witnessed the rise and collapse of the Confederation of Kilkenny, with the wars and invasions which the struggle between the King and the Parliament entailed on the unhappy island. We only know that he was educated in the Catholic faith until his sixteenth year by his uncle, Dr. Patrick Plunkett, titular Abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin. He was distinguished from his boyhood for piety and an inclination for the religious life. This inclination developed and deepened as he advanced in life, until to give it just fulfilment he set out for Rome to begin his studies for the ecclesiastical state. For eight years he labored at his task of preparation, in the college for Irish students founded by Cardinal Ludovisi. At the end of that time he graduated as Doctor in Theology, and was soon chosen as Professor of Divinity in the College of Propaganda. It was not merely that he was a brilliant scholar, an able debater and a proficient linguist, but his piety and his sweet suavity and equanimity under all circumstances had commended him to all with whom he had come in contact. The Pope (Clement IX.) had not failed to note these qualities, and when many names were mentioned to him in connection with the vacant see of Armagh, on the death of Dr. O'Reilly, he put them all aside, asking the council why they should entertain the names of unknown persons on the recommendation of anybody, while they had among them one whom they all knew to be the possessor of the very qualities those unknown persons were said to possess. Acting on his own query, His Holiness, of his own motion, bestowed the appointment on Dr. Plunkett. Having accepted the dangerous dignity, he retired for a short time into privacy, that he might duly prepare his soul by prayer and contemplation for the high responsibility to which he was called. In August, 1669, he was solemnly consecrated by the Pope himself. In the Bull of election he was designated Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of the Kingdom of Ireland, and the See of Armagh was described as the "*Ecclesia totius Hiberniæ primatialis*." On this point a great deal depended, inas much as a very large proportion of the new prelate's time and thought was destined to be given to the settlement of the old dispute as to the precedence in regard to the Sees of Armagh and Dublin.

Regulus leaving Rome for Carthage was not more certain of his fate than Archbishop Plunkett when setting out for his native country. He lost not a moment in hesitation as to his course, immediately that he was consecrated. His field of duty lay at home. There it was as though a destroying angel had swept over the land

once fondly known as the island of saints and scholars. And in truth it might almost be said to be literally the case, since the simoom breath of Cromwell's invasion had scorched and blasted everything that was fair and lovely in the sight of God and man. Twenty years of civil war had scourged the country, a confiscation of landed property amounting to a third of the whole soil had left the Catholic remnant a race of paupers; a besom of infernal malice had swept the land clear of her Bishops and driven her priests to hide with the bats and badgers in caves and mountain sheelings. Only the Bishop of Ardagh represented the resident hierarchy; two more, the Bishops of Ferns and Kilfenora, were in exile; all the other sees were unfilled. Archbishop Plunkett, then, had a whole nation, so to speak, for a diocese when he landed in Ireland, and a task almost equal to that of St. Patrick when he essayed the redemption of the island from the bondage of paganism.

There was one circumstance which enabled him to enter on this fight with confidence. He needed no gift of tongues, like the early Apostles. Besides the classical languages, he was fluent in Irish as he was in English. As the greater proportion of the rural inhabitants at that period had no other vehicle of speech, it was almost a *sine quâ non* that whoever came to their spiritual relief should be thoroughly familiar with the vernacular, down to its subtlest distinctions in regard to thought and action.

It was in the month of March, 1670, that the new Archbishop landed in Ireland to assume the mitre that was destined to prove in a figurative sense a new crown of thorns. The Viceroy at the time of his landing was Lord Roberts of Truro, a stern Presbyterian zealot. As he had previously sent out instructions to have the Archbishop seized if he should attempt to land, some precaution was necessary to avoid his emissaries; hence the Archbishop had to go into a secure hiding place for a little time. But a new Viceroy was appointed in the May of the same year, and the religious atmosphere for the time being underwent a change. Lord Berkeley, the incoming ruler of Ireland, was the very converse of his persecuting predecessor. His mission was peace and conciliation; he inaugurated a reign of tolerance and allowed the penal statutes of the Tudors and Stuarts to fall into desuetude; Catholics again were admitted to high places in the military and civil services, as well as to the magisterial bench. Dr. Plunkett would appear to have placed himself in communication with this benevolent ruler, since his biographers declare that he was secretly encouraged by him in the correction of public abuses and, more important still, in the erection of schools, and even given various sums of money to carry on this sorely needed work. How diligent the new Primate was in taking

advantage of the more favorable conditions was proved by the results which he summed up in a pastoral letter dated in the June of the same year, just three months after his arrival. He had held two Synods, he wrote, as well as two ordinations, and in a month and a half had administered confirmation to over ten thousand persons—and in his own province (Armagh) there remained fifty thousand more awaiting the sacrament. This fact gives a vivid idea of the spiritual desolation into which the country had fallen during the preceding period of persecution.

One of the most delicate problems which awaited him in Ireland was the dispute relative to the Primacy. This confronted him at the very outset. The Catholic Bishops having assembled to prepare a loyal address to the Viceroy, Lord Berkeley, the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Talbot, refused to have any part in the proceeding unless he were called to preside and take precedence in the signing of the address. This caused the failure of the meeting, and led to a correspondence and a reference to Rome as the arbiter between the claims of Armagh and Dublin. Armagh won in the final inquest at the Propaganda, and the Pope subsequently decreed the insertion of the words, "*Armacanam sedem, Romani Pontificis auctoritate, totius insulæ principem metropolim constituit*," in the office of St. Patrick's Day.

It is well nigh impossible to conceive what fulfilment of his Primatial duty meant to the Archbishop in those days of persecution, roadless localities, undeveloped civilization, robbers and cutthroats infesting highways and hedges. Those who have read Macaulay's description of the physical and social characteristics of Great Britain at the close of Charles II.'s reign, with its picture of dangerous highways and wretched inns, may easily imagine, when the English mainland was in such a primitive state, what the conditions for travel in the wild mountain districts of Ireland and Scotland must have been. And yet such difficulties and dangers as these presented were faced stoically year after year by this high-souled prelate. He penetrated again and again into the mountainous country and the woods and bogs where lurked the Tories and the Rapparees, in order to reclaim these desperate disinherited from their wild ways and effect reconciliations between the different clans. He visited regularly, somehow—in disguise or openly—not only his own diocese, but those others subject to his primacy. In addition to these arduous and perilous labors he made a visitation of the Hebrides and the neighboring Scottish isles, where the inhabitants were mostly Catholics and spoke the Irish language—that is, the Gaelic, common in early years to both Ireland and Scotland. The hardships of this visitation, both by land and water, owing to the imprac-

ticable character of the roads and bridle paths in winter and the desolate character of most of the country, appear to have been of the most formidable kind. Still no word of complaint from the heroic prelate: nothing but gratitude for such good as he had been enabled to do and for such kindness as he had met with on his dangerous travels.

Not merely was it the fanatical ferocity of Puritan or Presbyterian that made an Irish bishopric a sort of Damien's torture couch at this epoch, but the Church in Ireland itself was seething with distractions and bitter conflicting policies. The party called Remonstrants, led by the sycophantic and turbulent Father Peter Walsh, long held the country in turmoil by dividing the clergy and leading Catholic laity into two camps—one seeking conciliation with the English Government at the expense of the Church's independence in the matter of episcopal appointments and ecclesiastical rights in general—somewhat after the fashion of the subsequent Veto partisans—and the other opposing a vehement front to any such concession to a truculence that, if given some, would be certain to demand more. To assert his authority in quieting these discordant elements, to compose a difference of many years' standing between the Dominican and Franciscan orders, to pacify the country infested by the Tory and Rapparee bands, to save at times the people from actual famine, to procure missionary help for the Catholic Scotch in the isles and in the Highlands, to compose a dreadful feud, a century old, with the clan O'Reilly, to build schools, restore churches, consecrate bishops, ordain priests, Dr. Plunkett labored with astonishing energy and a zeal that knew no pause. And all this under circumstances of danger and secrecy, for the greater part of the time, much akin to those under which the Spanish contrabandisto carries on his hazardous avocation. Those who desire to gain a fuller knowledge of what he did and how he did it must consult Dr. Moran's biography. His reward was the martyr crown—just as he had anticipated ere he set out on his glorious but dreadful enterprise; and as a reward he cheerfully accepted it.

Yet so inoffensive was the course of Dr. Plunkett that those who at length sought his ruin as a political stroke, to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, were completely baffled for a long time. Their endeavor to implicate him in a "Popish plot" in Ireland completely broke down because of the infamous character of the witnesses whom the conspirators employed for the foul work. But they were not to be foiled so easily. There was still a resort—a desperate one—open to them. This was to break through the law, kidnap their intended victim and drag him, contrary to the constitution of England, across the sea to be tried for something

not answerable in any place save the country where it was alleged to have been committed. Eight informers were hired to do the illustrious victim to death ; and four of these were fallen clerics, sad to say. These wretches relied on the ignorance of the English jury class on all things relating to Ireland to obtain credence for a story so monstrous in its absurdity as to surpass anything to be found in the Arabian Nights or Gulliver's Travels. In this confidence they were fully justified by the result. When first a couple of these villains told their story before a London grand jury, the bill was ignored and thrown out, so utterly absurd did it appear to the jurors—for grand jurors in Great Britain are drawn from the best class of people, having usually a good education and high intelligence. Upon this the Archbishop should have been, according to all precedents, set at liberty ; but instead he was remanded to prison and kept for seven months in rigorous confinement, denied all visits from his friends and allowed to communicate with none but his jailors. This time he spent in continual prayer ; he fasted on bread and water three days in each week. Yet he was always cheerful, and the sweetness of his manner charmed every one who spoke to him, even the roughest of the jail wardens. This is what his fellow-prisoners testified after his death. No hardships seemed to ruffle his serenity or incite him to seek to evade the trials thrust upon him.

Whatever the reasons alleged for the seizure and judicial murder of Archbishop Plunkett, the crime appears to have been in its motive political. It was carried out as part of the scheme by which the Earl of Shaftesbury sought to exclude the Duke of York from the succession and further the cause of the Duke of Monmouth. Dr. Lingard, who is perhaps the most painstaking of all English historians, asserts that the Duke of Ormonde, who ordered his arrest, did so solely on the ground that he was a Catholic bishop, and bore ample testimony to his unimpeachable loyalty. The charge on which he was indicted does not tally with this version of the incident. This charge was, substantially, that he had obtained his see for the express purpose of raising an army in Ireland to coöperate with an army of invasion from France ; that he had enrolled seventy thousand men in Ireland with this object ; and that he had surveyed all the harbors in Ireland with a view to ascertaining their suitability for the debarkation of troops, and had pitched upon Carlingford, in Ulster, as the most fitting ; that he had levied contributions on his clergy for the support of his army, and that he had exhorted the Catholic gentry to take up arms for the recovery of their estates. The Duke of Ormonde, who knew the physical conditions in Ireland as well as he did its political situation, knew perfectly well how wildly absurd were these averments, and he knew

better still the infamous character of the wretches who, acting as the sub-agents of Shaftesbury under the direction of the vile man-hunter, Titus Oates, endeavored to persuade Irish juries to give credence to their flimsy concoction. The juries rejected them; but determined not to be balked of their prey, the principals and the instruments agreed upon the monstrous plan to have the prelate carried out of the kingdom where the treason was pretended to have been committed and brought to England for a fresh trial. There the juries, it was believed, who knew nothing of Ireland or its geography, or the character of the accused, could be easily got to believe any story that seemed to hang together, especially in the inflamed state of the public mind, wrought up by artful devices on the part of Shaftesbury.

These calculations proved the sagacity of those who made them. After having been acquitted in both England and Ireland, he was once more put forward before an English judge and jury, having neither friends nor witnesses to speak for him or prove his innocence. He was allowed a little time to summon witnesses from Ireland, but their arrival was most unfortunately postponed by a long period of contrary winds, and he was forced to stand his so-called trial without them. He had made an affidavit that his messenger was delayed, that his witnesses, again, were delayed owing to the difficulties found in obtaining passports for Catholics, and that the officers in Dublin refused copies of necessary documents without orders from the Privy Council in London; and so on. Judicial decency was not a characteristic of those melancholy days. What the usual behavior of judges was may be gleaned from Macaulay's vivid picture of the trial of Richard Baxter and Lady Alice Lisle before Judge Jeffreys. Violent abuse of the accused, couched in terms of "Tom Jones" sort of English, was one of the regular indulgences of the ermined servants of the Crown. In the case of the Archbishop of Armagh this coarse billingsgate was spared, yet the language of the Chief Justice, Sir Francis Pemberton, was at times severe and opprobrious. Those who sat beside him, Judges Jones and Dolbein, were already noted for their violence of language when sending Catholics to their doom for the crime of fidelity to their faith.

It is a task of the utmost difficulty to form a proper judgment upon this particular period of British history, or decide the spirit that was most influential in the production of its contradictory and bewildering characteristics. It was an age of shocking tragedies, offset, as they presented themselves on the stage of life, by the grossest buffoonery. Religious animosity was never more rancorous, yet moral profligacy was at no period ever so shameless.

Superstition was at no time darker or denser, as those who have read Defoe's chronicles of the plague in London have learned, yet those who were its slaves made the reproach of superstition one of the strongest indictments against the Catholics whom they basely accused of causing the fire which preceded the plague, and would have charged them with the responsibility for the plague as well if they could only get a pretext for the absurdity. Upon such a composite atmosphere of ignorance, bigotry and debauchery, and fetish credulity in signs and omens, the infernal malice of Titus Oates had worked to such effect that no injustice, however palpable, no cruelty, however revolting, could appear in any light save as the natural and proper remedy for the evils of the present or preventatives of those of the future. Therefore the inhuman cruelties which characterized public executions produced on the public mind, or even on those who, standing around the scaffolds, beheld them in all their horrible minutiae, no feeling save that of just and fitting deserts for traitors. The judges who pronounced those barbarous sentences were, in a great many cases, quite as brutal in mind as the hired butchers who carried them into effect. Jeffreys, who presided over the "bloody assize," was a savage who seemed to gloat at the torturing of his victims, ere he sent them to the gallows, with all the ferocious zest of an old Indian squaw; and the trio who conducted the travesty of justice in which the doomed Archbishop was the central figure seem to have been very good imitators of the mode and judicial temper of that dishonored wearer of the judges' ermine.

At that time such was the rigor and injustice of the law on treason that no counsel durst plead for any one accused of the crime, so odious was it made to appear both by the sovereign and the law. It ranked much in the moral scale as leprosy does in the physiological. "The spotted rebel stains the soldier," the phrase that the King flings at Richmond on the battlefield, crystallizes the abhorrence which surrounded the crime, in the days when none disputed the divine right of the monarch. So that, unless some legal technicality cropped up to require a professional disentanglement, no prisoner at bar for treason could get any legal help. Thus it came that when the Archbishop was called upon to plead to an outrageously absurd charge, no valiant counsel, no Curran, no Butt, stood by his side to teach truculent time-serving judges the law and their moral duty. He stood alone and friendless among strangers and ferocious enemies. Nevertheless he deemed it his duty to make a strenuous defense. He produced before the court the documents attesting his loyalty and innocence signed by the two ex-Viceroy, Berkeley and Essex. He endeavored to awaken in the jury some consciousness of the impossibility of the crimes laid to

his charge by a description of the Bay of Carlingford and the obstacles to the landing of any force on its shores. He also dwelt upon the fact that the total incomes of the Irish clergy were not sufficient to equip a single regiment, not to speak of maintaining seventy thousand men, as charged, and all the other wild improbabilities of the tale. But he spoke to men who wanted not the truth, but only his blood.

The band of villains who conspired to earn the blood-money offered by Oates (twelve hundred pounds) for the capture and conviction of the Archbishop were headed by a trio of fallen priests—men whom the prelate, in the exercise of his duty, had had to discipline several years before—"renegades from our religion and declared apostates," as the Archbishop in his speech described them. Their names were McMoyer, Murphy and Duffy. Besides these principals there were several others—Denis (or McDonagh), Fitzgerald, Ivey, Neal or Neill, Bourke, Sanson and a pair of Mac-Namaras. These fellows had been sent over from England originally for the purpose of getting up evidence about the "Popish plot," but only succeeded in getting landed in jail because of bare-faced perjury in accusing the Earl of Tyrone and other high personages of known loyalty. McMoyer, Murphy and Duffy were for a time leaders of bands of rapparees, but were let out by the connivance of the authorities in order to get up "evidence" against the Archbishops and other leading Catholics. Denis was a spy who passed over the European continent in the guise of a Dominican friar. He swore that in 1677, in Madrid, the Archbishop of Tuam, then residing there, said, on getting a letter from Titus Oates (then posing as a Catholic candidate for holy orders), that he (Oates) would be very useful, as Dr. Plunkett was going to introduce French troops into Ireland to support the Catholic cause. All this was purely fictitious.

All the spirit of Shaftesbury breathed throughout the conduct of that awful mockery of justice. From the beginning it was seen that the Crown lawyers had entered into the conspiracy along with the vile gang who for the sake of the reward got up the myth. Sawyer, the Attorney General, in opening the case, said that Dr. Plunkett had been made Primate of Ireland by the Pope for the express purpose of procuring the death of the King and the destruction of the Protestant religion in Ireland! This astonishing disclosure he did not think necessary to substantiate by any sort of proof: his bare word, backed by the oaths of the wretches huddled behind him ready to swear anything required of them, was enough. "We shall prove it," he added; and the proof was the word of these liberated jail birds, not one of whom could ever have had the re-

motest idea of anything that passed at the Vatican, nor ever had been, in all probability, within a thousand miles of Rome.

After the jury had brought in their verdict, a Protestant peer and several other high personages besought him to save his life by renouncing the Catholic religion and accusing others whom he might know to be guilty. The reply was what might have been expected from one who knew no deceit nor fear of torture or death for God. "He knew none," he said, "whom he could justly accuse; and even to save his life he would not falsely accuse any one or endanger his soul."

But the language of the Lord Chief Justice before delivering sentence showed the real animus of this remarkable "political" trial. It proved the whole proceeding to be inspired by the most blind, ferocious religious hatred. "Truly yours," he said, "is treason of the highest kind: it is treason, in truth, against God and your King, and the country where you lived. You have done as much as you could to dishonor God in this case, for the bottom of your treason was your setting up your false religion, than which there is not anything more displeasing to God, or more pernicious to mankind in the world. A religion that is ten times worse than all the heathenish superstitions—the most dishonorable and derogatory to God and His glory of all religions or pretended religions whatsoever, for it undertakes to dispense with God's laws and to pardon the breach of them. So that certainly a greater crime cannot be committed against God than for a man to endeavor the propagation of that religion."

After the lapse of six days the Archbishop was again led to the bar to listen to the sentence of the law. It makes the blood run cold to read it. He was sentenced to be hanged, cut down while alive, disemboweled, his entrails being burned before his eyes, and quartered. He listened to the frightful decree with a placid composure; and during the fifteen days between the sentence and the butchery he occupied his time in prayer, in mortification, in writing to his friends and in penning his gratitude to the Catholics of London who had subscribed money for his defense, for the expenses of his witnesses, and finally to defray the cost of his obsequies when the tragedy which they could not avert should have been completed.

It is said the King was powerfully affected by the sentence. Yet if this were really the case, he should have shown his feelings in some more practical way than throwing the responsibility for the judicial murder on the Earl of Essex. He had the moral courage to prorogue Parliament at the time the attitude of the Commons was most threatening. He was never, in fact, wanting in moral courage

to do what he deemed necessary to carry out his own purposes: it was only when the interests of his friends and supporters were in jeopardy that he fell back on the excuse, "I dare not do it; you could have saved him if you chose; you are responsible."

A few days before his execution Archbishop Plunkett wrote a letter to his friend, the Rev. Gregory Joyce, Canon of St. Gudule's, at Brussels, acquainting him of the dreadful proceedings, but in the most cheerful way. He was about to die, he said, but most willingly. He had no fear, he went on to say; and he marvelled at this courage and wondered why, when even Christ was seized with fear and trembling at His approaching death, he should be free from such a fear. He eagerly desired to be dissolved and be with Christ, he added; and he freely forgave all those who had brought about his doom and besought God also to pardon them. To the Rev. Mr. Corker he also wrote a somewhat similar epistle. The tone of both these letters impress the reader as the perfection of Christian sublimity. It is more than resignation that breathes in them: it is the serenity of the true martyr, anxious to repay the love that impelled Christ to offer Himself as our ransom by a similar sacrifice for His sake.

Father Corker, a Benedictine, to whom he had committed the disposal of his remains after death, was enabled to observe how the Archbishop bore himself during the days preceding his execution, and he set it down in writing in order that all who read might profit by that most touching and edifying example. "It was then that I clearly witnessed in him the spirit of God," he says, "and the amiable fruits of the Holy Ghost—charity, joy and peace splendidly shining in his soul. And not only I, but several other Catholics who came to receive his benediction could attest from their own observation that something divine shone through his words, his actions and mien; a union of cheerfulness, fortitude, charity, sweetness and candor that marked distinctly that the divine goodness destined him (a victim) for heaven. All that saw him were replenished with a new pleasure and a new fervor, and their desires of pleasing God and suffering for Him were singularly inflamed by the sight of the Archbishop."

Father Corker describes the last affecting scene on the way to Tyburn. He says: "I cannot nor should I attempt to describe the extraordinary virtues of this holy martyr: there was something in him more than human; the most savage and obdurate among the people were softened and melted at seeing him, and several Protestants exclaimed, 'O that our souls were with his!' . . . When he arrived at the place of execution he turned toward our chamber in the prison, and, with a countenance beaming with satisfaction

and friendship, he lifted up his holy hands and gave us his blessing."

The fierce irony of this martyrdom is best illustrated in one of its immediate corollaries. Shaftesbury, the arch-conspirator in Oates' infernal plot, was himself laid by the heels on a charge of treason the very next day after his victim's murder, and escaped the same fate only because the jury who tried his case refused to believe the witnesses produced against him—and these were the very same gang whom he had brought over from Ireland to ensnare the Archbishop! But he only escaped the vengeance of heaven for a little while, for he died shortly afterwards in exile, wretchedness of mind and body and the sense of the world's scorn added to remorse of conscience.

The character of the author of all this cruelty and frenzy over the "Popish plot" reveals a depth of savage cynicism which one looks for in vain even in the pages of the Italian romancists. Machiavelli certainly never conceived anything so cold-blooded in scheming savagery. Ashley Cooper, Earl Shaftesbury, was a man of brilliancy, boldness and versatility in politics. He had been everything by turns—a Parliamentarian, a royalist, a Cromwellian, an intriguer with Monk for the recall of the Stuarts, a psalm-singing pietist—"the loudest bagpipe of the squealing train" Dryden termed him. He is the "false Achitophel" of that great poet's religious epic. But he was no sooner a Minister under Charles than he flung himself with zest into the flood of debauchery which was let loose on the downfall of the Puritans. "You are the wickedest dog in England," Charles laughingly said to him one day. "Of a subject, sir, I believe I am," was his audacious retort. In religion he became at length a Deist, holding the fantastic belief that after death the souls of men lived in stars. For a time he was a steady advocate of religious toleration, though his attitude was based entirely on political grounds. But the country was not ready to agree to toleration, and so Parliament forced both King and Minister to drop the idea. After falling out with the King, he began intriguing with the Prince of Orange. All his energies were directed toward the exclusion of James and his issue from the throne, and it was in pursuance of this great end that the monstrous scheme called the "Popish plot" was invented. Such was the man who in pursuance of that scheme sent Lord Stafford, Archbishop Plunkett and many priests and Catholic laymen to the scaffold.

Before closing this shocking chapter of the "Merry Monarch's" reign, it is not uninstrusive to trace the fate that overtook the minor villains of the tragedy. In their case, as in that of so many others who had been the means of doing to death innocent lives

consecrated to the highest service of God, the Nemesis of punishment in time overtook almost every one of them and made them a fearful example of the unerring ways of Divine justice. Neal was the first to meet his doom. He was hanged for robbery at Mullingar, and before dying made a formal declaration that there never was such a thing as a Popish plot in Ireland, as pretended, and that all the testimony given relative to such a plot was rank perjury. Another was hanged, also for robbery, at Limerick.

Forty-seven years after the martyrdom an old man presented himself before Archbishop Plunkett's successor. He was a woe-begone, emaciated, decrepit wretch, who seemed to be pursued by invisible enemies. It was the ex-priest Duffy—the principal perjurer of the gang. He cast himself at the Archbishop's feet and begged for forgiveness. The prelate heard his agonized pleading in silence, then pointed to a shrine in the room, saying, "Look there, thou unfortunate man!" The head of the martyr lay before his eyes: he saw it and fell in a swoon. In the end he was forgiven and died penitent. But those years of gnawing remorse was a punishment even more awful than that of the scaffold, which was the last scene of most of the gang's escapades.

As for the monster, Titus Oates, no punishment attributed to the power of the mythical Furies could exceed that which fell on him while on earth. After all his victims had gone to the block or the gallows, he himself was caught in the meshes of his own villainy. Convicted of perjury in the reign of King James, he was sentenced to be stripped of his clerical habit, to be pilloried in the palace yard, to be led around Westminster Hall bearing a placard setting forth his infamy, to be pilloried again in the Royal Exchange, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate, and after an interval of five days to be whipped again from Newgate to Tyburn—the spot where his noblest victims had yielded their heads to the executioner. Besides these frightful penalties he was decreed imprisonment for life with quinquennial exposures to popular hate in the pillory. How intense that hatred was the people showed when he was first led forth to undergo his torture. He was pelted with foul things, and would have been torn limb from limb but for the exertions of his guards. The executioner plied the lash with merciless strength all the dismal way; the writhing wretch bellowed like a maddened beast, and several times he swooned under the pain, only to be placed on his feet again and feel the lash cutting into the bone. The description of his sufferings is indeed too horrible to be followed; and not a scintilla of his sufferings would the authorities abate. In effect the sentence was one that the wretch be flogged to death; yet, strange to say, so much was he like a gorilla in frame that he sur-

vived the long-drawn-out torture, seeming like one of the infernal gods in his capacity to endure. About this historic punishment Macaulay is singularly contradictory in his comments. Horrible as his sufferings were, he remarks in one place, they did not equal his crimes. Therefore they were inadequate. Yet says the historian further on: "Nevertheless the punishment inflicted on him cannot be justified." The reason why this inconclusive opinion is put forth was that as the law did not permit the death sentence for the immediate crime with which he was charged, there was a straining of the law and the formation of a terrible precedent for sentences worse than death, in his particular case. From one point of view Macaulay's reasoning is to be commended. No matter what a criminal may deserve, humanity cries out against meting out to him the full measure of his deserts in the way of physical pain, because of its violation of the Divine law and also because of its effect in rendering callous the beholders and participants. But Oates' punishment, though monumental, was not temporary or in the physical part. He achieved an immortality of infamy; he stands alone, branded forever as the incarnation of obsessional villainy and malice; even as his most illustrious victim, Archbishop Plunkett, stands alone, in the circumstances of his martyrdom, by its flagrant breach of the constitutional laws of England and Ireland.

There was a niece of the Archbishop's of whom he was very fond. A few days before his death he had spoken of her affectionately to Father Corker, styling her "little Catherine." In due time she became first head of the Irish Dominican nuns, in Drogheda, and to these ladies was intrusted the shrine containing the head of her martyred uncle.

The casket containing the prelate's head is now in the keeping of the Dominican Nuns at Cabra, in the County of Dublin, Ireland—or at least was there when Father Moran (now Cardinal) wrote his memoir of Archbishop Plunkett. The face is in a fine state of preservation. His body is in the keeping of the Benedictines at Lanspruck in Germany. The Dunsany branch of the Plunkett family have several heirlooms of the martyr, including his watch; and the descendants of his faithful servant, to whom he presented his beads as he mounted the scaffold, still preserve the memento with the deepest reverence. The body (that is, the trunk)—strange to say—was found, four years after death, to be intact—notwithstanding that it had been ripped open to the breast by the executioner, previous to disembowelment. Many miracles are said to have taken place at his grave. The question of his title to martyrdom was raised soon after his murder, but for prudential reasons was for the time being postponed. It seems likely to be decided

in the immediate future. His cause is still incomplete, but there is good reason to believe it will not long remain in that condition. About his martyrdom there can be no doubt whatever ; in fact, there appears never to have been ; and concerning his "fama sanctitatis" the evidence seems equally convincing.

J. J. O'SHEA.

Philadelphia.

Scientific Chronicle.

RADIUM AND RADIOACTIVITY.

Radium and its congeners continue to be the well nigh all-absorbing topic of the scientific press. New facts regarding these wonderful substances are being brought to light constantly, and scientists are looking about for an explanation of the phenomena which they exhibit. It is gratifying to know that progress is being made and that some of the facts at least have been correlated with some previously well known.

Of the three kinds of rays emitted by radium, the B-rays are recognized to be the same as cathode-rays of high velocity approaching that of light, while the J-rays are very probably X-rays which accompany the production of the B-rays and have a high penetrating power. The A-rays are the most important of the three. Rutherford found that these could be deviated by a magnet or by electricity, but that the deviation was about one thousand times less than that of the B-ray and in the opposite direction. "From this he concluded," to quote Mr. Frederick Soddy, "that they consisted of projected particles carrying a positive charge about one thousand times the mass of the cathode-ray particle, and therefore comparable in size to the hydrogen atom, traveling with a velocity one-tenth that of light. This confirms in a remarkable manner the view of the nature of electricity adopted by J. J. Thomson . . . that the negative charge can be dissociated from the atom, whereas the positive charge is always associated with a particle of atomic dimensions." It will be remembered that J. J. Thomson's corpuscle is a negative particle one thousand times less in mass than the atom of hydrogen, which is electro-positive.

There is trouble over the atomic weight of radium. As a result of some years of labor Mme. Curie gave the value 225 as the result of an experimental determination, but Messrs. Runge and Precht, from spectroscopic observations, give the value 257.8. Of course, their determination was indirect. But such a discrepancy has never occurred before with any of the other elements when examined for their atomic weight by the same methods. What is wrong?

Recently Messrs. Rutherford and Barnes, in a paper presented to the American Physical Society, gave some figures regarding the energy of the emanations from radium that are worth transcribing.

One gram of radium, in the course of the various changes which it undergoes, yields in the aggregate between two millions and twenty millions of greater calories, a "greater calorie" being one thousand times a "calorie." Think of what this means! The energy liberated by coal in combustion is nothing in comparison, being only eight greater calories per gramme. If we were to take a piece of coal of a certain size, and were to burn it, enough energy would be liberated to raise the piece itself a distance of two thousand miles, about the distance between New York and Panama, vertically upward against constant sea-level gravitation. The same amount of hydrogen would yield enough energy to lift itself four times as far, about the distance from New York to Manila. But an equal amount of radium would yield enough to lift it to the orbit of the planet Neptune, which revolves at a mean distance from the sun of 2,800,000,000 miles. If such a store of energy could be made commercially available, it might revolutionize industry.

Perhaps one of the most interesting facts in regard to radium has been the discovery of its emanations in the gases given off from certain mineral springs, notably at Bath, in England. It was found, besides, that helium was given off also. The discovery that the radium emanations change spontaneously into helium led to the suspicion that radium might be found in the deposits about the springs. An examination by the Hon. R. J. Strutt, son of Lord Rayleigh, showed this to be the case. Radium was present in appreciable quantities, although not commercially appreciable. A similar result, at least in regard to the emanations, has been achieved by some professors of Yale University with some spring water from the vicinity of New Haven, Conn. Professor Himstedt, of Freiburg University, Germany, announces that he has found a heavy specific gas not unlike and probably identical with the radium emanations in the products of water and petroleum sources. And another experimenter announces that radioactivity exists in the petals of several odoriferous flowers.

In this connection it will be worth while mentioning another kind of rays, the *n*-rays, so called from the place of their discovery, the University of Nancy. Professor Blondlot is their discoverer. They are given off, it is claimed, by an incandescent Welsbach mantle and from other sources of light, from a bent bow, and accompany the sunlight. They are detected by the increase of phosphorescence they produce in a screen of calcium or barium sulphide, and can be reflected, refracted and condensed by a lense just as ordinary light. It is asserted by M. Charpentier that *n*-rays are emitted by the brain and nerve centres of the human body. On the other hand, the existence of these rays is denied by other careful experimenters.

It may be interesting to know that M. and Mme. Curie have been awarded the Davy medal by the Royal Society of England for the most important discovery in chemistry during the year. They have besides received 20,000 francs from the Institute of France, the Nobel prize of 40,000 francs, and it is said that a chair of physics will be instituted at the Sorbonne to which M. Curie will be called. And there you are!

AERIAL NAVIGATION.

From the time that Daedalus took his fancied flight from Crete, and doubtless before that time, too, mankind has always been interested in the navigation of the air. Not until comparatively recent times, however, has any success been achieved in this direction. Spherical balloons were a failure as far as control of their movements was concerned; so they were abandoned in favor of the elongated type, and the attempt was made to apply to these some light and efficient motive power. The average reader is apt to imagine that this was attempted only within the last decade. Perhaps this is due to the remarkable achievements of M. Santos-Dumont, which have held such a large share of public attention during the last few years. But the fact is that Giffard, in 1852, built an airship with a motor, in which he attained a speed of 6.71 miles an hour. Dupuy de Lome followed in 1872 with a balloon driven by man-power. He was less successful, as far as speed was concerned, than Giffard. Tissandier had an electric motor in 1884 attaining a speed of 7.82 miles an hour. In 1885 the Aeronautical Section of the French War Department, under the direction of Messrs. Renard and Krebs, brought out "La France," which reached a speed of approximately 14 miles an hour. This was a decided advance, so in 1893 the "General Mensnier" was built. This last was never taken out. If equipped with a present-day gasoline motor, it could reach 30 miles an hour, a very respectable speed.

In Germany the most conspicuous success was that of Count Zeppelin, who, although his 420-foot air-ship was not as efficient as he had hoped, had still some good constructional features embodied in his machine; and he will probably try again.

The achievements of M. Santos-Dumont are fresh in mind. The evolution of the gasoline motor to its present state of perfection was no small factor in this inventor's success. He has a small air-ship

now in which he rides about, as many another young man takes his pleasure in an automobile. And they say he is constructing an omnibus, for rides in which fares are to be charged per pound of passenger. This will be the tenth air-ship M. Santos-Dumont has designed and built. He has not been the only one to achieve success. This year the Lebaudy brothers built a vessel which attained a speed of 24 miles an hour, it is said. Mr. Spencer and Mr. Beedle have had considerable success in England.

These dirigible balloons have the advantage that the motor may expend its power almost entirely in propelling the machine. Suspension is cared for by the inflated bag. But on the other hand this must be of great size, and must combine great lightness with great strength. The tendency to buckle, especially when the wind is "head on," is a difficult one to overcome. Then again the proximity of fire to an inflammable gas, brought about by the use of a gasoline motor, is a fatal objection to this style of air-ship. The terrible death of Dr. Wölfert in Germany in 1897 and that of M. Severo in Paris in 1902, both caused by the gas in the balloon taking fire from the motor and exploding in mid-air, shows that there is ground for the fears aroused by the proximity spoken of.

In the estimation of thousands who advocate the aeroplane, in some form or other, as the means of solving this difficult problem, these objections have the greatest weight. These gentlemen hold that we must not long to be buoyed up in our aerial flight; we must make the air do some of the work for us, as the birds manage to do. Every boy knows that if a flat piece of paper be placed against the open hand and pushed forward with sufficient speed, it will remain in this position without any support as long as the forward impulse is continued. Simply enlarge this conception; think of a flat surface of any material combining strength and lightness and some hundreds of square feet in extent, add to it a rudder and some adequate motive power and you have an outline of the ideas of the aeroplanists.

The foremost difficulty confronting these inventors lies in the fact that an enormous motive power is necessary. How to secure this and not make the machine too heavy to rise and carry some weight besides its own is the question.

Up to last year three names were prominent in the attempt to find an answer to this question, Sir Hiram Maxim, Mr. Ader, a French electrical engineer, and Professor Langley, of the Smithsonian institution in Washington. The attempts of these gentlemen were unsuccessful; not wholly so, however. A want of stability seems to have been the trouble. Perhaps this remark does not apply to Professor Langley's air-ship tested last year, because the

machine was upset at launching, and thus its failure did not result from any apparent defect in the mechanism. But be that as it may, the stability has not been proved, and stability is a prime requisite in a flying-machine. Coupled with this, the apparatus must be under the control of the operator, who must have acquired experience in managing it. This was the idea with which Lilienthal began his experiments in 1891, after publishing a book which has become a classic on the subject. He built several machines, used gravity for a motive power and became very expert in gliding, making some two thousand flights in the interval between 1891 and his sad death in 1896. His machine was improved upon by a Mr. Pilcher, an English marine engineer, and still further by Mr. O. Chanute, of Chicago, Illinois, from whose article in the February issue of the *Popular Science Monthly* many of our facts are taken. But the greatest improvement, and, we are glad to add, the greatest success, was reserved for two brothers, Messrs. Wilbur and Orville Wright, who in last December achieved such a remarkable result with their aeroplane.

As a preliminary they mastered all the principles of flying as yet discovered, and then set to work to gain experience in gliding. For nearly four years they continued their practice, using machines of various types. They made two radical changes, by placing the rudder in front, where it is of greater service, and by assuming an horizontal position on their machine, instead of hanging vertically from it, as did Lilienthal, thus diminishing by four-fifths the resistance offered by their bodies to the wind. And when they could guide their apparatus as they willed, they added a motor of their own construction, for none of those on the market would serve their purpose. Their longest flight was over a distance of a little more than half a mile, and they reached a speed of from 30 to 35 miles an hour.

This result, while very gratifying, does not mean that existing methods of conveyance for passengers and merchandise must give way to the flying-machines. As Mr. Chanute very wisely remarks, their use and the use of dirigible balloons, when perfected, must, from the very nature of the case, always remain limited. If we consider for a moment that a locomotive can haul about 4,000 pounds per horse power upon a level track, and a steamer can propel a displacement of 4,000 pounds per horse power on the water at a speed of 14 miles an hour, and then think that the power required in a flying-machine of either type will always be about one horse power per hundred pounds of weight, we can soon realize that the golden dream of a transatlantic service through the air at the rate of three days per journey is not likely ever to be realized.

A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE MOON.

A recent publication of great interest to the public and of importance as well as of interest to astronomers is the work of Professor W. H. Pickering, of Harvard College Observatory, on the moon. It is accompanied by a photographic atlas, which presents the whole surface of the satellite in a series of eighty photographs, on a scale of 160 miles to one inch. The way in which the photographs were secured is instructive. Professor Pickering recently went to Jamaica in charge of a party to photograph the moon. The surface was divided into eight parts above and below the east and west diameter by dividing this diameter into eight equal parts and erecting perpendiculars at the points of division. Each of these parts was then photographed five times, once at lunar sunrise, once two days after sunrise, once at lunar noon, once two days before lunar sunset and once at lunar sunset. The work was distributed over some seven months. When the negatives had been secured prints were made, enlarged and reduced again, so as to have an approximate diameter of 13.7 inches, just one ten-millionth of the diameter of the moon, the scale resulting being mentioned above. The outcome has been gratifying, and the pictures are said to be very perfect and full of nice detail.

The book is written in a popular way, but is scientifically accurate. The author propounds some views entirely new and extends some old ones. We have been led to look upon the moon as a dead member of the solar system. Professor Pickering holds that we should no longer regard it as such, for, he says, it has an atmosphere, there are signs of something like snow, indications of volcanic activity and an appearance of something that looks much like vegetation. Let us consider briefly the arguments in favor of the existence of each of these.

It may be said that, in regard to the presence of an atmosphere on the moon, astronomers have always spoken cautiously. They have not absolutely denied its presence, but have rather held that if any existed it was extremely rare, so that it would produce at the moon's surface a barometric pressure not exceeding 1-25 of an inch of mercury or 1-750 of the atmospheric pressure at the earth's surface. They reach this conclusion from the fact that when viewed through the telescope there is no distortion of the edge of the moon's disc, as there would be in case an atmosphere existed; there is no haze visible, and the shadows cast by the elevations of the moon's surface are all sharp and jet black. Then there is no refraction apparent when the moon occults a star, which is not compatible with a dense atmosphere like that of the earth. However, when a

bright planet such as Jupiter is occulted by the moon a dark band, tangent to the moon's disc, is always seen stretched across the planet. That this indicates absorption of some kind seems evident, especially as nothing of the kind is seen at the moon's dark limb, indicating a condensation to solid form of the absorbing medium at this side of the moon, where the temperature is held to be not far from 460 degrees below zero Fahrenheit, the probable temperature of interplanetary space.

The moon's atmosphere probably consists of carbon-dioxide and water vapor, its surficial gravity not being sufficient to retain the lighter gases of our atmosphere. But it is also probable that even carbon-dioxide and water vapor would have to be constantly renewed from the moon's interior.

Now if an atmosphere such as the one described exists there is a possibility that we should see some evidence of snow. And so we do. White patches are seen in some of the craters and on top of some of the lunar peaks. In some regions these disappear as the lunar day grows longer and exhibit all the phenomena of melting snow.

Another notion of ours, that the moon's craters are extinct, Professor Pickering thinks we may have to part with, for he has studied an appearance much like a mass of cloud that arose from the bottom of what we know as Schrooter's valley and poured over its south-east wall. Other observers have thought they saw signs of volcanic activity, but no exact determination has been made. It may be that such eruptions supply the material for the moon's atmosphere. If this consists of water and carbon-dioxide, why may we not have vegetation? Our author thinks that we have. There are certain dark markings visible which are variable, growing darker and smaller as the sun rises and fading towards sunset. Organic life, he says, resembling vegetation, is the best explanation of this variation. Plant life may explain, too, the so-called "canals," visible on the moon as well as on Mars, with whom they have usually been associated.

NOTES.

COMETS DUE THIS YEAR.—There are four comets, whose periods are well determined, expected to return to perihelion this year—Winnecke's, D'Arrest's, Temple's second and the famous one of Encke. It is not likely that any one, except the last mentioned, will be easily visible. Encke's should be seen in September, but

in November it will be comparatively close to the earth and should be conspicuous with a telescope. The period of this comet is $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, but since the discovery of its periodicity in 1819 it has decreased its period by nearly two and a half days, or about two and a half hours per evolution. Under favorable circumstances it may be visible with the naked eye, having a tail a degree or two long. It is barely possible that Winnecke's may be seen, but the chances are that it will not.

THERMITE.—Some few years ago Dr. Goldschmidt, of Essen, discovered that if a mixture of pulverized aluminum and a metallic oxide, oxide of iron, for example, be ignited at one point, the combustion will go on without combination with atmospheric oxygen, and with the development of a temperature estimated at 3,000 degrees centigrade, 5,432 degrees Fahrenheit. In the course of the reaction the oxide is reduced, the pure metal remaining with an oxide of aluminum or artificial corundum. This mixture of aluminum and iron oxide has been called "thermite," and has been used commercially for a variety of useful purposes, especially welding. A mould is built about the joint to be welded, and above an opening in the top of this mould is placed a conical crucible lined with magnesia. In this crucible the thermite is placed and fired. The molten iron runs out beneath on to the joint, which is quickly welded. In this way rails, broken locomotive driving wheels and even a fractured stern-post of a Hamburg-American liner were welded in a few hours. The repair shop is thus carried to the break instead of having the entire broken part carried to the repair shop.

STERILIZING WATER BY OZONE.—The sterilization of water by means of ozone is now effected for entire cities in Europe. The ozone is derived from the air, which is made to flow between two electrodes in active discharge. It is then led to the base of towers down through which the water percolates over stone and sand, thus meeting the rising stream of ozone. This method of purifying water could be advantageously used in some of our own cities.

D. T. O'SULLIVAN, S. J.

Boston, Mass.

Book Reviews.

NEW PUBLICATIONS OF GINN & CO., BOSTON:

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- THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE and the Exploration, Early History and Building of the West.** By *Ripley Hitchcock.* 12mo., pp. 349. Price, \$1.25.
- IRVING'S LIFE OF GOLDSMITH.** Standard English Classics Series. Edited by Charles Robert Gaston, Teacher in the High School Department of Public School No. 52, New York City. Semi-flexible cloth, 16mo., xxix.-374 pages. List price, 40 cents; mailing price, 50 cents.
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- MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY. Part II. The Modern Age.** By *Philip Van Ness Myers.* 12mo., pp. 650.

It is a pleasure to handle the publications of Ginn & Co. They are always gotten up in the most commendable manner. These publishers understand the value of the material part of a book. They realize that a student can be attracted and held by a book that is convenient in form, neat in appearance, well printed, well illustrated, well bound, much more effectually than by a book which has none of these qualities, although both may contain the same matter. Unconsciously one is predisposed to estimate the value of a book by its appearance, for good thoughts are worthy of a becoming

dress. It is still true that we must not judge a book by its cover, although the word "alone" might be added to the adage, but it is also true that the cover and other material parts of a book can help us to learn its lessons and appreciate them.

1. "The Corona Song Book" has these special advantages: First, the selections are arranged in two, three and four parts, and are thus available for use in all grades of the grammar school as well as of the high school. Then each selection has an independent piano accompaniment, an entirely new feature in the part of the book devoted to hymns. Third, the best composers, particularly of the lyric school, are represented by pieces of harmonic and melodic excellence. Fourth, the book is modern in arrangement and material, and is well adapted to meet modern conditions. These qualities are owing largely to the wide experience of the author in schools which have done much to raise to a high plane the teaching of music. Finally, the selections, both of music and of words, have been made with the friendly assistance and criticism of many of the leading composers and musicians of the country.

2. "Tennyson's Poems." This volume, including one hundred and thirty-six selections, presents within a small compass the best of Tennyson's poems. Set apart from the mass of Tennyson's productions, they make the task of the student simple by leading him without confusion to appreciate thoroughly the vital meaning of the poet's work. The collection is thoroughly representative, showing the poet at the various stages of his literary development. The book includes an introduction giving a sketch of Tennyson's relation to his times, an account of the poet's life, a description of the way in which he worked and finally a summary of the leading characteristics of his poetry.

3. "The Ship of State" is made up of a series of articles by prominent men, either at the present time or formerly government officials, dealing with all the important departments of our government. President Roosevelt, ex-Congressman Thomas B. Reed, Associate Justice Brewer, ex-Secretary Long and ex-Secretary Day are among the contributors, each writing on that department of government with which he is most familiar.

4. Higgins' "Lessons in Physics" provides a thorough course in physics for schools which offer little or no laboratory work. Principles are explained by references to common or familiar phenomena rather than to set laboratory experiments. In fact, throughout the work the central aim has been to give the student an intimate knowledge of the physical manifestations that are most commonly

met in our daily experience. Commercial and industrial uses of the various principles are mentioned and discussed in connection with the principles themselves. As a whole this is a text-book designed to present without required laboratory work a comprehensive view of the subject of physics in a manner which will be interesting and at the same time strictly accurate.

5. "Geographic Influences in American History." In this new book Professor Brigham has presented vividly and clearly those physiographic features of America which have been important in guiding the unfolding of our industrial and national life. The arrangement is mainly geographical. Among the themes receiving special treatment are: "The Eastern Gateway of the United States," "The Appalachian Barrier," "The Great Lakes and American Commerce," "The Civil War" and "Mines and Mountain Life." Closing chapters deal with the unity and diversity of American life and with physiography as affecting American destiny.

6. "Stories of the Ancient Greeks" includes many of the charming tales of the Greek mythology retold in a manner suitable for young people. The second part of the volume deals more particularly with Greek history. The familiar stories are given in chronological order. The style is simple, picturesque and vivacious. The twenty-five full-page illustrations, from original decorative pen drawings by George A. Harker, are unusually attractive and really help to explain the text. The special cream tinted paper, the attractive binding and artistic arrangement of type and illustrations give a pleasing and appropriate setting to the text.

7. "Aldrich and Foster's French Reader" is adapted either to accompany or to follow elementary grammatical work in secondary schools and in colleges. Among its valuable features the following are worthy of special attention. In the first place, the selections are interesting from a student's point of view. The vocabulary has been prepared to meet the demands of the text at hand, and furnishes practically all the data the student requires. As a supplement to the vocabulary, notes appear in places where the pupil is peculiarly apt to go astray or to be satisfied with a poor translation. Every verb found in the early selections is given in the vocabulary, and the notes coöperate in bringing these first pages within reach of one who has no grammatical knowledge—without, however, inconveniencing the more advanced student. Finally, there is an appendix which contains the inflection of regular and irregular verbs, an outline of the subjunctive and a unique and valuable feature, lists of words and idioms to be used in review and in the acquisition of a definite vocabulary.

This reader is particularly suited to accompany and supplement the "Foundations of French," by the same authors, in which they have sought to present and illustrate only so much of the grammar as is required for a complete reading mastery of French, and in which the material is so arranged and condensed that it can be covered in from forty to sixty hours.

8. The "Flora of Pennsylvania" contains descriptions of practically all the plants that are to be found in Pennsylvania. It is a scholarly work and one which bears evidence of the painstaking care lavished upon it by the author.

9. "Poetry of the People" is intended chiefly for use in schools. It contains 416 pages, and for convenience is divided as follows: Book First, "The Older Ballads." Book Second, "Poems of England." Historic and patriotic, Miscellaneous songs and ballads. Book Third, "Poems of Scotland." Historic and patriotic, miscellaneous songs and ballads. Book Fourth, "Poems of Ireland." Historic and patriotic, miscellaneous songs and ballads. Book Fifth, "Poems of America." Historic and patriotic, miscellaneous songs and ballads.

10. "The Louisiana Purchase" gives in a succinct and convenient form a clear and simple history of the discovery, the acquisition and the earlier stages of the building of the West. The first part carries the history from the discovery of Columbus through the periods of Spanish and French ascendancy, and ends with a vivid account of the dramatic incidents which culminated in the Louisiana Purchase. Then follows in an abbreviated form the narrative of the wonderful journey of Lewis and Clark. The third part of this history sketches the important exploration of the West; the journeys of men like Pike, Hunt and Fremont. In the closing chapters something is said of the political and economic development involved in the permanent occupation and settlement of the West. The book is attractively bound and contains numerous illustrations, chiefly drawn from early sources.

GESCHICHTE DES VATIKANISCHEN KONZILS von seiner ersten Ankuendigung bis zu seiner Vertagung. nach den authentischen Dokumenten dargestellt von *Theodor Granderath, S. J.*; heraus gegeben von Konrad Kirch, S. J.

In literary circles the history of the Vatican Council will always remain inseparably connected with the names of two Jesuit fathers, both of whom may be said to have sacrificed their lives in the laborious work of editing. First came Father Schneemann, the founder

of the "*Collectio Conciliorum Lacensis*," who succumbed to his severe labors in 1885, just as the seventh volume containing the Acts of the Vatican Council were running through the press. Those who are acquainted with the "*Lacensis*" can readily understand how such a herculean task demanded a victim. Father Schneemann's work was taken up by his colleague, Father Granderath, under whose careful supervision the seventh volume of the "*Lacensis*" appeared in 1890. Thereupon Father Granderath devoted his energies to the compilation of a History of the Council, the materials for which lay in bewildering abundance in the Vatican archives. His work was nearly ready for publication in three volumes, when he fell exhausted and departed this life in the arms of St. Joseph, March 19, 1902. The labor of editing the author's manuscript devolved upon Father Kirch, who has now given us through the press of Herder the first two volumes and promises the third and concluding volume in the near future.

Needless to say, this history is a model one in every way and altogether worthy of its great subject. To have said that it comes to us from Herder sufficiently guarantees its typographical accuracy and beauty. Evidently the publisher anticipates a very large sale, since he has placed the price of both volumes combined at the low figure of \$3.25. Father Schneemann is a perfect master of historical art. The narrative in his hands marches on with a stately dignity that recalls the old classical authors. The first volume deals with the transactions preparatory to the gathering of the great assembly; the second with the proceedings in and out of Council till the close of the third public session, in which the "*Constitutio de Fide Catholica*" was promulgated. The climax of the work, the promulgation of Papal infallibility, will constitute the subject of the concluding volume, which is to appear in the course of the present year. Our only grievance against the learned author is that in writing what may be regarded as an official history of the greatest of Councils he has not chosen the official and universally understood language of the Church.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS—1493-1898. Explorations by Early Navigators. Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century. Translated from the Originals. Edited and Annotated by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, with historical introduction and additional notes by Edward Gaylord Bourne. With maps, portraits and other illustrations. Large 8vo., fifty-five volumes. Vol. VIII., 1591-1593, pp. 320; Vol. IX., 1593-1597, pp. 329. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co.

Volume VIII. of this great work is filled with the important events of 1591-92. The correspondence between the Bishop and

the Governor seems to indicate serious dissensions, and the author speaks of them as if they were serious, but it must be quite plain to any one who approaches the history unbiased that they were only differences of opinion about the management of affairs and about the relative rights of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. We have not noticed that the Bishop encroached upon the rights of the Governor to any serious extent, but the latter was very much inclined to interfere with the duties and prerogatives of the former, and it was quite necessary for the Bishop to resist such encroachment.

It is very gratifying to hear both these superiors insisting on the absolute necessity of teaching Christian doctrine to the natives, because there can be no true civilization or progress without it.

Here we find a Papal Decree freeing the Indian slaves in the islands, and ordering that restitution be made to them as far as possible for any injustice done them. Explorations in Luzon are pushed, the Chinese become dangerous competitors in commerce, and the Emperor of Japan demands tribute and homage from the Spaniards of the islands.

In Volume IX. the first quarter century of the history of Manila as a Spanish settlement is completed. It has made good progress and is prosperous. It is fairly well fortified; its public institutions are increasing; it is the seat of an Archbishop, and three other dioceses have been formed from it.

The desire of conquest is spreading among the Spaniards; the Japanese continue to threaten; the increasing number of the Chinese renders them dangerous, and the probability of a rebellion on the part of the natives is becoming more imminent.

This brief outline is sufficient to show that the interest which was started with the first volume has not ceased, and it will, no doubt, continue until the end.

THE PARISH PRIEST ON DUTY. A Practical Manual for Pastors, Curates and Theological Students preparing for the Mission. I, The Sacraments. By *H. J. Heuser*, Professor of Theology, Overbrook Seminary. 12mo., pp. ix.-142. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The title of this book describes it accurately. Definitions do not always define, nor do titles always explain, and therefore we think it well to remark that the title in this case describes the book. More than that, the fitness of the title indicates the accuracy of the author and is a guarantee that the book fits the title.

Father Heuser's old pupils in St. Charles' Seminary at Overbrook, when he was professor of liturgy, remember most gratefully how he lightened their burdens by his excellent summaries of the text

of De Herdt. The same clear, practical method has been followed in the book before us, and the result is a small volume, very compact in form, without sacrificing anything required in the way of good type and good paper.

There is a demand for such a book. We all remember how we went forth from the Seminary well equipped in theory and armed at every point with volumes full of opinions and references and disputes, regarding non-essentials, of course. And then we can remember without much effort how slowly and painfully we learned how to do things in practice. Before long we began to realize that there is a best way and an approved way of doing each thing which may be safely followed, without bothering about conflicting opinions, and we wondered why some one didn't tell us that long ago.

Now this is exactly what Father Heuser does. He sets before us in the briefest, clearest form the best approved way of administering the sacraments. We are glad to learn that the editor proposes to bring out a series of volumes similar to this one—perhaps ten books or more—covering in an elementary way the field of practical theology. These books will have different authors, and the following titles have been already announced: "The Ordo and the Mass," "Priestly Etiquette," "The Priest's Library," "Spiritual Direction" and "The Church and Its Belongings." The last named will appear next.

We recommend Father Heuser's book to all priests, but especially to students of theology and to those who have been recently ordained.

CHARACTERISTICS FROM THE WRITINGS OF FATHER FABER. Arranged by the Rev. John Fitzpatrick, O. M. I., author of "Eucharistic Elevation," "Virgo Prædicanda," etc. 12mo., pp. ix.-626. London: R. & T. Washbourne. New York: Benziger Brothers.

All admirers of Father Faber will be glad to see this selection of characteristic passages from their favorite author, whose works on the spiritual life enjoy a world-wide reputation. For such persons this book will serve to recall the most beautiful thoughts and most striking passages of his eight great treatises from which the selections have been made. Those who are not familiar with the author will find in this volume a most fitting introduction to the wonderful treasury of spiritual riches contained in his works. The make-up of the book is thus set forth by the author:

"Two hundred and twenty-four selections have been made, of an average length of about two pages and a half—most of them neither very long nor very short—that is to say, one out of every five or six pages of the works that have been dealt with; and these have

been grouped together in four books. The first book, under the approximative title, 'From Bethlehem to Calvary,' treats of the life of our Blessed Lord, and is made up for the most part of passages from 'Bethlehem,' 'The Foot of the Cross' and 'The Precious Blood.' The second book—mainly from 'The Blessed Sacrament'—sets forth that continuation and extension of the Incarnation which, in the Holy Eucharist, makes our Divine Redeemer our contemporary and our compatriot; and this is called 'The Gospel of the Eucharist.' The third book, which is rather more than half the volume, is entitled 'The Warfare of the Christian Life'—thus indicating clearly enough the character of its contents—and is composed of extracts from 'The Creator and the Creature,' 'All for Jesus,' 'Spiritual Conferences' and 'Growth in Holiness.' The fourth book—not, notably, from any volume in particular—deals with the four (or five) last things, and has for title 'The Thought of the Eternal Years.' "

It will be seen at a glance that the plan is well conceived, and it has been successfully carried out. The volume completes the trio, the other two members of which are "The Characteristics of Newman" and "The Characteristics of Manning," and it is worthy of a place beside them.

IRISH AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Very Rev. John Canon O'Hanlon, M. R. I. A.* Quarto, pp. 765. Illustrated. Dublin: Sealy, Byers & Walker.

This is a remarkable work for a man of eighty years and more who has always been engaged with the busy duties of a missionary priest in the United States and Ireland and yet has found time to build up in a truly historical manner and the best literary style this extensive volume. It is more remarkable because it has been done while the writer lived thousands of miles from the scene of action, and most remarkable because he was at the same time engaged on another monumental work, the lives of the Irish saints, in twelve large octavo volumes.

The reader of the work before us would not suspect this from an inspection and perusal of the book. There is about it no indication of failing power on the part of the author, nor any evidence of hasty or imperfect preparation. On the contrary, we find everywhere evidences of the vigorous mind, facile pen and capacity for research of a young enthusiastic historian.

The author's purpose is to set before the people of Ireland a general and complete history of the United States, showing the leading events from the beginning until the close of the nineteenth century in a summary but consecutive manner. It is most becoming that an Irishman should write a history of this country to which a stream of Irish emigrants has steadily flowed from early colonial

days. These and their descendants have ever been active in the upbuilding of the country and in its defense, and their names should be written with honor on every page of its history. This has not always been done, and there are many unaccountable omissions to record race and ancestry in making the scroll. This defect Canon O'Hanlon hopes to have remedied in his history. He has gathered together a great mass of historical material, digested it and arranged it, until it has come forth on the pages of this book, interesting, instructive and true. Every statement is backed by authority and may be quoted without fear. Altogether the book is worthy of the subject and the author, and this is high praise.

WISSENSCHAFT DER SEELENLEITUNG. Eine Pastoraltheologie in vier Buechern. Von Dr. *Cornelius Krieg*, Professor an der Universitaet Freiburg i. Br. Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, net \$2.80.

From the earliest ages of the Church the Christian direction of souls has been looked upon as an *art*, indeed, to speak with St. Gregory, as the *art of arts*: *Ars artium est regimen animarum*. To our own age has been reserved the task of raising this important art to the dignity of a science. We all know from experience how defective our training heretofore has been in this department; how many things of great moment we were left to learn at haphazard in the exercise of the ministry, often learning only on the old lines of *errando discitur* and *usus te plura docebit*. It was not to be expected that modern science would suffer this state of affairs to continue without making an effort to reform it. Spiritual direction has a solid scientific basis, founded in the immutability of God's law and in the moral unity of human nature. We extend a most hearty welcome, therefore, to the important work, the first volume of which we have perused with intense interest. Out of the full treasury of a well-equipped and well-disciplined mind, Dr. Krieg has brought forth new things and old. He has marshaled the scattered wisdom of Catholic saints and doctors into a solid phalanx, in which part answers to part and everything is found in its proper place. This first volume of 558 pages treats of The Science of Special Spiritual Direction. After laying down the fundamental principles of spiritual direction, he reviews the entire field of pastoral activity, guiding the priest through his daily work with consummate skill and with a special eye to the needs of modern times. His remarks on the social question and the attitude of the clergy towards labor unions are peculiarly relevant and helpful. His following three volumes will treat of "Catechetics," "Homiletics," and "Liturgy." We shall give a more extended notice of this excellent work when it shall appear in an English dress; we trust very soon.

LUTHER UND LUTHERTHUM in der ersten Entwicklung quellenmaessig dargestellt. Von P. Heinrich Denifle, O. P. Erster Band. Mainz: Verlag von Franz Kirchheim.

In this formidable volume of 860 pages Father Denifle delivers his first broadside against Luther and Lutherdom. We have read ere now that the Spouse of Christ can present the appearance of an army in battle array; but this book rather resembles a modern battleship, bristling with ponderous ordnance. It is hard to see what is left of Luther and his "theologians" at the end of this first encounter; nevertheless, the learned author speaks of a second, a third and even of a fourth book: and the veteran Dominican is already over sixty years old! The work has produced a tremendous sensation in Lutheran circles, not only because Denifle has unmasked the "great Reformer" in such merciless style, proving beyond cavil that he was a conscious liar and falsifier and of depraved morals, ignorant, moreover, of the first elements of Catholic theology, but chiefly because he shows up with unsparing hand the puerility and ignorance in all matters pertaining to theology of the most lauded of living expositors of Lutheranism, from Harnack, Kolde and Seeberg to the common rabble.

After paying his compliments to Luther's editors, Father Denifle plunges *in medias res* by dissecting Luther's diatribe against monastic vows, the lies and sophistries of which he tears to rags and tatters. At times his indignation grows really eloquent; but he generally maintains a scientific reserve, as of a surgeon directing a clinical operation. The second section of this first book is devoted to an investigation of the steps which led the heresiarch into the path of destruction, and the materials grew so abundantly under the author's hands that he was obliged to reserve a part for the following volume. The whole is a masterpiece of strong and dignified polemics; in comparison with it even Bossuet's immortal work must yield the palm.

HISTORY OF IRELAND, in three volumes. By Rev. E. A. D'Alton, C. C., with Preface by Most Rev. John Healy, D. D., Archbishop of Tuam. Vol. I, 8vo., pp. 460. From the Earliest Times to 1547. Dublin: Sealy, Byers & Walker.

We feel that we cannot better bring this work before our readers than in the words of the learned Archbishop of Tuam, who knows the subject and the author well and who speaks without bias:

"Some persons may be disposed to ask if there were real need of a new 'History of Ireland,' seeing that there are so many already in the hands of the public. Yet it is difficult, if not impossible, to find a really good history of our country—what might be fairly described as an all-around good history—full, accurate, well-written and impartial. If the Rev. Mr. D'Alton has not yet accom-

plished this task, he has certainly made a praiseworthy beginning. This is the first volume of what is intended to be a three volume work, giving a complete history of Ireland from its remotest origin down to our own time. It is an ambitious task which cannot be accomplished without much learning, courage and perseverance. This first volume gives evidence that the author possesses many of the most essential qualities of an historical writer. His style is easy and limpid; in description, as well as in narration, he is vivid and frequently picturesque; he possesses the critical faculty in a high degree, and holds the scales of historical justice with an even hand. Moreover, he is a painstaking writer in verifying his authorities; he has the great advantage of a good knowledge of the Gaelic tongue, which enables him to consult for himself the original sources of our earlier history, and he has not failed to utilize all the State papers and other official documents which the nineteenth century has produced in such profusion."

A NEW DISCOVERY OF A VAST COUNTRY IN AMERICA. By *Father Louis Hennepin*. Reprinted from the second London issue of 1698, with facsimiles of original title-pages, maps and illustrations, and the addition of Introduction Notes and Index by Reuben Gold Thwaites, Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. In two volumes, square 8vo., pp. 710. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.

This book is another evidence of the rapid strides which we are making in historical study in this country. Taken in conjunction with "The Jesuit Relations," already published, and the "History of the Philippine Islands," now coming from the press, it is a striking proof that we are beginning to appreciate the history of our wonderful country.

Rev. Louis Hennepin was born in Belgium about 1640. He says of himself: "I was from infancy very fond of traveling." And again: "I always found in myself a strong inclination to retire from the world and regulate my life according to the rules of pure and severe virtue, and in compliance with this humor I entered into the Franciscan Order." Here are the two qualities which combined to form the exploring missionary.

In 1675 he arrived in Canada in company with Francois-Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, Bishop of the newly-established See of Quebec, and René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, the great explorer. In this book Father Hennepin tells the story of the exploration of the Mississippi Valley, which was to connect Canada with the Gulf of Mexico by a chain of forts on the Great Lakes and rivers. It is an intensely interesting story, notwithstanding the disputes that have arisen concerning some of the claims of leadership.

The book is beautifully made and ably edited. It should have an enthusiastic reception.

FICTION FROM BENZIGER BROTHERS, NEW YORK:

HEARTS OF GOLD. By *I. Edhor*. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 234.

SAINT CUTHBERT'S. By *Rev. J. E. Copus, S. J.* 12mo., pp. 245.

CARROLL DARE. By *Mary T. Waggaman*. 12mo., pp. 161. Illustrated.

The work which Benziger Brothers are doing for Catholic fiction is deserving of the highest commendation. At a time when the trashy novel with its false views of life, its false standards of morality, its sneers at religion and its descriptions of all that is vile only sufficiently clad to escape suppression at the hands of the police, is daily becoming more popular, and is being more widely read, they are making great sacrifices to supply an antidote for this villainous poison. It is a hard fight and calls for much courage and great expenditure. Even those who should appreciate these efforts are not always responsive. But they will surely win in the end, because the right must prevail, and the victory will be so much more glorious because the battle was long and fierce.

The stories before us are good examples of what fiction should be. They show us the various conflicting elements of human nature which are constantly warring in every individual and in every community, but they also show us that vice should be shunned and virtue cultivated, and point out to us that every sin brings its punishment. Parents should place books like these in the hands of their children if they wish to save them from the ruinous trashy novels that are being printed by the hundred thousand, that flood the country like a vast inundation and that threaten to overwhelm the youthful mind of the day.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK. Chapters on Catholic Observance and Ritual. By *Herbert Thurston, S. J.* 12mo., pp. xi.-487, illustrated. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The author says:

"The volume which is here presented to the reader does not, I think, require any lengthy introduction. Its chief purpose is to supply a popular account of those external observances by which the season of paschal preparation is marked off from the rest of the ecclesiastical year. Although a devotional conception has not been excluded, the writer's principal object has been to touch upon points of historical and liturgical interest, points which often bring us into immediate relation with the practice of the early Christian centuries."

The purpose is surely set forth modestly enough, but those who are acquainted with Father Thurston and his methods know his great ability for work of this kind. In addition to the power to express his thoughts clearly, he has that rarer quality of being able to search for the truth untiringly and of recognizing it when he finds it. Some of the chapters of this book have appeared elsewhere, principally in the *Month*, but they are well worthy of reproduction in this more permanent form and in conjunction with others with which they form a consecutive whole.

LEHRBUCH DES KATHOLISCHEN KIRCHENRECHTS. Von Dr. J. B. Saegmüller, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Tübingen. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung. Price, \$4.00 net.

Though there may be a diversity of opinion as to the advisability of using the Latin language exclusively in expounding theological doctrine from the professor's chair, there ought, we think, to be no question as to the desirableness of issuing theological text books in the official language of the Church. This is particularly true in the case of books treating of Ecclesiastical Law, not only because they are of little or no interest to those who do not understand Latin, but also on account of the numerous technical phrases in which legal phraseology abounds, and which, to be intelligible, must be expressed in Latin. We should have much preferred, therefore, that Professor Saegmüller had not chosen to publish his text book in German. But, with this reservation, we can bestow unstinted praise on the book before us. The author, having thoroughly mastered his subject himself, presents it to students in an admirably clear, precise and methodical manner. His extensive historical studies enable him to throw a charm over a usually dry branch of ecclesiastical lore, by following up the development of the laws and institutions of the Church. An abundant index at the end greatly facilitates the use of the book.

READING AND THE MIND WITH SOMETHING TO READ. By Rev. J. F. X. O'Connor, S. J. Sixth Edition revised and enlarged. 12mo., pp. 209. Philadelphia: John J. McVey.

A book which has reached the eleventh thousand hardly needs an introduction, for it sounds its own praises in numbers. The public is to be congratulated for its appreciation of the work. Most readers need a guide, for all readers are not students in the full sense of the word. Nearly all men read, but few discriminate. This truth is illustrated by the records of our public libraries and by the account of sales in the leading book stores throughout the country. If we may judge by these records and by these accounts, and the conver-

sation of those about us concerning their reading seems to indicate that we may, a guide to reading is badly needed. Father O'Connor discharges the office well in the book before us. He may be safely and pleasantly followed.

EXCERPTA EX RITUALI ROMANO PRO ADMINISTRATIONE SACRAMENTORUM, ad Commodiorem Usum Missionariorum, in Septentrionalis Americae Fœderatæ Provinciis. Novis curis novoque ordine disposita. Editio decima tertia. New York: Pustet & Co.

This is a very convenient, well arranged and well made pocket Ritual such as priests on the mission use principally when attending sick calls. It contains all that books like it usually contain, the sacraments, the sacramentals and the principal blessings of persons, places and things. We do not intend to condemn it in any way whatever, because it is excellent in every respect as such things go. We do believe, however, that a departure from the usual order so far as to bring all the matter for the sick room into one place would be welcomed by every priest. One or two typographical errors which are not at all misleading will no doubt be corrected in the first reprint.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- A BISHOP AND HIS FLOCK.** By *John Outhbert Hedley, O. S. B.*, Bishop of Newport. 12mo., pp. viii.-414. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- ANECDOTES AND EXAMPLES,** illustrating the Catholic Catechism. Selected and arranged by Rev. Francis Spirago, Professor of Theology. Supplemented, Adapted and Edited by Rev. James J. Baxter, D. D., author of "Sermons From the Latins," etc. 8vo., pp. xxvii.-596. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- SPIRITUAL DESPONDENCY AND TEMPTATIONS.** By *Rev. P. J. Michel, S. J.* Translated from the French by Rev. F. P. Garesche, S. J. Revised and corrected. 12mo., pp. 278. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- THE PRIEST: HIS CHARACTER AND WORK.** By *James Keatinge*, Canon and Administrator of St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, and Diocesan Inspector of Schools. 12mo., pp. x.-323. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- THE SYMBOL OF THE APOSTLES.** A vindication of the Apostolic Authorship of the Creed on the Lines of Catholic Tradition. By the *Very Rev. Alexander MacDonald, D. D.*, Vicar General of the Diocese of Antigonish, Nova Scotia. 12mo., pp. 377. New York: Christian Press Association.
- WHERE BELIEVERS MAY DOUBT; or, Studies in Biblical Inspiration and Other Problems of Faith.** By *Vincent J. McNabb, O. P.* 8vo., pp. xi.-114. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- VIAJES EN ESPAÑA Y SUD-AMERICA.** Por el Presbítero *Kenelm Vaughan*. 8vo., pp. xxi.-346. New York: Christian Press Association.
- SHORT INSTRUCTION IN THE ART OF SINGING PLAIN CHANT.** By *J. Singenberger*, President of the American St. Cecilia Society. 16mo., pp. 97. New York: Pustet & Co.
- MANUAL OF CONFIRMATION.** Containing Instructions and Devotions for Confirmation Classes. By *P. J. Schmitt*. 8vo., pp. 206. New York: Joseph Schaefer.
- THE OBLIGATION OF HEARING MASS ON SUNDAYS AND HOLY DAYS.** By *Rev. J. T. Roche*. 12mo., pp. 71. Dubuque: The T. F. Phillips Co.
- COMPENDIUM SACRÆ LITURGÆ IUXTA RITUM ROMANUM.** Una cum Appendice de Iure Ecclesiastico Particulari in America Fœderata Sept. Vigenti. Scripsit *P. Innocentius Wapethorst, O. F. M.* Editio Sexta. 8vo., pp. xvi.-601. Neo-Eboraci: Benziger Fratres.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

VOL. XXIX.—JULY, 1904—No. 115.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF GENESIS.

PROFESSOR S. R. DRIVER, D. D., has contributed to the series of Westminster Commentaries edited by Walter Lock, D. D., a volume entitled "The Book of Genesis."¹ The make-up of the book is tempting. The paper is light, the size inviting, the type is large and the margin ample. The contents are more satisfactory still. If Professor Driver writes, he has something to say, and he knows how to say it. He has acquired the art of superseding all previous writers on the subjects he treats. The new Commentary is no exception to this rule. The author is familiar with the whole literature on Genesis, and he utilizes it both generously and judiciously. But he has his limitations, and he appears to have assumed them consciously. He gives us a list of works and authors with the respective abbreviations under which they are cited throughout the work. But no name of any Catholic work or author is in evidence. Again, the demands of criticism are humbly obeyed, but the canons of inspiration are simply ignored. Science is allowed unrestrained liberty, but the authority of revelation is ruled out of court. Professor Driver first compares the contents of Genesis with the conclusions of archæology, philology, ethnology and geology, and forthwith, without considering the

¹ London, 1904, Methuen & Co.

religious character of the book, he tells us "that in the first eleven chapters there is little or nothing that can be called historical in our sense of the word," and that in the succeeding chapters "much uncertainty must be allowed to attach to details of the narrative." He does not indeed deny "the religious value of the Book of Genesis." He devotes a whole chapter to this subject. But it gives only a further proof that science has the first choice, and religion must be content with the leavings.

The narrow limits of an article do not allow us to consider Professor Driver's view on the historicity of the Book of Genesis in its full extent. We shall endeavor to review his position with regard to only a single element of historicity, which the author himself calls "The Chronology of Genesis." Even within these narrow limits we shall not be able to cover the whole ground inch by inch. But we shall touch upon those points that really are the stronghold of Professor Driver's position. And what is Dr. Driver's position? His own words sum it up in a nutshell: "The chronology of the Book of Genesis . . . has no historical value." Truly, "this saying is hard, and who can hear it?" But Professor Driver does not expect you to take it on faith; he is going to prove it to you by answering these two questions: 1. Is the chronology of Genesis consistent with itself? 2. Is it consistent with such external data as we possess for fixing the chronology of the period embraced in the Book? Let us follow the Professor's reasoning with patience and attention.

"The first of these questions," says the reverend author, "need not detain us long. It is shewn, in the notes on xii., 11, xxi., 15, xxiv., 67, xxxv., 8, and pp. 262, 365 n., 368, that there are a number of points in the Book at which the statements made about one or other of the patriarchs in J or E² are not consistent with the ages of families ascribed to them in P;³ in other words, that in several instances J and E pictured the patriarchs as being aged differently from what they must have been, if the ages noted in P are correct, and that consequently the chronology of P is not consistent with that presupposed by J or E." To speak more plainly for the benefit of the readers who are not accustomed to the symbols J, E, P, Professor Driver has found that the ages assigned to the patriarchs in one part of Genesis are not consistent with those assigned to the same persons in other parts of the Book. This contention he proves by a reference to a series of passages in his Commentary. All we can do is to follow the lead of our author.

The first reference points to Driver's note on Genesis xii., 11.

² i. e., in the Yahwistic or Elohist document.

³ i. e., in the Priestly document.

The inspired writer tells us of Abraham's fear for his safety and the safety of his wife on account of the latter's beauty. "From xii., 4, compared with xvii., 17, it appears that Sarai was at this time at least 65 years of age." Professor Driver, therefore, finds personal beauty inconsistent with an age of 65 years. His opinion might be correct, if at the time of the patriarchs old age had begun as early as it does in our times. According to Genesis xxiii., 1, Sara died at the age of 127, so that her age of 65 corresponds to that of about 30 in our days. Professor Driver cannot consider it abnormal for the Saras of our day to keep their beauty till the age of 30. If any text of Genesis stated that Sara had lost her beauty at the age of 65, our commentator would no doubt have found it inconsistent with Genesis xxiii., 1.

Let us pass on to the Professor's second argument. In his note on Genesis xxi., 15, he tells us: "The word clearly implies that Ishmael was being carried by his mother, although according to xvi., 16, xxi., 5, 8, he must have been at least 15 years old. The inconsistency is similar to the one in xii., 11, and must be similarly explained." We have seen that the inconsistency in Genesis xii., 11, is not in the text, but only in the mind of its commentator, simply because he does not take into account the difference between the length of human life in patriarchal time and that in our own days. Similarly, the inconsistency in Genesis xxi., 15, is merely subjective; the Professor does not take into account the difference between the usual way of acting under the normal conditions of life and the expediences resorted to in extreme necessity. In other words, if according to the text of Genesis Hagar had carried Ishmael to a mere pleasure party, we might be right in pronouncing the text inconsistent with the boy's age of 15 years. But the case is quite different: mother and child are in the desert, in want of water; the boy is on the point of dying of thirst. Does Professor Driver find it inconsistent with the child's age if his mother carries him in his helplessness on her fruitless search for water? Would not any other way of acting be inconsistent with a mother's love?

Professor Driver's third argument is taken from Genesis xxiv., 67: "And Isaac brought her into his mother Sara's tent . . . and Isaac was comforted after his mother's death." Now Sara had been dead three or four years, when Isaac married, "an unusually long period for mourning in the East." No doubt, the East has its settled time for wearing crape after the death of a friend or near relative. But the sorrow of heart brought on by such a sad event has no uniformly defined time in either West or East. Professor Driver imagines that the one can be put on and off as easily as the other; the inmates feel sad when the house is draped, and sorrow

departs with the dark color of our coat. Human nature is not constructed on these lines, and Isaac has not been shown to be an exception to the general rule.

Professor Driver's fourth argument strikes one as being still more subjective. Genesis xxxv., 8, states: "At the same time Debora the nurse of Rebecca died." The commentator adds: "She is said in xxiv., 59, to have accompanied her mistress to Canaan . . . 140 years previously! And then the common refrain follows that "P's chronology does not always harmonize with that of JE." If the writer had added "as understood by me" or "as interpreted by me" his statement might pass; as it stands it is false and misleading. How does Professor Driver know that Debora did not reach the age implied in the text of Genesis? To say the least, such an age is not inconsistent with the high number of years ascribed by the Priestly document to its heroes.

The Professor's fifth argument appears at first to be more formidable. He states it after xxvii., 1-45, where the inspired writer tells us how Jacob by craft secured his father's blessing. "The preceding narrative," we are told, "involves a serious chronological discrepancy. Isaac is to all appearance . . . upon his death-bed; . . . yet . . . he survived for eighty years, dying at the age of 180. Ussher, Keil and others . . . infer that Jacob's flight to Haran took place in his 77th year; this reduces the 80 years to 43, though that is hardly less incredible. Even, however, supposing this were credible and consistent with the representation of the narrator, it does not remove the chronological difficulties of the narrative; for it involves the fresh incongruity of supposing that thirty-seven years elapsed between Esau's marrying his Hittite wives, and Rebekah's expressing her fear that Jacob, then aged 77, should follow his brother's example! Nor is it natural to picture Jacob seeking a wife in Haran, and tending Laban's sheep, as a man 77 years old. The fact is, we have here another of the many examples afforded by the Book of Genesis of the impossibility of harmonizing the chronology of P with that of JE."

The Professor's reasoning is really reducible to two points:

1. According to xxvii., 1-2, Isaac is on his death-bed, and still he survives for 80 or, according to another computation, for 43 years.
2. If the second computation be received, then 37 years intervene between Esau's marriage and the expression of Rebecca's fear for Jacob, and Jacob seeks a wife and keeps Laban's flocks at the age of 77. As to the first point, we fail to see it in Professor Driver's light. The text itself does not suggest any death-bed scene. "When Isaac was old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see, he called Esau . . . and said unto him . . . Behold now, I am

old, I know not the day of my death." Considering that Isaac's blindness is not said to be the result of his old age alone, the passage does not at all suggest any immediate danger of death. It implies indeed a certain degree of foresight on the part of Isaac; but this is not at all out of place in a man of 100 or 137. In point of fact, Genesis xxv., 6, shows that Abraham exercised a similar kind of foresight for the benefit of Isaac. What more natural than that Isaac should secure the right of succession to his first-born even as Abraham had done? Besides, the text represents Isaac as eating of Jacob's artificially prepared "venison," *i. e.*, of the meat of "two good kids," and as drinking wine, which are certainly not the marks of a death-bed scene. In exposing his second point, Professor Driver reasons as if the patriarchal conditions of life were the same as our own. If Abraham could marry Cetura, when he was more than 100 years old, as xxv., 1 suggests, it is not surprising to see Jacob keeping Laban's flocks and seeking for a wife at the age of 77. If thirty-seven years intervene between Esau's marrying his Hittite wives and the expression of Rebecca's fear that Jacob might enter into similar alliances, there may have been the best of reasons for such a long interval. Why should Rebecca entertain such fears as to Jacob's line of action, unless outward circumstances gave her an occasion to do so? Jacob may not have shown any inclination to marry, or there may not have been any suitable Hittite maidens, or other similar reasons may have banished all fear from Rebecca's heart as to the probability of Jacob's bringing home into her tent any Hittite daughters-in-law.

The sixth difficulty is stated thus by Professor Driver: "Judah marries, has three children, and after the third has grown up becomes a father again, and through the child thus born becomes a grandfather, all within the space of twenty-two years." How is this proved? "Joseph at his elevation had been thirteen years in Egypt," says Mr. Driver, "and . . . nine years further have elapsed, when he sends for Jacob and his family. But the position of chapter xxxviii. places the events recorded in it after Joseph had been sold into Egypt. Now in that chapter Judah marries, etc.," and his sons' sons descend with Jacob's family into Egypt (xlvii., 12). We do not deny that between Joseph's arrival in Egypt and Jacob's descent thither twenty-two years had elapsed. But we do deny that Genesis places Judah's first marriage after Joseph's arrival in Egypt. It is true that the chapter containing this event and the history of Judah follows the account of Joseph's cruel treatment at the hands of his brethren, and precedes the record of his life in Egypt. But this very interruption of the history of Joseph by the history of Judah points to an arrangement of events other than chron-

ological. The influence of Joseph is simply supreme throughout the last chapters of Genesis. The inspired writer, therefore, is anxious to show why Joseph rather than any one of his older brethren was chosen for this place of preëminence. Those who might have claimed a rank of preëminence were Simeon, Levi, Ruben and Juda. The reason for Ruben's exclusion is given in the history of his crime as told in Genesis xxxv., 22; the behavior of Simeon and Levi as portrayed in Genesis xxxiv. is a sufficient reason for their rejection. But the reader had not been informed why Joseph surpassed Juda in prominence. And information on this point was the more necessary, because in later times the sceptre was not to pass from Juda till the approach of the Messianic era. It was for this reason that the inspired writer told his readers all about Juda's sin before entering upon the story of Joseph's elevation. Nor can the opening clause of chapter xxxviii., "And it came to pass at that time," be urged against the non-chronological position of Juda's history. For the phrase is a vague formula of transition rather than an accurate index of time.

We come now to Professor Driver's last argument for the presence of chronological inconsistencies in the Book of Genesis. In connection with Genesis xlvi., 21, 27, he writes: "The chronology of P, which is here presupposed, is irreconcilable with that of JE. Benjamin, who has been described just before as a 'little lad' (xliv., 20), could not have been the father of ten sons, still less (lxx.) a grandfather." The difficulty stated by Professor Driver is not a new one; it had occurred to the ancient commentators who endeavored to solve it by admitting that the list includes those that went down into Egypt with Jacob *in lumbis patrum*. Mr. Driver believes that this supposition "exceeds the limits of credibility." And it is really hard to see why the inspired writer should have limited the number of Jacob's companions to seventy, since David and Solomon and the whole of the future nation accompanied him *in lumbis patrum*. The text itself supplies us a better answer to Driver's argument. Xlvi., 12 enumerates among the sons of Juda "Her and Onan," adding immediately, "and Her and Onan died in the land of Chanaan." Still, they are numbered among the seventy souls descending with Jacob into Egypt. Again, in xlvi., 15, Dina is mentioned among the children of Lia, but is not counted among the seventy. And this is the more remarkable, since the text expressly adds: "All the souls of her sons and daughters, thirty-three." It is therefore certain that some of those mentioned in the list of Jacob's companions and counted among the seventy did not descend with him into Egypt. It is equally certain that others descended with Jacob into Egypt who are not now counted among

his seventy companions. The case is still more striking in the Greek version; for in xlvi., 20, the translators have added the sons of Ephraim and Manasses. But this fact gives us a clew to the solution of the difficulty. The official Greek interpreters did not hesitate to alter the text of the list in the interest of certain influential Jewish families whose ancestors did not appear in its primitive form. If this could be done in the Greek text, it could also be done in its Hebrew original. But how then could the number seventy remain intact? By an omission of those families which sprang from female descendants of Jacob. This explains the presence in the list of the sons of Benjamin and Phares in spite of their Egyptian birth, and the absence of Dina's family in spite of the text's express demand for it.

Thus far we have examined Professor Driver's argument for his thesis that the chronology of Genesis is not consistent with itself. His appeal to Genesis xlvi., 21, 27, does not prove his point, because it mistakes an altered text for its genuine form; his appeal to Genesis xxxviii., 1, and xlvi., 12, is ineffective, because it mistakes the logical order of events for their chronological sequence; his appeal to Genesis xxvii., 1-45, is valueless, because it mistakes a family feast for a death-bed scene; his appeal to Genesis xxxv., 8, proves nothing, because it shows the consistency rather than the inconsistency of Genesis in its chronological data; his appeal to Genesis xxiv., 67, does not bear out his thesis, because it mistakes the outward signs of mourning for its inward presence; his appeal to Genesis xxi., 15, is irrelevant, because it mistakes an occurrence that happened under the pressure of extreme necessity for an habitual way of acting: finally, his appeal to Genesis xii., 11, is not to the point, because it mistakes the patriarchal times for our own.

The reader, no doubt, remembers Professor Driver's general statement that "the chronology of the Book of Genesis . . . has not historical value;" he remembers, too, that the Professor endeavors to prove it by his answer to the double question, is the chronology of Genesis consistent with itself, is it consistent with such external data as we have for fixing the chronology of the period covered by the Book? The answer to the first part of the question has thus far been weighed and found wanting. Is the Professor's answer to the second question more conclusive? Let us place it first before the reader:

	Heb.	Sam.	lxx.
The Creation of man	4157	4243	5328
The Deluge	2501	2936	3066
Call of Abraham	2136	1921	1921
Jacob's migration into Egypt	1921	1706	1706
The Exodus	1491	1491	1491

Now, it is certain that man existed upon the earth long before

either B. C. 4157 or 5328; the ages to which the several patriarchs lived, and at which their eldest sons are said to have been born, are incompatible with the constitution of the human body. According to the best available authorities, the interval between Abraham and the Exodus will be some 900 years; it may even have been 1,000 years. Hence the chronology of Genesis is not consistent with the external data we possess for fixing the chronology of the period embraced by the Book.

It is quite clear that the chronological table is the major premise of the Professor's argument, while the various incongruities he enumerates constitute its minor. Both propositions will have to be dealt with. We naturally begin with an elucidation of the former premise. The table as it stands gives us the respective figures found for the various events in the Hebrew text, the Samaritan text and the text of the Septuagint version. They show no disagreement in the date of the Exodus. But then this date is gotten by an ascending scale. Whether Ussher be right or wrong, he fixes the date for Solomon's reign B. C. 1014-975. Now, according to I. Kings vi., 1, the fourth year of Solomon, or the year of the foundation of the Temple, is the 480th⁴ year from the Exodus. Hence the date B. C. 1491, which the Professor's table gives for the Exodus, does not properly enter the chronology of Genesis. Nor does the second date given for Jacob's migration into Egypt properly belong to the chronology of Genesis; for it is obtained by adding to 1491 the years of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, which are given in Exodus xii., 40, not in Genesis, unless indeed Genesis xv., 13, 16, be urged as chronological indices. In the former verse we have only the round number "400 years," and in the latter the vague expression "in the fourth generation" referring to Israel's exile in Egypt. On the other hand, in Exodus xii., 40, the Hebrew text gives for Israel's sojourn in Egypt 430 years, while the Samaritan and Septuaginta texts allow only 215 years for the same period. The three texts agree as to the fact that 215 years intervened between Jacob's migration into Egypt and the call of Abraham. For they insert twenty-five years between Abraham's call and the birth of Isaac, sixty years between the birth of Isaac and that of Jacob, and they represent Jacob as going into Egypt at the age of 130. The greatest discrepancies between the number of years given in the three different texts occur in the first two periods:

	Heb.	Sam.	lxx.
From the Creation of man to the Flood	1656	1307	2262
From the Flood to the Call of Abraham	365	1015	1145
	2021	2322	3407

⁴ LXX., 440th.

It follows, then, that the chronology of Genesis proper reaches only down to Jacob's migration into Egypt, and that the three texts differ only with regard to the first two of the three periods covered by the Book. For the period of the patriarchs' sojourn in Chanaan the three texts agree in the number of 215 years. Hence the total number of years embraced by the chronology of Genesis is $2,021+215=2,236$ in the Hebrew text; $2,322+215=2,537$ in the Samaritan, and $3,407+215=3,622$ in the Septuagint.

Before we pass on to the defense of the chronology of Genesis, we naturally wish to know which of its three texts gives the true number of years. We shall indicate the main arguments urged for or against each of the three texts, in order to satisfy the curiosity of the reader rather than with a view of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. The following considerations refer to the Samaritan text: 1. Its antiquity speaks in its favor, but its poor codex parentage and its wretched state of preservation go against it. 2. Budde draws attention to the fact that according to the Samaritan text three of the antediluvian patriarchs, Jared, Mathusala and Lamech, died in the year 1307 after the creation of man, *i. e.*, in the year of the Flood. Friends of the text see here a proof of its trustworthiness, but enemies find here a vestige of artificial arrangement. 3. In the Samaritan text we notice an even decrease in the age of the successive patriarchs. The case of Noe is an exception which may be explained by his connection with the Flood. Here again is a phenomenon favorable or unfavorable to the Samaritan text, according to the attitude of the reader. 4. Bertheau has observed that in the Samaritan text the number of years expressing the age of the single patriarchs is in each case the sum of numbers expressing the begetting age of several patriarchs. The following table will illustrate this statement:

Patriarchs	Age	Sum of Begetting—Ages of Patriarchs.
Adam	930	$= (105 = \text{Seth}) + (90 = \text{Enos}) + (70 = \text{Cainan}) + (65 = \text{Malaleel}) + (500 = \text{Noe}) + (100 = \text{Flood}).$
Seth	912	$= (130 = \text{Adam}) + (62 = \text{Jared}) + (67 = \text{Mathusala}) + (53 = \text{Lamech}) + (600 = \text{Noe and Flood}).$
Enos	905	$= (130 = \text{Adam}) + (105 = \text{Seth}) + (70 = \text{Cainan}) + (600 = \text{Noe and Flood}).$
Cainan	910	$= 130 = \text{Adam} + (62 = \text{Jared}) + (65 = \text{Henoch}) + (53 = \text{Lamech}) + (600 = \text{Noe and Flood}).$
Malaleel	895	$= (130 = \text{Adam}) + (105 = \text{Seth}) + (90 = \text{Enos}) + (70 = \text{Cainan}) + (500 = \text{Noe}).$
Jared	847	$= (62 = \text{Jared}) + (65 = \text{Henoch}) + (67 = \text{Mathusala}) + (53 = \text{Cainan}) + (600 = \text{Noe and Flood}).$
Henoch	865	$= (130 = \text{Adam}) + (70 = \text{Cainan}) + (65 = \text{Malaleel}) + (100 = \text{Flood}).$
Mathusala	720	$= (130 = \text{Adam}) + (90 = \text{Enos}) + (500 = \text{Noe}).$
Lamech	653	$= (53 = \text{Lamech}) + (600 = \text{Noe and Flood}).$
Noe	950	$= (130 = \text{Adam}) + (70 = \text{Cainan}) + (65 = \text{Mal.}) + (67 = \text{Hen.}) + (67 = \text{Math.}) + (53 = \text{Lam.}) + (500 = \text{Noe}).$

We now pass on to the considerations referring to the Septuagint text: 1. The Septuagint adds to the generating age of each patri-

arch in the Samaritan text 100 years. It exhibits the same excess over the generating age of the patriarchs as given in the Hebrew text, except in the case of Jared, Mathusala, Lamech and Noe. Friends of the Septuagint point out that its text agrees better than any other with the real age of man; opponents of the Greek version find in the augmented numbers of its text a clear sign of artificial manipulation which was resorted to in order to adapt its chronology to the dates of Egyptian history and of Jewish tradition. 2. Böckh has pointed out that the Septuagint date for the Flood is really the result of a substitution of months for years in the Egyptian prehistoric chronology. For the common Septuagint text places the Flood in the year 2242 after the creation of man. Now $2,242$ Julian years contain $2,242 \times 365\frac{1}{4} = 818,890\frac{1}{2}$ days, or $818,890\frac{1}{2} \div 29\frac{1}{2} = 27,759$ lunar months. Again, $27,759 = 19 \times 1,461$; i. e., 27,759 is the number of vague years contained in 19 Sothic cycles or Dogstar periods. Supposing then that 19 Dogstar periods were assigned to the Egyptian prehistoric age, we find that the Septuagint number of antediluvian *months* is equal to the Egyptian number of prehistoric *years*. In other words, the Septuagint version has reduced the Egyptian prehistoric years to as many months. 3. It should be noted that according to the common Septuagint text Mathusala died fourteen years after the Flood. Josephus' Septuagint text avoids this inconvenience by increasing Mathusala's begetting age by twenty years and by diminishing that of Lamech by six years. The Flood is thus placed in the year 2256 after the creation of man.

The following points must be kept in mind in connection with the Hebrew text: 1. It would have been much harder to change the numbers in the Hebrew text than to alter them in the Septuagint version. The former change would be opposed to the whole of the Jewish written and unwritten evidence, while the latter could be introduced by an insertion into the first copy published. 2. It has been seen above that according to the Hebrew text the number of years that elapsed from the creation of man to the Exodus is $2,666 = 1,656$ (Flood) + 365 (Call of Abraham) + 215 (Sojourn of patriarchs in Chanaan) + 430 (Israelites' sojourn in Egypt). Dillmann is of opinion that this number is the result of artificial manipulation, since 2,666 is $\frac{2}{3}$ of 4,000, or $\frac{2}{3}$ of the number of years which according to the Elias tradition must elapse before the coming of the Messias. 3. Himpel (*Kirchenlexikon* iii., 315) believes that the Jews may have introduced the lower numbers into their text instead of the higher for theological reasons. According to an ancient tradition, the world was to last 7,000 years, just as it had been made in seven days, and the Messias was to come in the sixth millennium. Seeing that according to the Septuagint computation Jesus Christ

did come in the sixth millennium, the Jews lowered the numbers in their text in such a way as to place the time of Jesus Christ in the beginning of the fifth millennium. 4. The relation of the Hebrew text to the ancient Chaldean chronology is remarkable. For the creation of the world the Chaldeans allow a period of 168 myriads. Now, the seven days of the Biblical account of the creation give 168 hours. Thus the Biblical account represents a Chaldean myriad of years by an hour. Again, the Chaldeans reckoned from the creation of man down to the Flood 432,000 years or 86,400 "sosses of five years." The Hebrew text gives for the same period 1,656 years = 86,400 weeks. For 1,656 years = 72×23 years; but 23 years = 8,395 days + 5 intercalary days = 8,400 days = 1,200 weeks; hence 1,656 years = $72 \times 1,200$ weeks = 86,400 weeks. It is plain, therefore, that the Hebrew text gives 86,400 weeks instead of the Chaldean 86,400 "sosses of five years," *i. e.*, it substitutes a week instead of every period of five years. Professor Driver and most modern writers give the credit for discovering this relation to the French Assyriologist Oppert; but it had been discovered before Oppert by Dr. Gott-hilf Heinrich Schubert.⁵ Father Hontheim goes further still. He notes that the day even among the Chaldeans was divided into $24 \times 60 \times 60$ seconds = 86,400 seconds. Hence the Hebrew text allows for the period between the creation of man and the Flood a long day whose seconds are weeks, while the Chaldeans allow for the same period a day whose seconds are "sosses of five years."

It may now be asked whether a Catholic commentator is allowed to explain the years given in the Book of Genesis for the first few periods after the creation of man in such a way as to lengthen the respective periods. We know that no difficulty is raised against explaining the days of the first chapter of Genesis as periods, or as logical heads of subjects, or again as prophetic tableaux. Is the word "year" to enjoy the same liberty of interpretation that has been granted to the word "day?" It is the duty of the commentator to explain his text in the sense in which it was meant by the author. Now, whatever may be said in favor of such a wide meaning of the word "year" in the chronological tables of Genesis, we do not consider it probable that the original text of the respective numbers was obtained either from the Egyptian chronology by the substitution of months for so many years, or from the Chaldean chronology by the substitution of weeks for so many "sosses of five years." If the inspired writer had wished to give the number of either the Egyptian years or of the Chaldean five-year-periods, he would not have involved it in the riddle of a mathematical calculation. Whence, then, did the inspired author derive his numbers? We can hardly

⁵ Lehrbuch der Sternkunde, München, 1832, p. 210f.

believe that they were revealed in the proper sense of the word. We must assume that they were taken from the historical tradition of the nation, just as St. Luke gathered the material for the Third Gospel by diligent historical research.

That there existed such national traditions among the Hebrews we rightly infer from the existence of similar tradition in contemporary nations. Sanchoniathon, the "philosopher of Tyre," has given us the Phenician account of the origin and development of human civilization. And what is more, he has clothed it in the form of a genealogy, though he cannot have intended it as an actual family history. Its links consist of abstract conceptions, occupations and natural objects connected with modes of life. First, we read of the birth of man, whose food consists of fruits; secondly, there appears lineage or family; thirdly, fire is produced and employed by man; fourthly, mountain chieftains are in the ascendancy; fifthly, settled life gains more prominence with clothing of skin, floating on logs and worship of the elements; sixthly, hunters and fishermen become numerous; seventhly, we meet with ironworkers, fishing implements, rafts of logs, sails and incantations; eighthly, bricks are made of clay and houses are roofed; ninthly, husbandry flourishes, houses are enlarged and dogs begin to be used in hunting; tenthly, towns are built and flocks are tended; eleventhly, civil life is regulated by law and salt is used; twelfthly, the alphabet is introduced and the ship is completed; thirteenthly, medicine is practised. It is true that the Biblical picture of these stages of civilization is less detailed; still, the first four chapters of Genesis present certain analogies: Firstly, we read of the creation of man, whose food consists of the fruit of trees, whose object of worship is God; secondly, sin enters into the world; thirdly, man's clothing consists of skin; fourthly, man has to till the soil and tend the flocks; fifthly, the first community or town is mentioned; sixthly, we encounter nomad shepherds with movable tents, musical instruments, copper and iron working. On the whole, the points of contact with the Phenician genealogy are found in the genealogy of the Cainites.

In the second book of his history Berosus, the Babylonian priest of Bel, enumerates the ten Kings of the Chaldeans who reigned before the Flood. We give his naked list:

1. Alorus (10 sars).....36,000 years	6. Daonus (10 sars).....36,000 years
2. Alaparus (3 sars).....10,800 years	7. Edoranchus (18 sars)64,800 years
3. Amelon (13 sars).....46,800 years	8. Amempsinus (10 sars)36,000 years
4. Ammenon (12 sars)..43,200 years	9. Otiartes (8 sars).....28,800 years
5. Megalarus (18 sars)..64,800 years	10. Xisuthros (18 sars)...64,800 years

It appears from this that Berosus's list agrees with the Sethite genealogy in the fifth chapter of Genesis as to three main points: First, it is restricted to antediluvians; secondly, it enumerates ten

persons; thirdly, it terminates with the hero of the Flood. But the discrepancies between the list of Berosus and the Sethite genealogy are more striking than their agreements, though they may be reduced to five: First, the names in the one list have not as yet been identified with the names in the other; secondly, the Chaldean list registers Kings, the Sethite genealogy does not indicate the rank of its members; thirdly, in the Hebrew genealogy each member is related by blood to its predecessor and successor, while in the Chaldean list the descent of the government from father to son is asserted in two instances only, namely, from the first King to the second, and from the ninth to the tenth; fourthly, the Hebrew text gives a genealogy of the human race from its origin, while the Chaldean list begins with the first King of Babylon; fifthly, the Hebrew genealogy extends over 1,656 years=86,400 weeks, while the Chaldean list covers 120 sars=432,000 years=86,400 "sosses of five years."

When the Semitic tradition is fully known the foregoing two catalogues may be proved to be fundamentally different, having been constructed for different purposes, yet crossing each other at various points on account of their dealing with prominent persons belonging to the same historic age and to the same country, and by reason of their culminating in the same individual. Or, when the accretions and transformations of centuries are removed, and the true relation of the two catalogues is come to light, they may be found to represent the same tradition. It is not with a view of settling the question as to the relation of the two catalogues that we have placed them side by side in the preceding paragraph; any attempt of this kind would be premature at our present state of imperfect acquaintance with Semitic traditions. But we have drawn attention to the ancient Phenician and Chaldean genealogical lists in order to convince the reader that similar traditional material must have been at the service of the author of the Book of Genesis. Supposing then that the author derived his chronology from traditional sources, what are we to say of its value?

Writers of the most conservative school find here a clue for harmonizing the differences existing between the numbers of the Hebrew, the Samaritan and the Septuagint texts. They suppose the existence of a religious year beside the civil year, and the possibility of sars, sosses and Dogstar cycles different from those commonly admitted. We cannot here enter into the minutiae of these computations; the following samples will show their weakness and their strength. Adding the number of years elapsed between the Flood and Thare to the number of years intervening between man's creation and the Flood, we can construct the following harmony:

Hebr. text: 1656 common years+222 common years=1878 common years.

Septuagint text: 2256 sacred years of 7 months+1052 sacred years=3308 sacred years=1876 common years.

Samaritan text: 1356 common years+922 sacred years=1876 common years.

Again, the present lunar cycle=6,793.99 days=18.8 years. Assuming then that the Chaldean sar is identical with a lunar cycle, and keeping in mind that according to Chaldean tradition 120 sars elapsed in antediluvian times, we find that this period extended through $18.8 \times 120 = 2,256$ years, i. e., the number of years found in Josephus' Septuagint text. Later on, we are told, on account of more accurate computation, the number 2,256 of the Septuagint was changed to 2,242. Now, 2,242 sacred years of nine months are equal to 1,657 solar years, the number found in the Hebrew text. Again, 2,242 sacred years of seven months are equal to 1,307 solar years, the number found in the Samaritan text. It is clear that this whole theory of computation is based on arbitrary assumptions; besides, it omits all the particular data given in the sacred texts for the individual patriarchs.

Its profane traditional sources, therefore, do not give us any certainty as to the true numbers of the chronology of Genesis. But, once more, what is the value of the data in the Book of Genesis derived from such traditional sources? We need not mention the opinion of those who endeavor to save their historicity by explaining the names of the patriarchs as denoting so many periods of time, and by admitting that in the genealogical lists many names may have been omitted. Such an assumption does not seem to be compatible with the present interlaced condition of the numbers in the fifth chapter of Genesis. We do not take exception to the supposition as such that names have been omitted in the lists; for we know that such omissions are found in the genealogy contained in the first chapter of St. Matthew. But unless we assume also that in Genesis v. the patriarch begotten before the lacuna was homonymous with the patriarch begetting after the lacuna, we deal with impossibilities.

At the same time, we do not agree with those writers, Catholic though they be, who find no history in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, except in the account of original sin which they believe on the authoritative declaration of the Church. We know that the name "myth" is deprecated as applying to this portion of the Sacred Book; but "myth" is excluded only in so far as it implies the idea of polytheism. In point of fact, Father Lagrange is of opinion that the inspired writer did not believe in the historicity of his own account of Lot and of Lot's daughters. Father Durand does not wish to go the whole length of Father Lagrange's so-called *méthode historique*. However, he points out religious instruction as the

principal aim of the Bible, and in this the Bible is infallible. But outside the sphere of religious truth, the inspired writers often report mere opinions, relative truths, current traditions, without guaranteeing the truthfulness of all this. Another Catholic writer advances the theory that the inspired writer or writers of Genesis intended only to transmit legends and to give a fixed form to traditions without guaranteeing the truth of either. The truthfulness of the account implies, therefore, nothing more than that it gives us both legends and traditions as they existed at the time of its composition. A fourth commentator agrees with the last view substantially. He only stipulates that due notice ought to be taken of existing ecclesiastical traditions or authoritative declarations concerning Biblical texts and passages.⁶

Perhaps our readers are afraid to adopt any of the four views of the last paragraph in an unqualified way. Probably an article by Father Prat will meet their dogmatic difficulties concerning this question. He points out that the Bible does not intend to teach us science; hence it utilizes mythology in the same way in which profane books use it. Again, it does not correct the errors of popular views on matters of science. But what are we to think about the truthfulness of the historical portions of the Bible? Father Prat tells us that the inspired historians are neither mere compilers of preëxisting material nor are they critical investigators; they steer a middle course between these two extremes. At times they show expressly that they do not guarantee the truthfulness of the historical narrative they transmit. Father J. Brucker, too, reminds us that the infallibility of Scripture is limited to genuine statements of the inspired writer himself. Still he does not wish to maintain the general proposition that the inspired writers merely copy preëxisting material without making it their own. However, they may even *implicitly* signify that they are not to be held responsible for the truthfulness of their sources. According to Father Brucker, such an implicit refusal of guaranteeing the veracity of their text they give in case of the genealogies. At the same time, the reverend author expresses his dissent from the views of Lenormant, Loisy and Lagrange.⁷ These views are both moderate and sufficient to solve any real difficulty that may be urged against the truthfulness of the genuine sense of Sacred Scripture. Yet they are not new;

⁶ Cf. M. J. Lagrange, O. Pr., *La méthode historique, surtout à propos de l'A. T.*: Paris, 1903, V. Lecoffre, 12^o, pp. viii.+221.—A. Durand, S. J., *L'autorité de la Bible en matière d'histoire*: *Revue du clergé franç.*, Dec. 1, 1902.—*La veracità storica dell' Esateuco*: *Studi religiosi*, II., 4, 281-332.—Venard, in *Revue du clergé franç.*, April 15, 1903, 521f.

⁷ F. Prat, S. J., *Progrès et Tradition en Exégèse*: *Études* xciii., 289-312; 610-623.—J. Brucker, S. J., *L'inspiration et l'infaillibilité de la Bible en matière historique*: *Études* xlv., 222-233.

they are only a special application to historical texts of a principle generally admitted by writers on exegesis.

Supposing then that Father Prat's *reservatio explicita* or Father Brucker's *reservatio implicita* of the inspired writer is applicable to the genealogical tables in Genesis, how does it affect Professor Driver's argument against the truthfulness of the chronology of the Book? The reader remembers that the argument may be expressed in the following dialectic form: The chronology of Genesis fixes a certain year for the creation of man, assigns a certain list of ages to the antediluvian patriarchs and places a certain interval of time between Abraham and the Exodus. But man cannot have been created in the given year, the patriarchs cannot have lived up to the various ages assigned them and the interval of time between Abraham and the Exodus is much longer than that allowed in Genesis. Hence the chronology of Genesis is untrustworthy; and since the minor premise is proved by external data the untrustworthiness of Genesis springs from the Book's inconsistency with external data of contemporaneous history.

According to the exegetical principle which we developed above, the term "chronology of Genesis" is used by Professor Driver in one sense in the major premise of his syllogism, and in quite a different sense in the conclusion. In the major premise the expression means "the chronology copied by the author of Genesis from profane sources without being guaranteed by him;" in the conclusion it signifies "the chronology guaranteed by the author of Genesis, whencesoever it may have been derived." By a similar method of reasoning the Professor might prove that the Psalms profess atheism, that the Fourth Gospel teaches the uselessness of prayer on the part of sinners, and that the Book of Job teaches false doctrine. Still, no sane reader will believe that the psalmist makes his own the expression "there is no God," though he gives it as the utterance of sinners; or that St. John endorses the statement of the blind man, "God does not hear sinners;" or, again, that the author of the Book of Job subscribes to all the falsehoods uttered by Job's friends. The personal attitude of the author of Genesis to the data of the genealogies may be less clear than that of the psalmist to the blasphemies of the godless, but it may not be less certain. For the certainty of truth and its evidence do not always keep the same pace. Our investigation into Professor Driver's major premise shows, therefore, that the conclusiveness of his argument is based on an ambiguous term; that it is less solid than a house built on sand.

We have not as yet dealt with the minor premise of the Professor's argument. No doubt much may be said for and against the alleged incongruities involved in the chronology copied by the author of

the Book of Genesis without being endorsed by him. Our present study is too long already to allow us a minute investigation into the various elements which constitute the alleged incongruities. To say the least, however, we do not think that the chronological data of Genesis for the creation of man, for the duration of life at the time of the early patriarchs and for the interval between Abraham and the Exodus involve as many and as striking incongruities as Professor Driver would have us believe. We are, however, glad to notice the Professor's admission that "*in the abstract*, either 2501, 2936 or 3066 B. C. would be possible for" the Flood.

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BELGIUM TO-DAY.

BELGIUM, though its territory seems petty to American eyes, is as marked a nationality in Europe as any of the greater nations. It hardly occupies a quarter as much ground as Pennsylvania, but it supports as large a population as that State. It has besides a distinctively national character of its own such as one would look for in vain in an American State. Its government, its industries, the social life of its people, its art and languages are all of its own pattern, as much as French ways are distinct from English or German ways. When one crosses the frontier of Belgium he finds himself in a new and distinct nationality, whether he comes from France, Holland or Germany. Coming for the first time from France, which is closer in its ways to Belgium than any other foreign nationality, the difference between the French and Belgian people impresses itself very clearly on any observer. The bearing of the Belgian country people is slower and clumsier than that of the people of Picardy or Normandy. There is less politeness, though no special rudeness, and less vivacity of gesture and speech. The houses are mostly of brick, with slate or tile roofs, and built with a square formality and finish very unlike the picturesque stone farmhouses of Northern France. Though French is the official language and spoken everywhere in the way of business, a new-comer finds it impossible to follow the conversation of the Belgian working classes even in Brabant. The Walloon dialect commonly used is as different from French as Lowland Scotch is from English. The universal prevalence of two languages in all public notices and

street names is also remarkable through Belgium. The second language is not the Walloon, but Flemish. Four-fifths of the Belgian people use either Walloon or Flemish in their ordinary conversation, and less than a fifth is confined to the knowledge of a single language.

It is common for foreigners to call Brussels a little Paris, and certainly it has more resemblance to the French capital than to London or New York; but still it is very far from being a copy of the city by the Seine. The distinctively national character of Brussels is as marked as that of Turin, and it is also distinctively a capital city, not a provincial one like Marseilles or Liverpool. Its language is certainly French, and the architecture of much of its newer parts is in French style, but there are numerous points of individuality that stamp it as belonging to a different nationality. In population it is far larger than any French city except Paris, and fully equal to Naples or Madrid. Including the suburbs, it counts nearly seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and in architecture, streets and general cleanness it compares favorably with any city of its size either in Europe or America. The great boulevards are as fine as those of Paris and the general appearance is entirely modern. Though Brussels dates its origin to the ninth century, its metropolitan character has been acquired only during the last century. Ghent, Bruges and Liege were greater Belgian cities than Brussels at an earlier date. It is only since the present kingdom was established that Brussels has taken undisputed prominence as a national capital. Most of the more important public buildings belong to the nineteenth century.

The Palace of Justice is the greatest of modern Belgian constructions, and it holds rank with any of those of either London or Paris during the nineteenth century. It covers nearly twice the space of the new London law courts, and surpasses the Houses of Parliament alike in mass and general effect. The site was well chosen on a hill, and the massive building dominates the city in a way that neither London nor Paris can show anything to rival. It was begun in 1866 and finished in 1883, at a total cost of about ten million dollars. The space occupied, including the open courts within the exterior buildings, is over six acres, or rather more than the area of St. Peter's in Rome. The gilded crown of the central dome rises four hundred feet in the air. The style is classical, but treated with artistic originality, and the general effect is singularly dignified and monumental. The façade on the Rue de Regence is especially impressive. The interior is finished as carefully as the exterior, and there is a solemn dignity about the whole that is scarcely matched in any other public building of modern times.

The Bourse is another fine modern building in the lower part of the city, and the royal palace, the Parliament House, the royal library and the museums are other monuments of Belgian building activity during the last seventy years. Brussels has, moreover, no lack of monuments of the older time that show she is no mushroom growth. The City Hall, built in the fifteenth century, if smaller than the modern Palace of Justice, is even more interesting in its architecture and contents. Its central tower rises three hundred and seventy feet in the air and is surmounted by a colossal statue of St. Michael trampling on the dragon. The Gothic architecture of the Hotel de Ville, with its wealth of pinnacles, arcades and traceried windows, is in striking contrast to the solemn colonnades of the modern palace, but it is hard to say which is more attractive. The Grand Place, on one side of which the Hotel de Ville stands, was the old centre of Brussels city life. It resembles the Piazza del Campo of Sienna or St. Mark's Place in Venice in many respects. The group of public buildings around it are in Gothic or renaissance styles, and recall vividly the old municipal life of the Middle Ages. The House of the King or Breadmarket is in flamboyant Gothic, though rebuilt on the old model within the last thirty years. It is now used as a municipal museum of relics of old Brussels. Five or six guild halls of various styles surround the Grand Place and give it a strong old world look, though the traffic of modern life goes on with unceasing flow around.

The Place of St. Gudule, not far from the Grand Place, is still more mediæval in its character, though also serving its modern uses as a centre of city life to-day. The Church of St. Michael and Gudule is to Brussels what Notre Dame is to Paris. It dates from the eleventh century, though rebuilt in the thirteenth, and, like most old churches on the Continent, added to and repaired according to the wants and tastes of succeeding generations. The front was largely restored about the middle of the last century, but the original character was faithfully preserved. St. Gudule's is a fine example of the mediæval Gothic, though not equal in dimensions to many of the French cathedrals. It is about three hundred and fifty feet in length by a hundred and sixty in width. The front, like that of Notre Dame at Paris, is formed of two towers without spires, with the gable of the nave between them. The towers rise two hundred and twenty feet in the air and the general effect is massive and imposing. It is not, however, the finest church in Belgium, and must yield in importance to the Cathedral of Antwerp and in constructive boldness to the great church of Malines.

The difference between the French and Belgian capitals, in spite of their common language, is marked in numerous points sugges-

tive of differences in national character. Cafes are much fewer in Brussels than in Paris or most towns of Northern France. Beer houses and estaminets are more numerous. Though the population of the Belgian city appears to be more temperate than that of either English or American towns, it is less so than most French or Italian communities. The small number of drug stores is also a feature which strikes an American observer in Belgium. It seems to imply that there is less taste for medical appliances and artificial aids to health than in America or England. The number of children to be seen everywhere in Belgium, including the large cities, is very noticeable to any one coming from Paris. At the hours for going to school or coming from it the streets of Brussels are quite thronged with youngsters carrying their school books. One notes nothing of the kind in the French capital. The small proportion of young children in the population of the French capital is strikingly illustrated by this fact. It has an important bearing on the future which is drawing much thought in modern France. When Belgium began its national existence as a kingdom it had scarcely one-eighth of the population of France under Louis Philippe. To-day it has nearly a fifth, and the numbers are growing at a rate of about one per cent. annually, while in France under the Republic there is scarcely any change in the number of the population. It was not so under the old conditions of France any more than it is at present in Belgium or Italy.

In the popular appreciation of art and artistic works and the support given to both by the government in all branches France and Belgium are much alike. The distinctive character of Belgian art is, however, jealously maintained. The Royal Museum of modern paintings on the Rue Royale is almost entirely filled with the works of Belgian artists of the last two centuries. That of ancient painting is more cosmopolitan, but much less so than the Louvre. The list of museums in Brussels is a very long one for the size of the city, and may favorably compare with the art collections of Paris in consideration of the respective population and resources of the two cities. The remarkable Wiertz Museum, made up of the productions of a single artist now dead forty years, is distinctively original in its huge canvasses. It is not easy to follow the painter's ideas in most of the subjects, which are a strange mixture of religious thought and wild socialistic ideas, but the work is marked with great power of drawing and color. In the intelligent laying out of the public parks and boulevards and the decoration of the public squares the Belgian capital is not inferior to the French, though, of course, on a smaller scale. The monument to the Counts Egmont and Horn is the most famous of the sculptures

of Brussels. It must be admitted that Belgian art is stronger in painting than in sculpture as a general rule.

One of the most interesting relics of the old Brussels is the Gate Hal, once the fortified entrance through the city wall and now used as a museum of arms of all kinds and ages. The most interesting single object in the collection is perhaps the bow of Montezuma brought by Cortez from Mexico as a gift to Charles V. and presented by the latter to the municipality of Brussels. The Belgians have a marked taste for preserving stray bits of the old fortifications which surrounded all their towns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as museums. Antwerp has its Steen and Malines its Brussels gate, both closely resembling the Hal gate of the capital, and, like it, used as storehouses of art objects.

The works for making a seaport of the Belgian capital are very remarkable. Through political conditions the kingdom has very little seaboard, and the want of commercial outlets is keenly felt. Antwerp is the chief port of Belgium, but it is situated on a river at some distance from the sea, and both banks of that river are territory of Holland below Antwerp. The port of Antwerp itself is an artificial one, due mainly to Napoleon's despotic energy. The docks, which occupy a hundred and forty acres, with eleven miles of quays in masonry, owe their beginning to his rule, though their development has been chiefly the work of the modern kingdom. The Belgian Government has planned a similar series of inland docks at Brussels, joined to the North Sea by a ship canal of sufficient depth for the largest ocean steamers. The works have been so far advanced that their completion is expected within three years, when the capital will become actually a seaport. The works needed to effect this are more considerable than the much-talked-of ship canal from Liverpool to Manchester, which was expected to revolutionize the conditions of both cities twenty years ago. The Belgians seem little inclined to talk loud over their public works, however large. The quays constructed at Antwerp during the reign of the present King represent an expenditure of nearly twenty million dollars, and the city itself has become one of the great ports of Europe in spite of the disadvantage of its situation. Its commerce annually reaches an amount between three and four hundred million dollars, and is steadily increasing. About ten million dollars were spent between 1859 and 1864 in land fortifications for the defense of Antwerp, which is now one of the strongest places of Europe. The public works of the little Belgian nation can well compare with those of any of the great powers during the last half century.

The distinctive national character of the Belgians is shown in

their form of government not less than their art and languages. Monarchy under a limited form was adopted by the representatives of the nation when it shook off the unnatural connection with Holland more than seventy years ago. The revolution then carried out was inspired by the very natural desire of people to manage their own affairs according to their own judgment. Belgium had been united to Protestant Holland in one State by the mechanical statesmen of the Congress of Vienna, who after the fall of Napoleon undertook to arrange the different nationalities of Europe on mere geographical principles. The four millions of Belgians resented this arrangement and took advantage of the second revolution in France, which put Louis Philippe on the throne instead of Charles X., to drive out the Dutch troops and officials. The different cities had been for centuries trained in local self-government, but, like the American colonies after the War of Independence, they had no national central authority. The representatives of the provinces on calm deliberation decided to establish a monarchy for that purpose, and further they invited a foreigner, Leopold of Saxe Coburg, to take the office of King. The choice was largely directed by the need of conciliating the adjoining powers who might be tempted to crush out the new State if its people showed any pronounced tendencies to novelties in governmental theories as then existing. The result showed the wisdom of the Belgian revolutionary legislators, as their country has had no foreign war since its establishment as a kingdom. The German Confederacy has since been replaced by an empire, and the French constitutional kingdom become in succession a republic, an empire and a republic again, while the Belgian people has been quietly developing itself without either foreign war or domestic revolts for seventy years. The present government keeps friendly relations alike with the military empire of Germany and the Republican Government of France, but the Belgian people show no desire to imitate the fashions of either. There seems little desire for republican institutions in any part of Belgium to-day. There is no exaggerated feeling of loyalty to the royal family such as may be found in England or some of the German States, but Leopold himself is decidedly popular. He is regarded as a man of sound common sense, who has done a good deal to develop the general interests of the country and has no desire to change the existing order for his own ambition. The act of the Belgian Parliament which permitted the King of the Belgians to become the independent ruler of the Congo State in Africa, not as a Belgian colony or crown domain, but a personal principality under his own control, is sufficient evidence of the popular feeling towards the King. The King's own conduct since, in leaving the

Congo State as a legacy to Belgium after his own death, is equally good indication that he has no special desire of enlarging the powers now enjoyed by the Chief Executive under the Belgian Constitution. It is also noteworthy that the possession of a large foreign domain by the Belgian King has led to no special expenditure from the revenues of the Belgian people. The State makes no pretense to create a navy, the favorite device for spending public money in most modern countries, including our own. The revenue of Belgium is quite large for its size, amounting to about eighteen million dollars, and its army is kept on a footing quite adequate to the defense of the country against invasion; but since its first establishment in 1831 the Belgian kingdom has spent literally nothing either on foreign wars or preparations for such. The burthens of taxation are little more than half those of England and not a third those of either France or Italy in comparison to the wealth of each country. The public debt has been contracted exclusively for internal improvements, such as the railroads, which are managed on excellent business methods and are not only gradually paying their own cost, but also giving a substantial annual contribution to the public treasury. It seems largely due to the low rate of taxes and the economical administration of the public service that the Belgian people continues to increase so rapidly in both numbers and wealth, despite the very limited territory it occupies.

Belgium is, and always has been, rather a union of self-governed communities having common interests and sympathies than a centralized nationality. Ghent, Bruges, Liege and Antwerp have each constitutions and histories of their own as distinct from that of Brussels as Belgium itself is from its French or German neighbors. The monarchy and Parliament occupy little more place in the general national political life than the Federal Government does in our own. In practice, the different municipal governments, with their unbroken traditions of administration and strong local patriotism, are nearly as important in Belgium as the different State governments are in our own system. In that respect Belgium is in marked contrast to its French neighbors. It has more in common with Italy, where Florence, Milan and Venice are all distinct centres of political life and thought, though the exaggerated centralization devised by Cavour to bring about the so-called "Unity of Italy" tries to suppress local self rule. There is much less centralization among the seven millions of Belgians living in a country scarcely larger than Massachusetts than there is in modern Italy, with its thirty-two millions of people. What makes the respect for the local governments of the Belgian people more remarkable is that they have been living practically as members of one State since the

beginning of the sixteenth century, while Italy had nine independent governments up to the Franco-Austrian war.

It may well be that the experience of forming nationalities and governments on surveyors' lines which Belgium had in its union with Holland kept the framers of its present government from any needless interference with the local institutions of their country even when seeking to give it a sufficiently stable central government. Possibly, too, Italians may learn the same lesson after further experience of the cost of modern centralization in government and its effect on the national life of communities long used to independent existence. Liberty is quite consistent with national unity, as Belgium shows, but it needs careful watching to prevent the old story of gradual encroachments on liberty in the name of national greatness. United Italy is a more imposing geographical nation than any of the old Italian republics, but it well may be doubted whether it will show either the material or mental development of the Italy made up of Florence, Venice, Milan, Bologna, Genoa and the other self-ruled republics of the fifteenth century. The Belgian statesmen seem to have been more successful in combining local self-government and traditions with new national government than Cavour and Victor Emmanuel were in United Italy.

A trip from Brussels to Antwerp gives a good idea of the diversity of elements that make up the population of the little Belgian kingdom. The distance is less than twenty-eight miles and the express carries you through in three-quarters of an hour, but at that distance one finds a city as different in type, manners, and even in language, from Brussels as Turin is from Paris. The country between shows nothing to suggest any change in population. It is all flat land beautifully tilled in small fields and dotted with brick farmhouses of a uniform plainness. The city of Malines or Mechlin stands about the middle of the road, and the Cathedral of St. Rumbold raises its colossal mass and huge tower high above a mass of low roofs. At Antwerp the train stops in a station now being replaced by a magnificent construction like the Central Depot at St. Louis. Numerous lines of tramways run in every direction, and the boulevards near the station are exceptionally wide and lined with magnificent buildings. This, the newer portion of the city, has much resemblance to the new quarters in Brussels, but as one goes towards the river and cathedral the general appearance of the town, while still one of business and solid construction, changes to the types of an older day. Following the broad avenue of the Place de Meir and its continuation, the Rue des Toulriers or Shoen straat, one reaches the Place Verte or Grass Market, the old centre of Antwerp. It is an open square of no very large size, with a fine

statue of the painter Rubens in the middle and the Cathedral of Notre Dame touching it on one side. Passing through a narrow street to the front of Notre Dame one finds the monument of another celebrated Flemish artist, Quinten Matsys, and a well enclosure in iron wrought by him before taking up painting as his art. Though the names of streets are generally given in French as well as Flemish, as in Brussels, one notes the higher importance given to the latter in Antwerp. Many of the store signs are only printed in Flemish, and even on the streets the French equivalents are often omitted. Very little French is spoken on the streets, though it is available in the stores and hotels, and there seems a certain jealousy of its use among a large section of the people. The faces are distinctly of a different national type from those seen in Brussels. They are broader and more blondes among the men, are heavier in movement and less courteous in manner, and there is much less courtesy shown towards women by the workingmen than by the same class in Brussels or any French town. It is not so much roughness as a certain rather stolid slowness that does not think of putting itself to any trouble for others.

The buildings around the grass market are many of them also a distinctively Flemish type, with high gables towards the streets and peculiar windows. The views of old Brussels in the Royal Museum seem to show that a similar type prevailed there largely even as late as the formation of the modern kingdom, but it has now been replaced by French styles. The Antwerp Flemings seem to have little liking for anything French and cling tenaciously to their old national ways in most things. Modern appliances and methods, however, are commonly used in business and public works, and the population is fully as active and industrious as that of Brussels. Cafes and restaurants of the French style are few and far between, but old-fashioned inns and ale houses are common and the latter well frequented. The use of dogs as beasts of draft is very common and very odd to strangers, but it is also seen in Brussels and seems rather a Belgian than a distinctively Flemish practice.

The same may be said of the chimes on the churches, which are exceptionally numerous and large in Antwerp, but are also to be found in every Belgian city in Walloon as well as in the Flemish provinces. At the time of my visit it was carnival, and the chimes of the Cathedral and other churches played almost constantly all through the days. The Cathedral has two chimes, the most important being in the tower on the right hand of the main portal. It is composed of ninety-nine bells, the largest weighing nearly ten tons and the smallest scarcely four inches in diameter. The largest was put in place in 1520, when the Emperor Charles V. stood sponsor for

its dedication. The love of the music of chimes is an old taste in Belgium, but it is still strong at the present day.

The Cathedral of Antwerp is the finest church in Belgium and much superior in finish to St. Gudules at Brussels. The main tower rises about four hundred feet above the street. The building itself is three hundred and eighty feet long by two hundred and ten in width. Its dimensions accordingly are less than those of several French and Italian cathedrals, but still it ranks among the great churches of the world in a distinguished place. The tower is very graceful and ascends by well proportioned stories, the upper in open work of stone. It has no spire, and, indeed, that feature of French and English Gothic churches seems not to have been much adopted by the Belgian church builders. The interior is in five aisles and very solemn. It is a perfect storehouse of art works apart from its architectural features. The Descent From the Cross of Rubens is the most precious of these, but it is only one of many masterpieces. A favorite fashion with the Belgian old artists was to paint sacred pictures in tryptichs. The centre picture is flanked by two others on hinged panels which can be closed so as to cover all three from view. The Descent of the Cross is of this kind. The custom still remains among the modern Belgian artists.

The carved pulpit of the Cathedral is of colossal dimensions, the design being to symbolize the five parts of the world. The employment of elaborate wood carving on the pulpits is another distinctive feature of Belgian architecture. They are to be found in nearly every church, large or small, throughout the country, and many are wonderfully elaborate in their execution. The carved stalls in Antwerp are also fine, but are quite modern, as is the great organ, which was only built in 1891. The Cathedral itself was begun in the middle of the fourteenth century, but not finished till the reign of Charles V. The monuments and interior decorations are of every age since down to the present time. The value of the Cathedral as a historical and architectural monument is fully recognized by the whole population, but its quality in those points is subordinate to its daily use as a place of divine worship. It is a peculiarity in nearly all the Flemish churches that the more important pictures are covered with curtains, which are only drawn on Sundays and holidays. Another distinctive Belgian custom is that all churches are closed at midday and only opened for evening devotions at a later hour, if at all. The rules of order are strictly enforced during divine service, and strangers or guides are warned against disturbing the worshipers at such times by loud talking or walking around the buildings. Most of the sermons in Antwerp are given in Flemish, and the church notices and circulars in the

same, sometimes with a French translation, but often without it. There seems less inclination among the Flemings to consult the needs of their French-speaking countrymen than the latter show in the Walloon provinces, where Flemish translations of public documents are always given.

The attendance at all the churches in Antwerp was very large. On Sundays and holidays nearly the whole population seems to attend Mass, and even on weekdays the churches are fairly well filled. Nearly as many men as women attend certain Masses on Sundays, and the general behavior of both in the churches is very respectful. The contrast in this respect is marked between the Belgian Catholics and those of Southern Italy, where there is a constant movement among the congregations that is disturbing to a stranger, though it seems not to be noticed by the native worshippers. The church attendance in Brussels was about the same as in Antwerp. There seems no difference in this respect between the Flemish and Walloon sections of the Belgian population. There is much devotion and also a good deal of irreligion among Belgians, but it does not seem as if either section of the population by race differed materially from the other in this respect.

Though the Cathedral occupies the first place for size and exterior beauty among the Antwerp churches, that of St. James near the Place de Meir is probably richer in works of art. Rubens is buried in one of its chapels, and one of his finest pictures decorates its altar. The communion table of marble in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament is one of the finest pieces of sculpture in Belgium. It was executed in the seventeenth century by Verbruggen and Kerrickx. The main altar of the church is also by the latter and equally fine. The twelve chapels of the nave, erected by different guilds and decorated at their expense, are filled with artistic works by the chief Flemish artists. The Church of St. Augustine has the famous mystic marriage of St. Catherine by Rubens and Van Dyck's Ecstasy of St. Augustine among its treasures. Its pulpit was carved by Verbruggen. The Jesuit Church of St. Charles Borromeo was designed by Rubens and is also rich in paintings. The artistic spirit of the Antwerp population is fully attested by the interior of nearly every one of the numerous churches in the busy commercial city.

The Royal Museum in a magnificent new building contains more masterpieces of the great artists Rubens and Van Dyck than that of Brussels. Quintin Matseys, Teniers, Giotto, Fra Angelico and a host of minor names are represented among its fifteen or sixteen hundred paintings. The Museum Plantin Moretus is one of the most interesting monuments of old Antwerp. It is the old resi-

dence and printing office of one of the early master printers who established himself in Antwerp in 1555 with the privilege of printing the Mass books for all countries subject to the Spanish Crown. He built the house in 1579 and it has been used continuously as residence and printing office till 1867. The city purchased it after that time from the owners and now maintains it as a public museum. The series of printing, engravings, bindings, vignettes issued by the house during the three centuries of its existence are all shown in order, as well as the old and newer types, foundries, presses and other implements of the printers' craft. Portraits and paintings by the chief Flemish artists are plentifully spread through the building. It gives a perfect realization of the life and recreations of the wealthy manufacturers of the olden time in Belgium, when ability in a craft ranked equally with a patent of nobility. Rubens was at one time one of the employes of the Moretus printing house, and his well-known *Lion Hunt* hangs over the mantelpiece of one of the halls. The strong artistic taste of the old merchants of busy Antwerp is strikingly illustrated in the Plantin Moretus house. So is their religious spirit in the character of the paintings which successive generations of master workmen chose to deck their apartments.

The carnival celebration in all Belgian cities is another curious instance of the tenacious hold which old customs keeps on this modern population so marked for its business habits and commercial prosperity. It began at Antwerp on Sunday and was in full swing in Brussels on Tuesday night, when it suddenly closed at midnight. The city seemed given over to the children, who paraded the streets in bands, singing old popular ballads and occasionally emptying boxes of cut papers on one another. Others let down long streamers of paper from the upper windows along the streets, and the more active passers amused themselves in trying to catch them. Many grown people joined in the fun with the same zest as the children, and masks and fancy dresses of a cheap kind were generally worn by young and old. There was much noise and the church chimes constantly rang during the evenings of Shrovetide, but there seemed little or no roughness and but little drinking while the carnival went on. On Ash Wednesday morning the churches were thronged and crowds presented themselves to receive the sign of Lent's commencement. The press generally affected to treat the whole celebration as childish, but the popular taste was entirely independent of newspaper comment and all classes gave themselves up to the time-honored practice with thorough gust and apparent enjoyment.

The difference in character between the two chief cities of Bel-

gium finds numerous parallels throughout the kingdom. The cathedral city of Malines, midway between Brussels and Antwerp, has as distinctive an appearance from either as though it were the capital of another country. It is quite large, having nearly sixty thousand inhabitants, but its streets and squares are wholly free from the bustle and busy work of either of its neighbors. Malines has its own history and monuments as well as Brussels or Antwerp, and its people go their own way without seeming to care for the example of their wealthy fellow-communities. The Cathedral, which, by the way, is the metropolitan see of Belgium, is nearly as large as Notre Dame at Antwerp and considerably older. Its front tower is of enormous mass, and though somewhat lower than Antwerp's in height, it surpasses it in the boldness of its construction. The lower story, which forms the entrance to the nave, is fully a hundred feet in height inside. The tower was to have been completed with a spire surpassing in height any other in the world, but it has not been carried out. The materials were prepared by the people of Malines in the reign of Philip II., but the Dutch Calvinists captured them in 1580 and carried off the stones as prize of war. The shrine of St. Rumbold was carried off at the same time. Church robbery was a common practice with the Dutch insurgents at the time. The interior of the Cathedral is very grand. The life of St. Rumbold is depicted in a series of twenty-four wall paintings, and a crucifixion by Van Dyck hangs over the main altar. The carved pulpit and chimes of Malines are very fine and quite distinctive in character. The general architecture of the city is the same and seems handed down directly from the Middle Ages. The remarkable cleanliness of the streets and good condition of both houses and pavements indicates that those particulars of city life are not as distinctively modern as Americans seem to believe generally.

The same distinction of local character in buildings and habits of life and the complete absence of desire to copy the methods of other communities is noticeable in nearly every city and town of Belgium. Ghent, Bruges, Liege, Louvain and Namur have each as distinctive an individuality as Brussels or Antwerp, and none shows any inclination to make itself a copy of the modern capital. It is remarkable how little this local independence and the difference in language between the north and south of Belgium seems to affect the general national unity. In the general administration parties are less organized on lines of locality than even in the United States. The value of local independence combined with federal protection is fully appreciated by Belgians of all the provinces, and there seems none of the desire for increased centralization of government

powers and State made uniformity in language and education that is so conspicuous in most of the larger European nations. The Belgians, like the Swiss, seem to find ample security for all the national unity they need in the common traditions, sympathies and interests of all the provinces of their little country. Their statesmen do not seem to think the patriotism of the population would be increased by forcing Flemings, Walloons and French citizens to speak a common tongue, as the Russian Czar and German Kaiser are dragooning their subjects into the exclusive use of Russian and German tongues respectively.

The common sympathies and traditions of all the Belgian provinces are certainly very strong and distinctive. All have been trained in local self-government for several centuries, and each regards its possessions as the most important public object in life. They have also, with the exception of Liege, all been under a single central government since the fifteenth century. During the two hundred years' connection of Belgium with Spain and the subsequent hundred with Austria the Belgian municipalities were always regarded by their rulers as a country apart and governed by its own laws. The twenty-five years' connection with France after the great Revolution did not leave any special affection for new theories of government on either Walloons or Flemings. The French standards of weights and measures and the principles of the code Napoleon in legal practice were the chief elements of social life that the Belgians have drawn from the revolutionary movement of 1789. When the forced union with France ceased on the fall of Napoleon, the Belgians desired to be left to follow their own traditional ways in government and society. The politicians of the Congress of Vienna assumed that they would accept monarchy under a Dutch king as readily as they had the regime of Austria and Spain, but the event showed their shortsightedness. The religious sentiment of the Catholic population revolted against the Protestant arrogance of their new ruler, and the attempt to drill them into a close union with neighbors of totally different sympathies and ideals. The Revolution of 1830 gave Belgium a unity such as she desired, and the mutual jealousies of the great powers of the day secured them in its possession. They show no desire for further change either in the extent of their country or its form of government. They have had long experience of the cost as well as the advantages of forming part of a great power. While connected with the Spanish and Austrian monarchies, though their domestic institutions were little interfered with, Belgium for two centuries was the favorite battle ground of Europe. French, English, German, Spanish and Dutch armies were almost constantly

battling on Belgian fields or besieging Belgian towns from the day of Rocroi in 1643 to that of Waterloo. The present population knows the history of its fathers and is quite convinced that the cost of connection with a great power is greater than the value of its protection.

Beside this national tradition, which is remarkably strong, the practice of municipal self-government, respect for law, and common occupations are the same in all parts of Belgium and make strong ties to keep the various elements together. Though a monarchy, Belgium has no aristocratic element with political power in any part of its territory. The difference in wealth between different classes certainly exists, but it is less marked and wealth more evenly distributed than in any other European country. The farming classes are more important an element than in England, and the interests of the commercial and manufacturing classes more evenly balanced with them. In England the majority of the population depends for its food on foreign importation. Belgium, in spite of its small extent and the densest population in Europe, is still able practically to feed its people from the fruits of its well tilled soil. The steady growth of population is a good index of the general prosperity under these conditions. The small number of Belgians who find it desirable to leave their country to seek a living is another. There are under thirty thousand Belgians from a home population of seven millions now settled in the United States. The fifty millions of Germany have sent two millions to our shores, and the proportion from Ireland is still greater. The emigration from the empire of William is just ten times that from the Belgian kingdom. Low taxation, little military conscription, equitable laws fairly administered and an intelligent and honest administration of the public funds are points in which Belgium can claim marked advantages over any of her neighbors.

The present condition of parties in Belgium seems singularly placid. Universal suffrage has been established since 1893, and there seems no special modification desired by any large body either in the laws or administration. The Ministry now in power is known in the country itself as the Conservative party, and it has a substantial majority in both branches of the Legislature. The chief points on which the opposition appears to criticize the party in power are those connected with public education. Here as in most other countries at the present day the schools are the prize for which the world is contending with the spirit of religion. The great mass of the Belgian people are Catholic. Less than fifteen thousand profess themselves members of any other Christian denomination and the Jews are few in number, but among the Cath-

olics in Belgium, as everywhere else, are found many who make their material interests more important than their religious practices. While practical Catholics hold religious and moral instruction the most important parts of the education of the young, a good many nominal Catholics grudge the time given to these points as a waste of energies that might be more profitably employed in teaching how to make money and get on in life. The question has been the same under different forms in every age since the foundation of the Christian Church. The pagan world of the Roman Empire opposed the Christian religion as a whole as opposed to the temporal interests of its government and society. The acceptance of Christianity as a whole by Constantine, as head of the Roman State, was followed by the attempt of his Arian successors to modify its doctrines and control its internal administration. The German Catholic successors of Charlemagne sought ineffectually to secure the nomination of the Bishops and even Popes; the Eastern Emperors and modern Russian Czars rejected the unity of the Church and claimed the right to name its local heads as a part of their political dominion. To-day it looks as though the desire to mould Christianity to temporal ideas had chiefly taken the form of excluding its teaching from the training of the young. The political rulers, be they monarchical or republican, everywhere seem to seek control for themselves of the public schools, which are becoming more important than before in the training of the young. In some cases concessions are made to the claims of the clergy to give religious instruction, in others they are rejected and religion even excluded from mention, but everywhere there is more or less of a contest between the world and the Church for control of the schools. The late legislation of the French Republican Government in France is one example of the war going on everywhere. In Belgium at present the Catholic sentiment of the majority finds itself represented in the government and public education is conducted on Catholic lines. We need not forget, however, that in Catholic as well as in other countries the formation of majorities and the policy of administrations depends on many other causes than the public general conscience. In Belgium only a few years ago the Masonic Cabinet of Frere Orban made a determined attempt to exclude religion from the schools of Catholic Belgium, much as the Ministry of M. Combes is now trying to exclude it from those of France. The Belgian people was to all appearances as sincerely attached to its religion then as it is now. In like fashion there seems no special difference between the general sentiment of most Frenchmen towards the Church to-day and the public sentiment of thirty years ago, when a Parliament of Catholic representatives voted the site-

for the votive Church of the Sacred Heart at Montmartre. The success of parties in elective governments depends on a multitude of considerations, among which the moral or religious attitude of the representatives is but one, and not often an overwhelming one. If we American citizens ask ourselves how many of our representatives, federal, State or municipal, owe their election either to their moral or religious principles, we may understand how Catholic countries like France or Italy may find their representation controlled by men hostile to the influences of religion, which the majority of people believe in.

In Belgium to-day the administration and parliamentary majority are distinctly Catholic, and it seems likely that this state will continue indefinitely. It may be changed, however, from unexpected causes without any sensible change in the general attitude of the people towards the Church. The religious orders are well represented in Belgium and enjoy as much popular consideration as among American or Irish Catholics. The teaching orders appear to enjoy exceptional favor and their schools are largely attended. At one church in Brussels the building was filled every day at 9 o'clock Mass by pupils of a Christian Brothers' school. The attendance at daily Mass of grown people of both sexes was very large at nearly all churches in Brussels, Antwerp and Malines equally. It was larger than in Dublin and very much larger proportionately than among the Catholics of any American city. The proportion of men was less than that of women on weekdays, but nearly equal to it at the Sunday Masses and Vespers. The behavior of the congregations everywhere was attentive and devout, and very much resembled that of Irish congregations at home. The number of communicants and at the confessional was as large proportionately as in Ireland, or more so. Special devotions seemed numerous and largely attended, and the number of votive offerings for favors received from heaven was conspicuous in many churches. In that of St. Gudule at Brussels one nave was entirely wainscoted with them in the form of marble blocks of a definite size and form. The general regard of all classes for the churches and religious monuments as cherished objects in the national life was impressive as well as strange to a visitor from America. The general air of desolation and coldness around the numerous churches in London is in striking contrast with the thronged attendance at Belgian and also Parisian churches during several hours of each morning.

One notices a rather authoritative tone in the episcopal addresses and similar documents in the Belgian and French churches. The Bishops speak as having authority in a way which seems new to an

American, but seems quite natural to the Catholics of Europe. The entrance to the churches is everywhere free, though collections are taken up at certain Sunday Masses, and in Belgium the chairs provided for seats are paid for at a sou each. The support of divine worship being regarded as a public necessity, it is provided for like other public needs from the general revenue. Before the French Revolution the Church's support was provided for by property of its own usually given at different periods by individuals who thought such a form of liberality a work of public charity. As most of this property was seized by the French revolutionary government during its dominion in Belgium, Napoleon when restoring the churches to public worship provided for their maintenance and the support of the clergy out of the general taxation. The grants were made as an equivalent for the confiscated property, just as interest was paid on funds invested in the national credit book. The Italian government of Cavour followed a similar course, and most of the sums paid for the support of public worship in Italy are in the form of interest on public bonds issued to pay for church property appropriated by the government.

The general adherence of the Belgian people to the Church through all the changes of the last twelve centuries is a remarkable historic fact. During most of the time its conditions have been more like those of modern times than almost any other part of Europe, and to-day its prosperity and growth as a modern commercial nation is superior to that of any other European land. That such prosperity is not inconsistent with public practice of the Catholic religion Belgium to-day is a striking proof. That its people will continue to retain the faith seems as likely as anything human can be. The storms of Protestantism and those of the French Revolution have passed over Belgium since St. Gudule's and Notre Dame were raised, but neither has interrupted the continuous Catholic worship that was going on within their walls before America was discovered or Luther born, and is going on there to-day.

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ST. THOMAS AND THE ARAB NEO-PLATONISTS.

AMONG the many features that lend a peculiar charm to the age of the Renaissance, the revival of Platonism is surely one of the most characteristic and conspicuous. And though there are many that make a great figure in that eventful and stirring epoch, there are few who can be said to count for more in the movement of the time than such men as Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola and their fellow Platonists of the famous Florentine Academy. For some, indeed, the great masters of architecture and sculpture and painting may possess a more powerful attraction, while others would fain lay more stress on the political life of the age and the daring schemes of statesmen and reformers. Yet whatever may be the worth of these men of art and of action, it may still be true that the main source of the Renaissance movement must be sought among the new disciples of Plato and Plotinus. For in the golden dreams of these idealists, in their new sense of beauty, the poets and artists of the age found a fresh fountain of inspiration. At the same time, the very fact that the standard of Plato was thus set up against the dominant school of Aristotle may perhaps be regarded by some as an important step in the emancipation of the mind of Europe, and the first faint beginning of modern thought and modern philosophy. For this reason we fear that many loyal disciples of the mediæval masters must look with little favor on Ficino and his fellows, and hold them as arrant rebels against the sovereign authority of Aristotle and harbingers of the intellectual anarchy of these later ages. And on the other hand the ardent advocates of progress and modern thought, whatever may be their own fashion of philosophy, will probably feel that they owe a deep debt of gratitude to Ficino and his fellow Platonists of Florence.

It may be readily allowed that in all this there is some measure of truth. The Platonists of the Renaissance quickened philosophy with a new life by recalling the minds of men to ideas that had been overlooked or neglected in the days of decadent Scholasticism. And at the same time they sounded a note of independence which has perhaps had some echoes in which they could have but little sympathy. But we venture to think that both the good and the evil have been somewhat exaggerated. This is scarcely surprising. For a just appreciation of the revolution wrought by the Renaissance Platonists, postulates a right understanding of the mediæval system which, to some extent at least, they superseded. And in the whole range of the long and varied history of philosophy there

are few periods and few systems that have been more strangely misunderstood and more persistently misrepresented than mediæval Scholasticism.

It is a common reproach among recent writers that the Schoolmen proceeded from supposed general principles and abstract propositions instead of examining the facts of nature for themselves. If there be any truth in this charge, it must be confessed that the fault has been visited by a full measure of poetic justice. For the Schoolmen and their works have been very generally judged as they themselves are said to have treated the wider world of life and nature. The student of literary history will readily remember much that has been said or written on this subject, from the days of Bacon and Hobbes down to our own time. There is, we may say, a veritable tradition against Scholasticism and a goodly array of authorities as imposing and peremptory as any *catena* of the Church Fathers. And it might almost seem somewhat presumptuous to question the validity of the verdict. But how many of those who condemn the Scholastics as dry formalists and servile followers of Aristotle can be said to speak from their own knowledge of the matter? How many have gone behind the conventional formula and examined the facts for themselves? To speak frankly, the servile following of Aristotle by the mediæval school is a traditional myth that can scarcely bear the rude blasts of scientific criticism.

Unfortunately the common misconception on this matter is by no means confined to the foes of Scholastic philosophy. For there is good reason to suspect that some of our neo-scholastics have but a slender first hand acquaintance with the mediæval masters whom they profess to follow; and too often, like their opponents, they seem to interpret the past by a conventional formula rather than by an examination of the facts of history. In any case, their treatment of modern philosophy, their disparagement of Plato and their account of the orthodox Aristotelianism can only help to confirm and perpetuate the prevailing conception of Scholasticism as a dry, narrow and rigid system. To judge by the language of some popular text-books and esteemed professors, one would suppose that European thought had gone hopelessly astray since the days of Descartes, while in an earlier and happier age the more logical methods of the Schoolmen had proved an effective safeguard against similar dangers. In this way we fear that the extremists on both sides unite their forces in broadening and deepening the divisions that separate the various schools of philosophy. Were it only for this reason, it will be well to lay stress on some forgotten or neglected aspects of mediæval philosophy to mark the mental inde-

pendence and the broad sympathies of the greater Schoolmen, and especially to note the presence of a large element of Platonism in the imposing fabric of Scholastic Aristotelianism.

It is true, indeed, that the name of Aristotle looms large in the history of mediæval thought and literature. In Dante's pages we see him throned above all other teachers as the "master of them that know." His works were sedulously studied and luminously expounded by Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas and the other mediæval masters. And though he was not followed with blind faith or unreasoning submission, much weight was undoubtedly attached to his authority. At first sight it might well seem that the current account of the matter was well warranted. And in the face of these facts it needs some hardihood to insist that after all Aristotle was only one of the sources of mediæval philosophy, and to suggest that the Scholastic doctors owe a deep debt to the teaching of Plato and Plotinus.

Yet strange as it may seem, the very fact that Aristotle is cited at every turn as "the Philosopher" may tell a different tale, and remind us how much the Schoolmen had learnt from other masters. Those who are acquainted with the writings of the Arabic philosophers are aware that this was the common title by which they were wont to distinguish the Stagyrice. And St. Thomas and his great compeers when they speak of Aristotle as "the Philosopher," are but following in the wake of Alfarabi and the other Eastern writers. Thus it may be said that the peculiar reverence in which Aristotle was held by the Latin Schoolmen was a traditional legacy handed down to them by the Arabs. In these matters there are some points on which there is always room for difference of opinion. But this at least is a plain question of fact, on which the works of the Arabic writers offer abundant evidence. And it is another indisputable and strangely significant fact that these same Arabs who hold this language of Aristotle are themselves deeply imbued with the tenets of Neo-Platonism. Dr. Dieterici, of Berlin, who has done much excellent work in editing the original texts of these Muslim metaphysicians, does not hesitate to describe them as essentially Neo-Platonists.¹

However we may account for this curious inconsistency, it may at least serve to warn us against attaching too much importance to

¹ "Die sogenannten arabischen Philosophen," d. h. die arabisch schreibenden Philosophen des Chalifenreichs, sind ihrem Wesen nach Neoplatoniker (nicht, wie man bisher angenommen, Aristoteliker mit neoplatonischer Beimischung). Cf. Alfarabi's "Philosophische Abhandlungen," aus Londoner, Leidener und Berliner Handschriften. Herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich Dieterici. Leiden, 1890. Einleitung, p. xix. Elsewhere the learned editor characterizes one part of their teaching as "Plotinismus in aristotelischem Gewande," p. xx.

the Aristotelian framework and phraseology of our own Scholasticism. If Arabic authors could thus profess their devotion to Aristotle while their minds were filled with Platonic idealism, it is to say the least possible that something of the same kind, if not in the same degree, may have occurred in the case of Western Schoolmen by whom they were succeeded. But what was in fact the origin of the confusion? How came these Arab followers of Proclus and Plotinus to speak of Aristotle as the supreme philosopher? The answer is, after all, sufficiently simple. By some strange error of copyists or translators some of the chief Neo-Platonist writings were wrongly ascribed to Aristotle. Thus the high honor paid to the Stagyrte did not rest entirely on his own genuine achievements. The master hailed as the Philosopher by mediæval eclectics and Neo-Platonists was something more than the Aristotle whose works we know. Like the Francis Bacon honored by some dreamers of our own day, he was largely a mythical author who wrote other people's books as well as his own. And we may shrewdly suspect that much of the homage paid to him was meant not for the real writer of the *Organon* and the *Ethics* and *Metaphysics*, but for the supposed author of such Platonic writings as the "Book on Causes" and the "Theology of Aristotle."

The Latin Schoolmen, it is true, were not directly under the influence of this misconception. For St. Thomas frankly recognizes the Platonic origin of the "Book on Causes," and the only Aristotelian works which he had himself read and expounded were undoubtedly genuine. Still the high-sounding title of the Philosopher may be said to have carried with it some echo of the original error. And the Schoolmen still credited Aristotle with the authorship of some profound theological works the fame of which had come to them from their Arab forerunners. In this connection it may be of interest to cite the following passage from the Angelic Doctor's treatise against the views of Averroes (Ibn Ruschd) on the unity of the intellect: "*Hujusmodi autem quaestiones certissime colligi potest Aristotelem solvisse in his libris, quos patet eum scripsisse de substantiis separatis, ex his quae dicit in principio 12. Metaphysicae, quos etiam libros vidimus numero 14. licet nondum translatos in lingua nostra.*"²

This brief and passing allusion is certainly somewhat obscure, and leaves some room for the conjectures of the curious reader. What were these fourteen books seen by St. Thomas in a language which he could not understand? And what was that language, Greek or Arabic? At one time it would have been no light matter to find a solution of the problem. But there can now be little

² *Opusculum XVI. De Unitate Intellectus contra Averroym.*

doubt that the work in question was the Arabic "Theology of Aristotle," a book which played an important part in the evolution of mediæval philosophy. The discovery and translation of this curious treatise was one of the chief philosophical achievements of Renaissance scholarship. The elegant version or paraphrase in the classic Latin of the day which first appeared in 1571 was subsequently reprinted in Du Val's edition of the works of Aristotle.³ The translator at once identified the work as that to which St. Thomas refers in the aforesaid passage. In this he was followed by Du Val, who, however, justly rejects the opinion of the too partial translator in favor of its Aristotelian origin. As the learned editor says with some reason, if St. Thomas had seen a translation he could hardly have accepted the book as genuine. Little seems to have been said on the subject in the next two centuries. For the main stream of European thought was turned in another direction, while those who kept up the tradition of Scholastic philosophy were, for the most part, content to linger on the text of St. Thomas or the later developments of his disciples without paying much heed to these side questions of literary history.

But recent research has thrown fresh light on the neglected field of Arabic philosophy. Many manuscripts of these old Eastern philosophers have long lain forgotten in our public libraries. But at length some progress has been made in the task of editing these writings and bringing them within the reach of philosophical students. Dieterici, Zenker and other kindred scholars have already done yeoman service in this field. But we fear that their labor has hardly received the attention it deserves. Neither Orientalists nor students of philosophy can ever be very numerous, and the number of those who are both must needs be still more restricted.

In some respects the most important of these publications is an edition of the Arabic text of the "Theology of Aristotle," a copy of which now lies before us.⁴ A careful comparison of this text with the aforesaid Latin version of Carpentarius will only serve to show the substantial accuracy of the work done by the Renaissance scholar. In some respects, indeed, he would seem to have allowed himself some little freedom, as we might have surmised from the ease of his language, which does not read like a too servile rendering of an Arabic original. And there is, moreover, some difference in the method of division. But this may possibly be due to discrepancies in the Arabic MSS.

³ "Aristotelis Libri XIV. de Secretiore Parte Divinæ Sapientiæ, secundum Ægyptios. Qui illius Metaphysica vere continent; cum Platonicis magna ex parte convenientia. Opus ex Arabica lingua in Latinam conversum, per Jacobum Carpentarium Claromontanum Bellovacum."

⁴ Die sogenannte Theologie des Aristoteles. Aus Arabischen Handschriften zum ersten Mal herausgegeben von Dr. Fr. Dieterici. Leipzig, 1882.

Apart from the intrinsic value of the book itself and the importance of its influence on the course of mediæval philosophy, there is surely a strange interest and satisfaction in seeing before us the lost work which St. Thomas saw in an alien tongue with wistful regret that its contents were not available—*nondum translatus in lingua nostra*.

Not content with the labor of editing the Arabic text, Dr. Dieterici has also prepared a German version, which has been published separately, and he has traced the book back to its original source, the *Enneads* of Plotinus. At the same time he points out that some Aristotelian elements are blended with these extracts from the work of the great Neo-Platonist. This is clearly the case, for the student of Scholastic philosophy will readily recognize such familiar terms as *actus et potentia*, *materia et forma*, etc., strange as they may appear in an Arabic garb. But in spite of this admixture the main substance of the book is plainly Platonic.

If the learned labors of Dr. Dieterici have provided us with the Arabic text of this "Theology of Aristotle" and have thrown some light on the obscure question of its origin, they have also shown us plain traces of its influence on the current of mediæval philosophy. This is specially apparent in his subsequent edition of some of the treatises of Alfarabi. Though somewhat overshadowed by such later masters as Avicenna and Averroes, Alfarabi was undoubtedly one of the foremost Arab philosophers. And if his own writings have long been neglected, the influence of his teaching had left its mark on those who came after him. Averroes was known by the distinctive title of "the Commentator," but his forerunner, Alfarabi, was not less distinguished by his devotion to the text of Aristotle and his success in expounding its meaning. Dr. Dieterici tells a curious story which may be cited in illustration. Avicenna had read Aristotle's *Metaphysics* forty times without rightly grasping its meaning. But one day in the market a bookseller pressed him to buy a little book which he refused at first, till he was told that it must be sold and he might have it for merely three drachms. The book was a treatise of Alfarabi on the *Metaphysics*. All Avicenna's difficulties disappeared as he read its pages, and he hastened to give alms to the poor in gratitude for his fortunate purchase.

It is worthy of note that this successful expounder of the *Metaphysics* was a firm believer in the authenticity of the "Theology of Aristotle," a work on which he set great value. One of the chief pieces printed by Dr. Dieterici is an essay on the "Agreement of Plato and Aristotle;" and here the aforesaid "Theology" is one of his chief sources of evidence. And certainly when once we admit

now that we know its true origin, the evidence is scarcely so convincing. Still it may be said that after all the book does do something to attenuate the antagonism between the two schools. It points to the presence of an agreement on some fundamental principles, and shows the possibility of blending together the best elements of both Aristotelianism and Platonism. In this way we may incline to agree with Dr. Dieterici that Alfarabi was to some extent right in his main thesis. And, looked at in the light of later philosophic history, this little tract of Alfarabi on the unity of Aristotle and Plato is full of deep interest. With all their errors and limitations, these mediæval Arab masters could rise above the narrowness and littleness of schools and parties and grasp the unity of all true philosophy.

Whatever may be said of Alfarabi and the other Arab masters, the "Theology" could not have any such direct influence on the Western Schoolmen, because, as St. Thomas said, it was "not yet translated into our language." It was otherwise with another monument of Arabic Neo-Platonism, the celebrated "Book on Causes." The two works, indeed, may be said to invite comparison. In their mixed origin, in outward form and character and in the substance of their teaching they have much in common. And it is scarcely surprising to find that in some instances the one has been mistaken for the other. Both alike are compendious summaries of Neo-Platonic teaching, drawn from the two chief masters of Platonic theology, the one from Proclus and the other from Plotinus. And both passed for a time in the Arab schools under the name of Aristotle. But unlike the "Theology," the "Book on Causes" speedily found a competent Latin translator. And its influence on European philosophy was deep and far-reaching. It is true its Platonic origin was detected at an early date, but it first made its way in the West under the assumed authority of Aristotle, and it may be said to have had a full share in what Launoy calls the varied fortune of that philosopher in the mediæval universities. It was publicly burnt at Paris as a source of heresy. And at a later date it was made the subject of a careful commentary by St. Thomas Aquinas, who made good use of some of its leading principles in his other writings. The story of this book in all its changing fortunes is full of curious interest, and it certainly played an important part in the making of mediæval philosophy. For this reason it may be well to make it the subject of a separate study. But for our present purpose it will be enough to notice it as one of the main sources of the stream of Platonism that runs through the writings of St. Thomas and the other great mediæval Schoolmen.

At this time of day it may seem somewhat superfluous to insist on the study of St. Thomas. But perhaps there is some danger that some of us may confine our attention to the pages of the *Summa* or the Sentences, and pay little heed to such a minor work as the Commentary on *De Causis*. This is surely unfortunate, for a careful study of its pages should go far to dissipate more than one venerable superstition on the subject of the Scholastic writers. The very fact that the Angelic Doctor did not disdain to spend all this care on this much condemned manual of Arabic Platonism is surely a sufficient answer to those who accuse the Schoolmen of narrowness and make them servile followers of Aristotle. At the same time the way in which he sets aside the mistaken view that the book was Aristotle's and points to its true author and his careful comparison of the Arabic adaptation with Morbeka's version of the original work of Proclus should be enough to show that the mediæval masters were not altogether wanting in sound scholarship and intelligent criticism.

While the "Book on Causes" was clearly one of the chief sources of Scholastic Platonism, it does not by any means stand alone and unaided. For there are two other forces that possibly had a still more potent influence in this direction. And it is significant that St. Thomas takes care to mention them both in his commentary on the work of Proclus. Need we say that we refer to the writings of St. Augustine and those that bear the name of Dionysius, the Areopagite? It would be hard to find any other authors more deeply imbued with Platonism than these. Yet few were held in higher esteem or more sedulously studied in the palmy days of mediæval Scholasticism. *Quidquid dicitur in Platone vivit in Augustino*. And on every page of St. Thomas we are reminded of his veneration for the authority of the great African Father. Scarcely less can be said of the Dionysian writings, which St. Thomas had studied side by side with Aristotle's philosophy at the feet of Albertus, and which at a later day he made the subject of his commentaries and used to good purpose in his own theological writings.

Modern critics who justly reject the authenticity of these Dionysian works have pointed out that the unknown author was clearly a Neo-Platonist, and that his writings present a curious resemblance both in matter and in style to those of Proclus. But here St. Thomas has forestalled their judgment. For the way in which he cites Dionysius in the aforesaid commentary on Proclus shows that he had recognized the affinity of the two authors.

It is true that both here and elsewhere in his works St. Thomas great mystery of the Incarnation when he tells us how the Word that is the food of angels became the milk for babes.

takes care to dissociate himself from the system of Platonic ideas which he regarded—*pace tanti viri*—from the mistaken standpoint of Aristotelian criticism. None the less he frankly adopts much of the fundamental teaching of these eminently Platonic authors. And it is significant that the page on which he most plainly admits the presence of a true element in Platonism is in his preface to the Commentary on “The Divine Names” of Dionysius. This is natural enough, for here he stands on the threshold of a book to which he is deeply indebted, while its author owes much of his wisdom to the teaching of Plato and Proclus and Plotinus.

In all that has been said here we have no wish to dispute the influence of Aristotle on St. Thomas and the other great mediæval Schoolmen. This would surely be as false and as futile as the too common view that they were under the undivided sway of the Stagyrte and owed no allegiance to his mighty rival. And there would be less excuse for this mistake than for the other. For the Aristotelian elements in Scholasticism are more plainly to be seen on the surface, while much of the Platonic wisdom of the Scholastic doctors came to them by circuitous courses through early Christian Fathers and nameless Arab philosophers.

Enough has been said for the present on the literary history of mediæval Platonism, although we have been compelled to touch but lightly on some of the sources and to turn aside from some curious problems. But before we take leave of the subject it may be well to ask whether we cannot find some definite instance of the adoption of a Platonic principle in the philosophy of St. Thomas and his fellow Schoolmen. Happily the answer is not far to seek. For the student who is familiar with these sources of Scholasticism will readily remember more than one case of this assimilation of Platonic teaching. But for our present purpose we may confine our attention to the pregnant principle that whatever is received in anything is received according to the manner of the recipient: “*Quidquid recipitur per modum recipientis recipitur.*”

As is well known to all serious students of mediæval philosophy, this maxim plays an important part in the Scholastic theory of human knowledge. It is not too much to say that in the hands of St. Thomas it becomes the key to the whole problem. It had been said of old that what is known must be in the mind that knows it. And some had apparently formed the crude conception that material things themselves were present bodily in the mind of man. But, as the Schoolmen justly said, “*Cognitum est in cognoscente per modum cognoscentis.*” Both this more special form of the maxim as well as the wider, “*Quidquid recipitur,*” etc., are used with effect by St. Thomas on many pages of his writings.⁵ But whence does

this principle come? From Aristotle? St. Thomas himself takes care to guide us to the true source, for he constantly adds the reference to the "Book on Causes," the book of which he says in his Commentary that it does not come from Aristotle, but from "Proclus the Platonist."

In the old Latin version used by St. Thomas the passage stands as follows: "Et similiter aliqua ex rebus non recipit, quod est supra eam nisi per modum secundum quem potest recipere ipsum, non per modum secundum quem est res recepta."⁶ In the original text of Proclus we read: καὶ γὰρ ἑκαστον ὡς πέφυκεν οὕτω μετέχει τῶν χρειτόνων, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἐκεῖνά ἐσιν.⁷

Some years ago Canon Nicholas Kaufmann, of Lucerene, drew attention to the importance of this principle in a paper published in the *Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Gorres-Gesellschaft*.⁸ The immediate subject of the paper was the Scholastic theory of knowledge, and it was chiefly in this connection that the writer was led to speak of this principle of Proclus, in which he finds the germ of the whole Scholastic theory. At the same time he points out that it is susceptible of important applications in other fields, as in religious symbolism or in pastoral instruction. In the last named region it may warn the teacher against the hopeless endeavor to instill abstract metaphysics into the minds of children or simple rustics. They may indeed receive the self-same sacred truth that nourishes the mind of the theologian, but each one must needs receive it in his own way. It may be well to note that St. Thomas opens his *Summa* with a text which enforces this very principle.

It may be said, indeed, that this fundamental principle to which Proclus did but give philosophical expression lies at the root of the Sacramental system, in which men receive spiritual graces under earthly symbols. This has been luminously stated in some well-known words of St. John Chrysostom: "For if thou hadst been without a body He would have given thee bare and incorporeal gifts; but because the soul is joined with the body He gives thee intelligible things in them that are sensible." In like manner we may find St. Augustine applying the same principle to illustrate the Aristotelian authorship of the book it should go far to prove that the two great Greek philosophers were in agreement. But

⁶ Cf. *Summa Th. 1ma. 2dae. Qu. v., art. 5. 2da. 2dae. Qu. xxiii., art. 6., ad. 1., etc.*

⁷ *De Causis, Lectio X. c. f.*

⁸ *Procli Successoris Platonici Institutio Theologica, c. 173 c. f.* An English version of this little book may be seen in the second volume of Taylor's translation of the Platonic Theology of Proclus.

⁹ Vol. II., 1889. It was at the instance of the same worthy society that Dr. Bardenhewer had previously published his critical edition of the *Book on Causes* in Arabic, Latin and German.

In other directions, again, it may be seen that this principle will give some clue to the weary labyrinth of heresies and divergent philosophical systems. It has recently been used to illustrate the historical evolution of Biblical exegesis; and what was said on that subject will obviously apply to the successive changes in theological conceptions which are familiar to all students of doctrinal development.

It may be well to observe, as we quit this fascinating subject, that this extended application of the principle of Proclus is in no wise alien to the mind of the great Platonic philosopher. For as it stands in his own pages it is no isolated utterance, but is closely connected with the main lines of his theology. The participation in divers degrees and many and various modes, of light and beauty and goodness that are only found in fulness in the One Infinitely Perfect Being—this is a thought that runs through the whole system of Proclus and his master, Plotinus. It is, indeed, the primal principle of mediæval Platonism.

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A PIECE OF NATURAL HISTORY FOR WORSHIPERS OF THE MONEY-GOD.

THE Natural History of Pliny, which furnished so many illustrations to spiritual writers in the Middle Ages, often rendered this service at the expense of scientific accuracy; but one of its statements we may pick out in these days of gigantic greed for money as true in fact and in moral significance. In the 18th Book, Chapter 6, we read: "The *Latifundia* were the ruin of Italy, as also of the provinces. In Africa six families were in possession of half the land when Nero had them put to death." A very natural bit of history. Certain "money-grubbers," as Lamb called such people, got immense territories into their hands, and then there came a stronger tyrant than themselves, who pitilessly despoiled them, not simply by taking their wealth from them, but by taking them from their wealth, dismissing them out of the business world altogether at the hands of the executioner. So it was among men of whom it had been in an extreme sense true that

Mammon led them on,
Mammon, the least created spirit that fell
From heaven; for even in heaven his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more

The riches of heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed
In beatific vision. —Paradise Lost I., 680-684.

Nero lived when the Empire was not yet ruined, but when its western portion was on its way to ruin, from causes which had only been checked in their action by the work of Augustus. Some writers have said that Rome was broken to pieces, not by external, but by internal forces of disruption; others, contrariwise, have said not by internal, but by external; and between the two parties, perhaps, we may mediate by the suggestion that if the inner conditions of the Empire had been sounder it would have been able to stand the shock of the barbarians, but without that shock the unhealthy body could have managed to keep itself in existence. At any rate, economic disease was one main cause of the death, and its manner of working is well exhibited in the history of Roman taxation.

To collect revenue is expensive and is liable to the grossest abuses on the part of collectors who are not duly supervised. The attendant dangers are very serious. The Roman Republic, though it did many things cleverly and energetically, was weak in the department of tax-gathering; and in its supineness—for that seems to be part of the account—it employed farmers of the revenue who became responsible for a fixed sum and made as much profit as they could for themselves out of the transaction. As the evil grew the power of reform diminished. It would be an error to suppose that there was a well-meaning government suffering from the misdeeds of its agents, for the Governors shared in the corruption. The profits of speculators were enormous; bankers and publicans became all-powerful, controlling by their wealth the Senate and the popular vote. The Equestrian order dominated over the class above and the class below itself; they were, says Ihne,¹ "a new class of Roman citizens, gradually formed, distinct from the nobility proper and from the mass of the people. Special circumstances favored the formation. In the financial administration of the republic this raising of various revenues, the public works and contracts, were entrusted to private enterprisers, who, of course, were obliged to have large sums of money at their disposal. With the growth of territory these financial operations assumed huge proportions, and numerous capitalists combined to form companies for the purpose of conducting them. By custom and by law men of senatorial rank were not allowed to embark in such speculations. The lower class of citizens lacked, of course, the means to do so. Thus it happened that the wealthy capitalists acquired a political and social importance which made them conspicuous and influential. They had frequent relations with the magistrates. The disorder that always

¹ History of Rome, Vol. IV., pp. 365-368.

reigned in the public finances made it easy for both parties, magistrates as well as contractors, to fill their pockets. It rarely happened that men like Cato² tried to introduce order and enforce honest dealings in these transactions. Evidently the capitalists as a class had become so powerful that the government could not easily afford to slight or offend them." Thus the government was really not a power separate from the extortionate money-makers, to which one might look to check their extravagances, but a part of their machinery for the more effective working out of their iniquity. If an independent, incorrupt statesman arose it would be due to the failure of the general plans. Gibbon, Vol. III., chap. 13, in dealing with the economic situation under the Empire, mentions the inequality in the distribution of burdens and of lucrative posts. He notices the 190 enactments in the Theodosian Code (Lib. XII., Tit. I.) to retain the unfortunate class called *curiales* in their position. He declares that "whatever was honorable or important in the administration of the revenue was committed to the wisdom of the prefects and their provincial representatives; the lucrative functions were claimed by a crowd of subordinate officers, some of whom depended on the treasurer, others on the Governor, and who in the inevitable conflicts of a perplexed jurisdiction had frequent opportunities of disputing with each other the spoils of the people. The laborious offices which could be productive only of envy and reproach, of expense and danger were imposed on the Decurions (*curiales*), who formed the corporations of the cities and whom the severity of the penal laws had condemned to sustain the burden of civil society." It was the provinces that chiefly suffered under the oppressive system.

In the provinces between the politically unimportant plebeians and the Senators possessed of wealth, and bearing offices of dignity with emolument and without burden, there were placed the unfortunate *curiales*, whose hard lot it was to have to fill the municipal posts which they were fain to escape. They had charge not only of roads, buildings, bridges and police, but more notably of the finances, having to gather the revenue often to their own loss, for they had to make good deficits, and these were many. The central government named the sum to be raised, then the local *curia* was bound to furnish the amount required as best it could out of a people in which the rich senatorial order enjoyed large exemptions.

With this state of things it is useful to compare the condition of affairs in France as described by Taine for the time preceding the outbreak of the French Revolution. Of the system of taxation he says: "C'est une machine à tondre, grossière et mal agencée, qu'il

² Cato was not averse to money-making for himself in the provinces.

fait autant de mal par son jeu que par son objet. Et ce qu'il y a de pis, c'est que les taillables employés comme instrument fiscal doivent eux mêmes se tondre et s'écorcher. Dans chaque paroisse il y en a deux, trois, cinq sept qui sous le nom de collecteurs sont tenus de repartir et de percevoir l'impôt. Nulle charge plus onéreuse: chacun par protection ou privilege tâche de s'y soustraire. Les communautés plaidant sans cesse contre les refractaires et, pour que nul ne puisse prétexter son ignorance, elles dressent d'avance pour dix et quinze ans le tableaux, des faitours collecteurs." (L'Ancien Regime Livre IV., chap. ii., N. W.)

It is added the cause of heavy imposts on the poorer citizens was the exemption of the richer from contributing their share, an unjust principle which is the opposite of that followed in the English income tax.

Under the Roman Empire sometimes the *curiales* made out of their opportunities unjust gains, as the revenue farmers had done under the Republic; but, on the whole, they were losers by their position, and they schemed to escape the hereditary misery of the situation to which the imperial laws held them fast bound. "The Emperors," says Mr. Dill,³ "were fully aware of the importance of a class on which had been laid such a weight of responsibility. No fewer than 192 enactments in the Theodosian Code, together with some of the Novellae, deal with the position and duties of the *curiales*. The *curiales* are described by Majorian as the *Nervi reipublicæ, viscera civitatum*, although successive Emperors had to lament that these sinews of the commonwealth were daily growing weaker. Conventional language, indeed, or policy kept up the fiction that this position of the *curiales* was an enviable and dignified one. When the *curiales* were deserting their functions, abandoning their ruined estates and trying to hide themselves among the serfs, they were loftily reminded by the imperial legislator of the stain which they were attaching to their splendid origin. From Constantine to Honorius the Emperors were vainly struggling to stop a movement which had begun long before Constantine and which threatened the curial body with utter depletion. The flight of the *curiales* was quite as menacing a danger of the later Empires as the inroads of the barbarians. Even entrance into the ranks of the clergy was forbidden by Christian Emperors as a means of escape from municipal offices and from those many restrictions on property movement and relations of business which together formed a most grievous state of bondage. Nor were the Emperors themselves happy while tightening the yoke on the necks of their officials, the *curiales*, and allowing the Senators to grow richer and

³ "Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire," p. 252ff.

richer by the misfortunes of the small landowners. "The very number of edicts," says Mr. Dill, "directed against corruption discloses the impotence of the Emperor. Heavy fines, banishment, torture, death are all ineffectual to check the inevitable corruption of a bureaucratic government. A volume might be written on the subject of financial corruption in the last century of the Western Empire. When one wanders through the maze of enactments dealing with fiscal oppression, malversation and evasion, one knows not whether more to pity the weakness of the government or to wonder at the hardened cupidity and audacity of the classes which leagued together in plundering both the treasury and the taxpayer and, let us add, some of the tax-gatherers. The *curiales* were, indeed, sufferers, yet certain members of the class managed to be sharers in the general plunder while they discharged the office of collecting the imposts.

These are sad records, though they are but the natural history of avarice wherever that vice is free to pursue unhindered its pitiless course. It is characteristically without any mercy; it is a cursed appetite, this *auri sacra fames*, devouring all that comes to its maw remorselessly. Though it is not one of the topics upon which Aristotle has greatly enlarged, yet in the fifth Book of Ethics, chapters I. and II, he mentions *πλεονεξία*, whereby a man covets more of eternal goods than is due to him, and becomes *πλεονεκτας και δίσσος*. The wrong is not simply in seeking after inequality; for no moral law prescribed an equal division of property or forbids even a large accumulation of wealth. We cannot say that *ipso facto* a millionaire is a sinner, nor can we lay down any limit to his permissible income. Yet we can safely declare that such fortunes are very often acquired under circumstances that are wrong. Money-making is a kind of sport, rousing an intense passion to win in the game; there goes with it an inordinate appetite for reputation as a financier who can outwit all rivals, while the love of power which accompanies wealth is apt to develop into monstrous proportions, not unaccompanied, perhaps, with a certain miserliness, which by the side of a lavishly expanding vanity shows also the endeavor to hoard for the sake of hoarding or of "piling a pile." Moreover, the capitalist, looking out beyond the term of his own life, is stirred with the ambition to leave his name as founder of a family counting among the richest of the land or of the world. These several passions all fermenting in the heart, at once kill in it all love of mercy, as we see in the oft-told story of those captains of English industry who before the factory acts were able to grind out of their poor countrymen and countrywomen, as also out of the children, profits reaching not only to cent per cent., but even to a thousand per cent. The human traffic

began upon the victims at an early age; boys and girls were brought from various quarters to the northern towns, where they were housed in buildings near to the factories, in which they were made to labor long hours, the lash being used upon them to rouse up their flagging energies. Relay after relay the miserable children followed each other at their wretched tasks at an age when they ought to have been at school and at play and in their homes. They slept in rows of beds which one set of occupants filled as another set were turned out of their miserable dormitories to renew their toil. Day and night the workers were kept earning money for their masters. Men and women worked at the factories on terms which nowadays would make them rebel with the utmost bitterness of feeling and gain them the support of the country.

The mines repeated the story of the factories, and in some ways added to its horrors. Women and children worked like draught cattle, creeping on hands and knees in low, narrow passages underground, sometimes in the water, sometimes in exhausting heat. The taskmasters urged on the slaves with many cruelties, for children could be maimed and even killed without a remedy. Meantime, under such unhealthy conditions, disease was rife and was allowed to have its way, for new workers could be found as those previously engaged dropped out of the ranks, slaughtered by the inhuman butchers of men.

All these horrors the capitalists caused because they were greedy for gain and were fevered by the immense success of the new industrialism. Reform did not begin from then; it started from disinterested philanthropists like Lord Shaftesbury, who had a keen sense of the enormities that were being committed in the name of progress. It was, indeed, a vile traffic which the philanthropists of that day had to put down; it made money deserve its name of "filthy lucre," or, as the two princes of the Apostles call it, "disgraceful gain." (I. Peter v., 2; Tit. i., 7; I. Tim. iii., 8.) Truly does it justify the charge that avarice is utterly without pity.

It is no wonder, then, that covetousness has been put among the capital vices. It is not the root of all sin in the same degree as pride has been called the origin of evil; and yet there is a sense in which St. Paul can truly say that "love of money is the root of all that is wrong" (I. Tim. vi., 6-11), inasmuch as there is nothing bad to which it does not lead. It is a sort of false worship, an idolatry. Now, idolatry is called in the Book of Wisdom *omnis mali causa* (xiv., 27). Hence it is no mere accident that ruin has come in such terrible forms from cupidity in money matters. The history of the calamities springs from the very nature of the bad passion⁴ working

⁴ Ruskin says unsparingly: "There is nothing of which English avarice is incapable."

itself out to its proper consummation. From Roman history we have already borrowed illustration of the fact that a great Empire may go to pieces on the rock of avarice. With Rome he joined Greece as teaching the same lesson. Of the two Professor Flint writes thus in his book on Socialism, pp. 32, 33:

"What makes the histories of nations like Greece and Rome of vast political importance to a student of socialism is not so much any socialistic legislation or theories as the examples they have left of cultivated and powerful peoples ruined by their failure to solve the social question. In Greek cities the poor had political rights, and they used them against the rich to obtain equality of wealth, sometimes imposing all the taxes upon them, sometimes confiscating their goods, sometimes condemning them to death or exile, sometimes abolishing debts, sometimes equally dividing property. The rich resisted by all means in their power, by violence and fraud, conspiracy and treason. Each Greek city thus included two hostile peoples, and civil wars were incessant, the object of every civil war being, as Polybius says, to *displace fortunes*. This ruined the Greek cities. Rome suffered and died from the same malady as Greece. Before the close of the republic she had twice experienced social revolution of the most sanguinary nature. She sought a remedy in the Empire, and it, at the expense of the individual, fed and pampered the idle population. This solution secured rest for a time, but naturally ended in exhaustion and ruin."

Rome, as we know, came too near to that "description" of an imperfect state which Sir H. Main has given when he calls it a power "to raise taxes and maintain soldiers." We have much fuller ideas of the duty of the state to use its authority for the positive advancement of the national welfare. *Laisser faire* under a peace kept by the army and the police is not enough for the development of a commonwealth. But whatever be this advancement in political wisdom, if the rulers are effectually to guide the realm, they must themselves be above corruption, and coming as they do out of the people, when the latter are tainted, how shall they be pure? A healthy condition must be the joint result of incorruptibility among governors and governed. Now in these days of vast speculations, of enormous enterprises in the money-making direction, the dangers are very great and the actual mischiefs very many. Avarice remains to-day pitiless as ever. It crushes the weak without remorse; it gluts itself, no matter who starves or how many perish, in order that its share of the banquet may be superabundant. Honesty is not accounted the best policy, either for states or for citizens, and an excuse for dishonesty is its absolute necessity in a world of commercial and political sharpers, in which no one can afford to keep

strict justice. Thus, in the midst of peace there is war, almost that war of each against all which Hobbes supposes to be the primitive state of nature. At least he was right to call such a state very unlovely. "It is easily judged," he remarked, "how disagreeable a thing to preservation, either of mankind or of each single man, a perpetual war is."⁵ Not only is it disagreeable; it is perilous and in the end fatal to the existence of nations.

There is, then, a practical utility to be got out of the considerations above offered to the attention of readers. Of course, it seems hopeless to address a sermon, as it were, *urbi et orbi*, against the avaricious quest of money or to try seriously to divert into a better channel the energies even of two cities, New York and London. No one voice is greatly powerful for reform; and yet one voice may contribute its inappreciable share to an appreciable totality of utterance, which at least mitigates evils among individuals and turns some hearts to better aspirations than the desire to pile up dollars into a tower of Babel, defying heaven and challenge from God the sentence of confusion. *Confundantur superbi quia injuste iniqua fecerunt.*

It is true that the democratic power of our own day has largely changed the quarter on which the abuse of riches once lay. It is no longer now as it was under *L'Ancien Regime*, when all the higher nobility flocked to Paris and gathered round the court, leaving the provinces deserted, while drawing from them as much money as could be got out of neglected estates. Upon these idlers all sorts of sinecures were conferred by royal favor, and they got all the best paid offices, both lay and clerical. "Tout ce monde," says Taine, "parade, boit et mange copieusement, en c  r  monie: tel est leur principal emploi; et il y s'en acquitta en conscience," as all covetors of wealth were accused in a Parliament of 1764 of being *sans piti   et sans pudeur*, merciless and shameless. These are the characteristics of idolators who worship money; and though their ranks are no longer recruited from an hereditary ring of monopolists, still their baneful influence is great, and they may ruin a democratic state as they ruined an autocratic kingdom. Universally, "Confounded be all worshippers of idols." Psal. xcvi., 7.)

The theory is stated by Blantschli that all past history testifies against the immortality of the State. The occasion and the forms of the fall are different, but the cause of mortality is common to all. This cause is not demoralization nor bad government, nor mixture and degeneracy of race; but it is found in the great law of all organic life, that it is developed by history and by it is consumed. Progressive humanity finds no complete satisfaction in any particular

⁵ De Civl, Cap. 1, n. 18.

state and swallows them all up. If ever there comes into being a world-empire, then we may hope that this state will endure as long as mankind itself.⁶ It is just as likely at once to fall to pieces. The theory rests too much on the uncertainties of an analogy between a political and an animal body. All the causes which really destroy empires are concrete facts, not time or history in the abstract. Among the causes a place is, as a fact, occupied by avarice. It is true that a very poor state might perish without falling into this particular sin; but it has been the sin of great Emperors, which from their magnitude have been exposed to its temptations. They have all loved fatally *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, and have themselves become, like her, hard and pitiless, and when, under her relentlessness, they have perished, they have gone to ruin unpitied because they so obviously deserved to fall.

I saw able kings and princes, too,
Pale warriors, death-pale were they all;
They cried, *La belle Dame sans Merci*
Hath thee in thrall.

I saw their starved lips in the gloam
With horrid warning gaping wide,
And I awoke and found me here
On the cold hills side.

And this is why I sojourn here
Alone and pale by loitering,
Though sedge is withered from the lake
And no birds sing.

It was the title of Pliny's Book that suggested the designation of Natural History for an account of some workings in mankind of the passion called avarice; as to the fitness in itself of such a title, we must make a distinction. The scientific spirit of the eighteenth century led the French philosophers to give a natural history of man, to explain human society as developed by its own intrinsic forces rising from a condition almost bestial, if we forget Rousseau's state of nature, to more and more improved condition till it reached its modern level of progress. Instead of Bossuet's "*Histoire Universelle*," tracing events to a Divine Providence, active especially in a small part of the south called Palestine, there was substituted Voltaire's "*Essai sur les Moeurs*," taking the race at large and describing it as part of a natural whole. The phrase "Natural History of Morals" is without error in the mouth of one who knows how to use it aright. We who still believe in Providence and its peculiar action on one favored portion of the universe, may also take account of the natural course of events so far as they have actually taken place naturally. Our abstract treatises on Ethics or on Religion receive useful additions from the history of concrete facts which have been wholly or in part due to human causes. Avarice is a vice inci-

⁶ The Theory of the State, Book I., Chap. II.

dent to man's nature and would exist were there no supernatural elevation and no fall from it by our first parent. Even in paradise man would be tired and might yield to some form of covetousness so far as we know, though we do not know much about what might have been if Adam had not lapsed from his high estate. At least we are safe in a natural history of a national crime.

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THE RESTORATION OF GREGORIAN CHANT.

IN HIS letter dated the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1903, and addressed to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, His Holiness Pope Pius X. writes: "Now that so much study has been employed by distinguished men in illustrating the liturgy and the art used in the service of public worship, that such consoling and not unfrequently such splendid results have been attained in so many churches throughout the world in the restoration of sacred music, notwithstanding the very serious difficulties that had to be faced, and that have been so happily overcome, now in fine, that the necessity of a complete change in the order of things has come to be universally appreciated, every abuse in this matter becomes intolerable and must be removed." From these words of the Holy Father it is evident that the movement for the propagation of true ecclesiastical music, to which he has deigned to lend his powerful support, had already attained considerable proportions before the advent of the present Pontificate, and that the "Motu Proprio" of November last was, therefore, anything but a *fulminatio de caelis*.

While comparatively little of the "study employed in illustrating the liturgy and the art used in the service of public worship" can be ascribed to America, yet even here the signs of the times did not escape observation altogether. Hence it was that in the autumn of 1902 the writer of this article had the good fortune of being sent by his venerable ordinary on a musical tour through Europe, receiving instructions to visit the various churches most renowned for their music, and particularly to make a study of the various schools of Gregorian chant with a view of adopting the best prevailing methods at the seminary of the diocese. The hope that an account of the experiences of this tour may prove, if not instructive, at least not lacking in interest, must serve as an apology for the present somewhat personal essay.

In the course of this article we shall frequently have occasion to speak of the various theories on Gregorian chant, particularly in reference to its rhythm. In order that in such cases we may be more clearly understood, we deem it well, before proceeding, to make some preliminary remarks on the history of this style of music.

Gregorian chant, as is well known, is the musical art product of the first ten centuries of the Christian era. Compared with modern music it differs in many points, chiefly, however, in this, that its rhythm is not metrical or strict, but free, like the rhythm of prose. Now it is precisely this peculiar rhythm which occasioned the manifold vicissitudes that plain chant has had to undergo. As early as the tenth century a decline in the right understanding of this rhythm began to show itself. This was particularly true in the case of the long melisms of the graduals, whence the rise of the sequence-form which resolved these long neumes into a chant almost exclusively syllabic. With the more enthusiastic cultivation of polyphony the rhythm of Gregorian suffered more and more, until finally, in the fifteenth century, it had become one of the lost arts. The beautiful melisms, exquisitely wrought and intended for delicate and lightsome execution, were now sung in long and ponderous tones, without any attention to the grouping of the notes—a matter so essential to the proper rendering of Gregorian song. No wonder, then, that a need was at length felt of abbreviating what had become unending, formless exercises in vocalization. In Italy the great Palestrina himself undertook the task of a reform. His effort, it is true, proved abortive, as he never completed the work he began, and even what he did accomplish we can now say with almost absolute certainty never reached the hands of the publisher. The disciples of Palestrina were, however, more successful in the pseudo-reformation, and the result of their labors is what is known as the *Medicean Gradual*.

While the intentions of the reformers of Gregorian in the sixteenth century cannot well be impugned, inasmuch as it was their object to give to the chant a form better accommodated to the prevailing method of execution, yet their work was certainly not a reform in the sense of the Council of Trent, in which case they would have acted on the admonition of Charlemagne to the singers of his time: "Revertimini ad fontes Sancti Gregorii." As it was, the Gregorian reform of the sixteenth century was merely a makeshift, one that was quite inadequate to rescue the chant from the almost universal contempt into which it afterward fell.

About the middle of the last century an unusual amount of interest was displayed in the study and cultivation of Gregorian. The question of rhythm especially received attention, and various divergent theories were advanced. Père Lambilotte believed that he had

found evidences in the manuscripts to show that the rhythm of plain chant was really metrical. Since then this same idea has more or less fascinated such men as Houdard, Lhoumeau, Lutschounigg and the Jesuit Dechevrens. Amongst those who stood for the free rhythm of Gregorian there arose two distinct schools, one of which has gradually become to be known as the school of Ratisbon, the other the school of Solesmes. Historically viewed, these two schools represent respectively the Gregorian of the Renaissance and that of the Middle Ages down as far as the beginning of the eleventh century. While both the school of Ratisbon and that of Solesmes are perfectly agreed on the fundamental principle, "Sing the words with notes as you would speak them without notes," yet their several interpretations of this principle have carried them widely apart. In both schools the tonic accent is considered the most essential element of free rhythm. But what is the nature of this accent? The history of language tells us that originally the tonic or acute accent was exclusively a musical one, designating neither stress nor length, but merely an elevation of the voice. In the Latin language, however, particularly during the third and fourth centuries, this accent brought with it the additional idea of intensity, while long accents appeared only with the Romance languages, of which they were really the cause. Now, while the Solesmes school insists on the accent of Latin as spoken during the ages in which the Gregorian melodies originated, and, therefore, as designating not length but merely stress, the school of Ratisbon, following a practice dating back as far as the fifteenth century, marks each accented syllable with a tailed note, assigning to it a time value approximately one-half greater than that of unaccented syllables. And yet, despite this difference in the apprehension of the nature of the tonic accent, the two schools might readily have made a compromise in selections purely syllabic.

Far greater is the divergence of the two schools as regards the rendering of the pneumatic chant. According to the teaching of Guido of Arezzo, "*In harmonia (melody) sunt soni, quorum unus, duo vel tres aptantur in syllabas, ipsaeque solae vel duplicatae neumam, i. e. partem constituunt cantilenae; sed pars una vel plures distinctionem faciunt, i. e., congruum respirationis locum.*" (Microl. 15.) While this doctrine may not be of absolute necessity in syllabic chant, as the proper declamation of the text is here frequently a sufficient guide; for the right rendering of the more elaborate compositions it is of the utmost importance. Without due attention to the rhythmical articulation of the melody the delicate symmetry which constitutes the chief grace of Gregorian is lost, and particularly the long melisms become both meaningless and difficult of

execution. To have called the attention of the world once more to all this is by no means the least of the services the school of Solesmes has rendered to the traditional chant.

In the school of Ratisbon there has been but little regard for this nice balancing of parts. And indeed it could not well have been otherwise, for the reason that the authors of the curtailed edition of the chant, of which that school has made use almost exclusively, had destroyed, albeit unconsciously, nearly every vestige of this symmetry.

Having thus given a brief sketch of Gregorian in its various phases, we now return to the principal object of this article, which is, as has been indicated before, an account of the writer's personal observations while in the pursuance of musical studies in Europe.

As the interest of the writer was concentrated in a great degree on the work of ecclesiastical seminaries—it being his desire to learn just how much could be done for the advancement of church music in such institutions—his first visit was paid to Oscott College, the diocesan seminary of Birmingham. The music of this institution has of late years attained a considerable degree of renown, and rightly so. Not only is Gregorian taught thoroughly, but also the classics of the Renaissance and the compositions of the ablest modern composers of church music receive a very fair share of well directed attention. Of all this a Benediction service, of which the music was partly Gregorian and partly figured, as well as a short musical programme, given by way of sacred concert, and consisting of selections from the works of Benz, Perosi, Croce, Palestrina and Philipps, were more than sufficient evidence. It was impossible to escape the conclusion that here at least a return to true religious music, in the same sense that His Holiness Pope Pius X. has since prescribed for the entire Catholic world, was most seriously intended, and, furthermore, that the seminary is not the last place where the foundation of such a reform can and ought to be laid.

No less edifying was the music at the Birmingham Cathedral itself. Here, too, everything was in absolute conformity with the musico-liturgical prescriptions of the Church. About the year 1850 the choir of St. Chad's became the recipient of a partial endowment, the fruition of which was to be dependent upon the following conditions: First, that certain parts of the Mass, such as the *Asperges*, the *Proprium Missae*, the *Credo*, *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, should always be sung in Gregorian; secondly, that all figured music, sung at either High Mass or Vespers, be strictly ecclesiastical in character, and, thirdly, that compositions of this latter kind be such as not to render an accompaniment of either organ or other musical instruments indispensable. It was thus that the sacredness of the

music has been safeguarded in this church for over a half century, a fact which neither clergy nor laity have found reason to regret.

It is a well-known fact that while Catholic churches have, during the last three centuries, gradually turned their backs upon the productions of the Renaissance masters and have substituted therefor, as a rule, compositions such as should never have been tolerated in the house of the Lord, the same cannot be said of many Protestant churches, particularly the cathedrals of England. Here the traditions of the school founded by Tallis and Byrde have been tenaciously adhered to down to the present day. The music of these churches is, therefore, really devout and edifying to a degree that must seem almost incredible to one who has not himself been a witness to the fact. The writer will never forget the profound impression made upon him when in Oxford he was present for the first time at the evening service in Christ Church. The singing of the Psalms was truly enchanting. While the movement in the recitation of the sacred text was light and crisp, the effect was none the less that of a sincere, heartfelt prayer; and the accompaniment of the organ, now calm and subdued, now modestly swelling its tones, gave to the whole an air of religious solemnity such as is seldom to be found except amidst the sweet melodies of the traditional chant as sung by the Benedictine monks. The polyphonic doxology sung at the close of each Psalm seemed verily a foretaste of heaven, where choir vies with choir in giving glory to the Triune God. Even the plain reading of the lessons and prayers was deeply impressive, bearing ample testimony to the unfathomable sublimity of the liturgy of the Catholic Church in every, even in its most simple, part.

What has been said of the music of Christ Church is equally true of the music of numerous other Anglican churches, such as St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey and Chapel Royal, in London; the Cathedral of Ely and King's Chapel, in Cambridge. Nor must we imagine that the effectiveness of the music we have just described is due in any way to the massiveness of the choirs by which it is produced. As a matter of fact, the choir of Westminster, which is a fair example in this respect, consists of only six or eight men and a few more than twice that number of boys. The greatest care, however, is exercised in the selection and training, particularly of the boys' voices; and it is thus that these English cathedral choirs insure that purity and roundness of tone which has deservedly made them the object of almost universal admiration.

The writer had been in London but a very short time when his attention was repeatedly called to the magnificent performances of the choir of St. Philip's Oratory. Many non-Catholics, he was

told, frequented this church simply because of the beautiful music. One visit sufficed to convince him of the correctness of the information he had received. The choir consisted of a goodly number of well-trained singers, and was located, not in the chancel, as were those of the Anglican churches, but on a side gallery, where at least part of them could be conveniently seen from the body of the church. The Mass which was sung was one of wonderful pomp and splendor, and was rendered in a manner that would have done credit to a theatre of the very first rank. The congregation, which filled every seat down to the very door of the church, listened with the utmost attention, while the ministers at the altar sat patiently waiting.

But there is true church music in Catholic churches also in London, such as compares most favorably with that of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. The late Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Vaughan, anxious to restore in England the Catholic liturgy in its full splendor, some time before his death brought from Downside College the highly gifted and energetic Professor Terry, and appointed him choirmaster of the new Westminster Cathedral. Mr. Terry, who is an authority on the music of Byrde, the English Palestrina, immediately determined to make his choir the exponent of that master's works, hoping thus to excite amongst his Catholic countrymen a noble emulation of the glorious achievements of Catholic Englishmen of other times. That the efforts of Mr. Terry have thus far met with the greatest success is evident from the high renown which the choir of Westminster has already obtained. Even under the unfavorable conditions presented by the Pro-Cathedral, in which services were conducted until the opening of the Cathedral proper, some months ago, the effect of the music was one of calm religious serenity, truly worthy of the house of God.

It was at Westminster that the writer first became acquainted with the traditional Gregorian melodies rendered according to the method of Solesmes. The impression made upon him on that occasion was not, however, what he had anticipated. Having been thoroughly imbued with the principle that in Gregorian chant the accented syllables are practically long and are to be produced with a considerable impulse; and, furthermore, that the diamond-shaped notes, because short, are to be rendered rapidly, it was impossible for him to thoroughly appreciate these unruffled, passionless melodies. These subjective difficulties, however, gradually vanished when further opportunities of hearing the chant were afforded in the monastery of Farnborough, and particularly in the abbey of Appuldurcombe, I. of W., where the Benedictines of Solesmes are now in exile and of which we shall have more to say toward the end of this article.

It is a well-known fact that in several of the countries of continental Europe the work of a reform in church music has been prosecuted with admirable energy, especially during the last three or four decades. In Belgium, where a special school has been established to aid in this reform, the efforts thus far made have been crowned with well-merited success. Aside from Gregorian, which is cultivated assiduously, the music sung in the larger churches is almost exclusively that of the Cecilian school, that is, it is more or less an imitation of the masterpieces of the Renaissance, characterized by a liberal use of more modern harmonies; and the choirs, consisting of men and boys, and not unfrequently of men only, possess all the requisites for a dignified and devout rendering of this music.

At the Cathedral of Tournay the writer observed a little peculiarity in the execution of the Gregorian chant, one that he found again later on at the Cathedral of Malines. While the method used in both these churches was practically that which we have described above as the method of Ratisbon, the actual rendering was far more vigorous than is usually the case amongst those who belong to that school. The impression the chant made here was that of a sermon delivered with power and majesty, rather than that of a calm musical declamation. The vast difference between this method and that of Solesmes was evident from the very first moment; and the contrast became even more striking when opportunities were again afforded of hearing the traditional chant amongst the Benedictines of Louvain and Maredsous. The thought that arose spontaneously was that, if Malines made its watch-word "Sing as though you were preaching," and if Ratisbon proclaimed "Natural Declamation" the ultimate criterion of good chant, then "Sing as you pray" might rightly be given as the motto of Solesmes.

In fact, it is the character of simple, childlike prayer that marked the chant of the Benedictines everywhere. Particularly true, however, was this at Maredsous, Maria Laach, Beuron and Einsiedeln, where the fathers have larger churches, better adapted to choirs of seventy or eighty men. The long pauses at the asterisk in the Psalms, and the extreme precision especially in the responses, Psalms and hymns—things that seemed somewhat mechanical in smaller chapels—here produced a wonderful effect of self-denial and devotion; while the simple, scarcely audible accompaniment of the organ lent to the whole a charm such as must in time conquer even the most hostile.

Excepting the few remarks relative to Gregorian in Westminster, we have thus far spoken of the traditional chant in monasteries only. If thereby we have left the impression that this chant, which is now

to become once more the property of the Catholic world, was confined, even two years ago, to such institutions only, we must, before proceeding, correct this error. As a matter of fact, the theory and practice of the traditional melodies has been part of the course of the Fribourg University for some time, instructions in that branch being given by the now well-known Dr. P. Wagner. Short and more popular courses have also been given at various times by the monks at Beuron; while a great number of students of the chant, coming from all parts of the world, have profited by the kindness of the fathers of Solesmes. As to practical results, the boys' choir of Mr. Booth has long since made itself famous by its public illustrations of the chant, given in Liverpool and elsewhere. Even in Germany, where the spirit of opposition against Solesmes chant had long prevailed, at least the method of rendition gradually made considerable conquests.

Whenever of late years the question of reform in matters pertaining to church music has been raised, those who were unwilling to hear of a change have invariably appealed to the example of Italy, and especially to that of Rome. While it is true that the abuses have been as great there as in other parts of the world, it is also true that this fact was duly recognized by ecclesiastical authorities, and that at least in some instances the means were used to radically eliminate such abuses. The work done in this respect by the present Pope when still Patriarch of Venice is now too well known to require comment. At Loretto, too, and at the shrine of St. Anthony of Padua, the musical part of the services has for many years past been conducted with all requisite decorum, the care of the music in these churches having been intrusted to men specially trained at the school for church music in Ratisbon. In Rome the choir of the Anima, under the direction of Dr. Mueller, has been setting a good example for several decades, one that has not been altogether unproductive of good fruits, at least in some of the larger churches of the Eternal City.

The principal part, however, of the reform in Rome as well as elsewhere in Italy was, during all this time, going on in the ecclesiastical seminaries. It was felt that here the foundations of all permanent reform in this matter must be laid by imbuing the clergy of the future with a proper realization of what the music of the Church can and ought to be. Of the institutions of this kind in Rome the German College has for many years enjoyed the highest reputation for the truly ecclesiastical character of its music, but particularly for its exemplary execution of the Gregorian chant. The extraordinary zeal manifested by the students of many other Italian seminaries during the last two or three years is due in a

great measure to the introduction of the traditional melodies; and it can safely be said that this display of enthusiasm on the part of the seminarians contributed in no small degree to give confidence to Pope Pius X. in the reform he has undertaken with so much energy. Of the rapidity with which the traditional melodies were spreading amongst the institutions of which we are speaking at a time when the Ratisbon edition of the chant still retained its official character, an idea may be formed from the fact that at the close of the year 1902 no less than seven of the more important Roman colleges, such as the Collegio Capranico and the Seminario Vaticano, were actually making use of the Solesmes edition to the exclusion of all others.

"It is gratifying for us," says His Holiness in the "Motu Proprio" on church music, "to be able to acknowledge with real satisfaction the large amount of good that has been accomplished in this respect (the removal of abuses affecting sacred music) during the last decade in this our beloved city of Rome, and in many churches in our country, but in a more especial way among some nations in which illustrious men, full of zeal for the worship of God, have, with the approval of the Holy See and under the direction of their Bishops, united in flourishing societies and restored sacred music to the fullest honor in all their churches and chapels." Of the nations to which His Holiness here refers as the chief source of consolation to himself there can be no doubt that Germany is entitled to the very first place. The amount of work accomplished in the restoration of sacred song by the German Cecilian societies, to which the "Motu Proprio," without naming them, refers in a special way, can scarcely be overestimated. When, forty years ago, Dr. Witt, the founder of these societies, first began his campaign against the scandalous performances then in vogue, there were perhaps in all Germany not three churches whose music might have served as a model to the rest. To-day, on the contrary, it would not be a difficult task to give a long list of dioceses in that country in which a complete transformation has taken place, from the cathedral down to the last village church. Another evidence of the remarkable activity displayed in the circle of the German Cecilian societies is the fact that, while at the beginning of the reform movement there were but very few compositions deserving of recommendation, the catalogue of the "Allgemeiner Deutscher Caecilienverein" at present contains over three thousand such compositions, adapted to the requirements of every conceivable occasion, and accommodated to the ability of choirs of every degree of perfection.

Among the chief factors in the renovation of ecclesiastical music in Germany as well as in many other countries of both Europe and

America, the "Kirchenmusikschule" of Ratisbon occupies a most prominent place. This school, which was founded in 1874 by Dr. F. X. Haberl, a member of the Papal commission for the revision of the hitherto official chant, and by the Canons Dr. G. Jakob (July, 1903) and Michael Haller, has been the direct outcome of the needs of the times in the early days of the Cecilian movement. Some years before the agitation begun by Witt against the so-called church music of the eighteenth century, Louis I. of Bavaria, that ardent promoter of the fine arts, had brought about in the Cathedral of Ratisbon a revival of the classic polyphony of the Renaissance. Before long Ratisbon had become the Mecca of all church musicians, especially of those belonging to the Cecilian societies, and students flocked thither from all parts to hear the "Sistine Choir of Germany" and to profit by the hints they might receive from those who had been instrumental in accomplishing the work so nobly done. It was then that Dr. Haberl, at that time director of the Cathedral choir, and his two illustrious colleagues, in consideration of the inconvenience both to themselves and to those who came to consult them, of private and irregular instructions, determined to give for six months in each year a systematic course in all those matters which pertain in an especial manner to the directors of church choirs. From this school, which has now been conducted for over thirty years with an admirable spirit of self-denial, as the writer can attest from a personal experience of fully six months, and unremitting zeal for the decorum for the house of God, there have gone forth some of the ablest and most active laborers in the field of modern church music, such as have contributed in no small degree to determine the character of the "Motu Proprio" of Pope Pius X., particularly in its bearing on music of the figured style.

If we were to inquire for the secret of the astounding progress made in a few decades by the reform of church music under the auspices of the allied German Cecilian societies, we should find it to be primarily the principle adopted by them that in all matters pertaining to the sacred liturgy the prescriptions of the Church must be the first and last criterion of right and wrong. Of the fidelity of the Cecilians to this, their fundamental principle, a remarkable instance is afforded us at this very moment, when in dutiful submission to the Holy See they are about to accept formally a style of Gregorian chant of which they have been for many years the most powerful opponents.

Thus far we have spoken in a general way only of the achievements of the German Cecilian societies. Though an account of their works in detail as illustrated especially in the more important cathedral choirs would perhaps be interesting, yet we must refrain

from entering upon this task lest we be carried beyond the limits we have set for this article. In conclusion, however, of our remarks on Germany we would add that besides the cathedral choir of Ratisbon, which still maintains its superiority over all the rest, several other choirs of that city, and also the cathedral choirs of Muenster, Cologne, St. Gall and Brixen (the last two, though not in Germany, are affiliated with the "Allgemeiner Deutscher Caecilienverein") have attained such a degree of perfection as to compare, we believe, not unfavorably with the very best church choirs of England.

Elsewhere in this article, referring to the Abbey of Solesmes, temporarily transferred to Appuldurcombe, I. of W., we promised to return to this, the home of the Solesmes chant. We propose now, before bringing our article to a close, to keep this promise. Our object in reverting to this subject is to give a short sketch of the history of the Solesmes school, which, we believe, will be the more welcome, as it is this school that has recently been intrusted with the preparation of the prospective official edition of the traditional chant.

When during the first half of the last century Dom Prosper Guéranger had successfully restored in France the Benedictine order, suppressed by the Revolution, one of the problems that presented itself to him for solution was that of securing for the use of the monks a suitable edition of the liturgical chant. Discontented with the defective character of the books then commonly in use, he resolved to have recourse to the oldest, that is, the pneumatic manuscripts, in order to reproduce from them the original reading of the melodies of St. Gregory. To carry out this plan he deputed Dom Jausions and Dom Pothier, the latter at that time a novice of the order, to make a thorough study of the available Gregorian codices, laying down for their guidance the principle that whenever several manuscripts owing their origin to different countries and epochs were found to agree on a certain reading, this reading might safely be considered the authentic Gregorian melody. After twelve years of diligent labor on the part of these two men the *Liber Gradualis* was at last ready for the press. But fully twelve years more expired before it was placed in the hands of the publisher (1883), all this time having been spent by Dom Pothier, whom death had deprived of his collaborateur, in perfecting this work by further study and collating of manuscripts and in preparing that epoch-making book, "Les Mélodies Grégoriennes," which was to serve as an introduction to the new Gradual.

In spite of the great amount of care spent upon the preparation of the *Liber Gradualis*, the restoration of the chant of St. Gregory in

its primitive purity was not yet a *fait accompli*, as became evident when the new books were introduced into the monastery choir. On the one hand, the melodies themselves were still defective in many respects, owing to the insufficiency of the manuscripts placed at the disposal of Solesmes; on the other hand, the divisions of the melodies, made in some instances without sufficient regard to the codices, also left room for considerable emendation. To complete the work thus happily begun was the part reserved to the highly gifted and resolute Dom Mocquereau. Gathering around him a body of ten or fifteen talented young monks, he began by a publication in the *Paléographie Musicale* of manuscripts brought together from all parts of the world, to defend the Solesmes books against the attacks coming from the Ratisbon quarter, and to prove the substantial agreement of the manuscripts among themselves. This done, he next turned his attention to the eradication of the defects that still marred the work of his predecessors—a duty the more imperative at this moment, as many Bishops began to adopt the chant of Solesmes, and further delay would have revealed its defects to the uninitiated critics whose observation they had hitherto escaped. The publication of the *Paléographie Musicale* had occasioned a gigantic growth in the library of Solesmes, the photographic and manuscript reproductions of Gregorian codices being now actually numbered by the thousands. In order to make of this vast amount of material an instrument with which to work conveniently and securely, the readings of all these documents were arranged on synoptic tables in such a way that the history of any given phrase of the chant might be traced at a glance, and in case of variations the original reading might be determined with almost absolute certainty. That a proceeding such as this entailed an enormous amount of expense and persevering labor can readily be imagined; but it was the only scientific, the only completely satisfactory way of restoring the chant, which the Church had inherited from her saints, to the purity with which it first came forth from the “fountains of St. Gregory.”

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THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS AT HISSARLIK.

AS LONG as civilization lasts and as long as there continues to exist a studious curiosity to know ourselves better, the wide and reticent ages wherein flourished the remoter races of our kind will always be a fascinating object of historical research. An analysis of the various motives that urge the investigator to try to pierce the gloom which shuts off our vision from so much of antiquity would be surprisingly interesting. Behind the murky hills of time that intervene he may possibly expect to catch some glimmering rays of the cloud-covered civilization of those vanished peoples. He may wish to compare their Sun Knowledge with his own and ours. But the line of communication that connects us with the bygone ages is neither easy to establish nor easy to keep open. The facts transmitted are often unintelligible and effectless because they utter themselves in language which we cannot comprehend. Historical investigation will not fall into disrepute so long as men are anxious to know whence they came to where they are, even if it were more evident than it even now is that the search will always be laborious and the gleanings meagre.

The direct and imposing manner in which old Hellenic life has entered into so many branches of modern progress and modern thought has drawn a good portion of antiquarian investigators to devote their energies exclusively to the study of ancient Hellenism and its effects on the world. They wish to learn the circumstances under which its undying vitality was generated and fostered. It is true that by most of such men an ideal of Hellenism moulded by their own ennobled fancy is called into existence, an imaginary kosmos of artistic and intellectual perfection which never in the history of the ancient world possessed actual reality. This sublimated hyper-appreciation of Hellenism has in the main been not unbeneficial. It has exalted and purified many of our desires by continually luring us to higher spheres of action in emulation of the true or supposed success of our great predecessors. But a more correct and scientific appreciation of antiquity may after all be still more inspiring and still more instructive than any incoherent worship of it may be. What we now long for is the truth, no matter what this truth reveal to us.

Ever since the Renaissance of Antiquity in Europe lovers of art and history have been digging up classic sites and rummaging through stony ruins in quest of objects of art and records of the past. But these men were simply amateurs and collectors. They were the pioneers of a new species of scientists and had all the imper-

fections that necessarily affect such beginners. They did great service to mankind, however, for their zeal filled the museums of Italy and the rest of Europe with admirable works of art and mementos of Greece and Rome.

After the restoration of freedom to modern Greece, in 1828, this country naturally became the choicest field for excavators, and signal has been their success. Athens and its museums, Delphi, Olympia and so many other places are witness to this. But of all those who set themselves to the task of unearthing buried Greece the two whom this present article makes lengthier mention of are Schliemann and Dörpfeld. The former is to be praised for his untiring enthusiasm; the latter for his trained accuracy. Schliemann was an adventurous German, whose life-dream from his very childhood was to visit and investigate the places rendered famous by the songs of Homer. After acquiring a sufficient amount of wealth as a merchant, he took up his residence in Hellenic lands, and began to reap the realization of his longings. With fullest faith as to the results that would be revealed he pushed his spade into the soil of Ithaka and into the débris of Mykenæ and Tiryns and the supposed site of Troy. These places he preferred because they were nearest related to the Homeric story. The work of excavating had not, even when this scholar began, yet been raised to the accuracy and dignity of a scientific procedure, and accordingly his enthusiasm was often warmer than his observations were exact. Nevertheless he made a noble beginning; and others have industriously brought method into the work which he so heartily initiated.

In the year 1868 Schliemann first set foot on the soil of the Troad, in the northwestern corner of Asia Minor. It was evident that if Homer's city of Priam ever existed, it was within this region called the Troad. At that time many authoritative historians preferred to assert that such a city had never been in existence; that Priam's Troy and the ten-years' siege which it sustained were mere poetical fictions of the early troubadours of Greece. In this opinion, however, they were in disagreement with the testimony of the classic authors, none of whom ever expressed any such doubts about the reality of Troy. Schliemann belonged to the coterie of those who agreed with the classic historians and geographers, and believed that there had been a real Troy. For him the only question that challenged an answer was "where are the ruins of that famous city; where was the Pergamos of Priam situated?"

Within this Troad country, and not far from the Skamandros river, are three lone hills, separated from each other by a considerable distance, each of which has been supposed to correspond to what the site of Troy seems to have been. Since in those ages cities in

this part of the world were always on hilltops, the search is rendered easier, because all places in the level plain are excluded in advance. These three hills are now known by their Turkish names of Bunarbashi, Chiblak and Hissarlik. The knoll of Bunarbashi had attracted the notice of the traveler Lechevalier towards the end of the eighteenth century; he persuaded himself that here must Troy have been. In the year 1864 an Austrian scholar, Von Hahn, suffered the same conviction, made excavations and published a book¹ announcing and explaining his apparent success. Under the spell of Von Hahn's work Schliemann at first selected Bunarbashi as probably the site looked for. But a brief investigation with picks and shovels put an end to the identification of Bunarbashi and Troy.

After being disappointed at Bunarbashi he turned to Hissarlik. The thorough historian, Grote, and a few other modern scholars had already expressed their views in favor of this site. In 1870 the excavations were begun. And in the summer of 1873 Schliemann thought that he had completed his task, and had identified the location of Priam's realm. He had actually found a pre-historic city. And since high above the remains of this pre-historic settlement inscriptions were found which proved that from at least the fourth century before Christ there was on the top of the hill a Greek town called Ilion, he concluded that the pre-historic town must have been Priam's Troy. He joyfully published to the world the results of his excavations in a book called "*Trojanische Altertümer.*"

As time went on Schliemann, who in the meantime had gained valuable anascaptic experience by his wonderful discoveries at Mykenae, began like many others to have doubts regarding the accuracy of his first conclusions regarding Hissarlik. In 1878 he returned to the Troad and inaugurated new researches. Between this time and the year of his death he continually busied himself with Troy, and often made new excavations. In 1881 a new book appeared with valuable contributions by Burnouf, a former director of the French archæological school at Athens, and Virchow, the celebrated Berlin professor.² Another book³ was published in 1883, and a fourth publication, a brochure, appeared in 1890.⁴

From these four publications it can be seen that Schliemann had made great discoveries at Hissarlik; but the work had not been systematically commenced, and therefore much confusion followed. It is not necessary here to recount his unavoidable mistakes, for

¹ "*Die Ausgrabungen der homerischen Pergamos.*" Von J. G. von Hahn. Leipzig, 1864.

² "*Ilion.*"

³ "*Troja.*"

⁴ "*Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja*" im Jahre, 1890.

they have since been corrected by his friend and collaborateur and able successor, Wilhelm Dörpfeld. Heinrich Schliemann died in December of 1890.

The various publications of Schliemann had aroused the interest of the philhistoric world. But of the problems that had been raised in regard to the different ruins found on Hissarlik, the more weighty ones still remained unsolved. Investigations were therefore resumed in 1893. The direction of the excavations was entrusted to the already experienced Dörpfeld. Under the new direction surprising facts rapidly began to shape themselves out of the chaotic masses of earth and stones. It was ascertained that the successive settlements were at least nine in number. It was discovered that the excavations at Hissarlik revealed to us a picture not only of Homer's city of Priam, but of other interesting settlements, some of which were earlier than Priam's city and others were later. Accordingly the excavations were no longer noteworthy simply as explanatory of life as Homer described it, but because they open out a channel through the life of past ages reaching to a length of more than three thousand years. The earliest settlement whose remains still are strewn on the rock of Hissarlik must have been founded as early as the beginning of the third millenium before Christ; and the latest civic community that erected its houses and temples on the top of the hill existed there, as the ruins show, until about five hundred years after the beginning of our era. The city of Priam seems, indeed, to have been finally identified. But it must now divide its importance with that of the earlier settlements, because the meagreness of our knowledge of these remoter periods renders important every slightest fact concerning them. Definite accounts of these important results appeared in two books.⁵ From the accounts contained in the second of these this present article receives its existence.

Of these nine clearly distinct settlements each, except the first, was built above the débris formed by the destruction of the preceding one. Each settlement is peculiarly indicated by a thick and easily distinguishable stratum made by the accumulated débris. Thus with each succeeding community of inhabitants did the niveau of the hill steadily grow higher. The first settlement was on the native rock. All the others were on various higher levels, on previously formed débris.

Before indicating the stratum which is supposed to contain the

⁵ "Troja." Von Wilhelm Dörpfeld, 1893, and "Troja und Ilion." *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion, 1870-1894.* Von Wilhelm Dörpfeld, unter mitwirkung von Alfred Brückner, Hans von Fritze, Alfred Götze, Hubert Schmidt, Wilhelm Wilberg, Hermann Winnefeld. Athen: Beck u. Barth, 1892. Two vols.

Homeric city of the Trojans, a short description of some of the earlier successive settlements is not out of place.

The oldest habitations that graced this hill were huts of stone, built for the sake of protection and safety on the top of the then bare rock, which rises to a height of about seventy-five feet above the surrounding level plain. The area of the sufficiently level summit was considerably less than 20,000 cubic metres. Close to the edge of the plateau on which their hovels stood, they built a defensive wall round about. Outside of this enclosure there probably were no houses. This primitive settlement was entirely confined to the height. The inhabitants were masters of the fertile fields and pasture lands in which the hill stood, and from this plain they chiefly drew their sustenance. Their houses, as well as their enclosing wall, were built of roughly broken stone put together with clay mortar.

Of all the nine settlements this primitive one has been the least thoroughly examined. This is because much of it cannot be reached by the picks of the excavators without first demolishing the ruins of later settlements above it. Nevertheless enough has been unearthed to allow of an examination into the mode of life of these primeval men. They came and erected their habitations here during the centuries which are known to anthropologists as the neolithic period. The neolithic period is the second half of the obscure "Age of Stone," when men had not yet become familiar with the use of the metals, and used to fashion most of their cutting implements out of stone. It is impossible from the limited amount of utensils and implements that have been found to determine whether these men had already begun to make use of copper as well as of stone for cutting instruments, and had thus progressed into a higher period of civilization distinguished by the name of the "Copper Age." No copper implements have been found. Their axes and hammers and wedges and other tools of this kind are all of hard varieties of native stone. Likewise their pottery is very crude, and for the early ages of mankind earthenware is a reliable indication of the contemporary grade of culture. They had not yet discovered the potter's wheel. Their cups and dishes and basins and vases were fashioned by hand, and show all the irregularities of articles made in that way. These earthenware utensils were burned and hardened not in potters' kilns, but in open fires. The burning is therefore irregular and uneven. These first dwellers on Hissarlik used to nourish themselves on the meat and milk of their flocks, on the grain that their fields produced, on the mollusks that they gathered along the strand, and on the fish which the neighboring sea furnished in abundance. We cannot give exact dates to the time of

their coming and the time of their disappearance. We must be satisfied with saying that they were "neolithic men." But for the sake of grasping their epoch more tangibly we may suppose that they flourished from about 3000 to 2500 before Christ.

The second set of inhabitants who came and took up their abode on Hissarlik built a mighty citadel thereon. So imposing are the ruins and so extensive that Schliemann in his untrained haste mistook this for the city of Priam. This it could not possibly be, however, for it was laid desolate long centuries before Priam's day had come. The niveau of this second settlement lies about fifteen feet higher than the rock surface on which the first inhabitants had built. Five full metres of débris therefore did the primitive dwellers leave behind them after they disappeared from Hissarlik. This second settlement, after an existence of several centuries, came to an end about 2,000 years before Christ. It perished in a great conflagration. The "burnt city," as Schliemann used to call it, was surrounded by a wall, the lower part of which was built of stone and the upper part of sun-dried bricks. The stone portion had a height of from three to twenty-five feet, according to the irregularities of the surface along which it was built. The upper portion, that which was made with sun-dried bricks, was considerably higher than three metres. The entire height of the wall therefore varied from about thirteen to thirty-five feet. The houses were of quarried stone, were well built, but small.

The civilization which flourished in this "burnt city" was that of the "Bronze" period. Wherever the various degrees of civilization are found uninterruptedly succeeding each other, the neolithic period is supposed to be followed not by the bronze but by the copper period. Men learn to use copper before they learn how to manufacture bronze. At Hissarlik, however, no trace of a copper period are recognizable. The primitive men of the first settlement may have perished or departed before they had begun the use of the metals, and the inhabitants of the "burnt city" came to Hissarlik after they had already discovered not only how to use copper, but how to manufacture bronze. The use of copper and bronze, however, did not put an end to all use of stone for the manufacture of cutting implements. Stone axes and hammers and celts are found here along with similar implements in bronze. The potter's wheel was already known, or at least during this period was discovered and employed.

After some great conflagration had wiped this town out of existence, three new small settlements succeeded each other on top of the ashes and ruins of the "burnt city." These were miserable and insignificant communities, compared with the mighty citadel of the

"burnt city" which had preceded them and the splendid "Mykenæic" town which was to be their successor. But nevertheless interesting objects of lead and bronze and electrum and silver and purest gold,⁶ earrings and bracelets and golden goblets have been dug up in strata of earth which possibly represent these settlements. Care had not been taken at the beginning of the excavations to distinguish these strata from each other and from what was above and below. The fifth settlement disappeared about fifteen hundred years before Christ.

The ashes, heaps of stones, broken bricks, fragments of pottery, all kinds of offal and accumulated dirt and dust had raised the surface of the hill to about fifty feet higher than the original top, when there came a sixth set of inhabitants and constructed a new citadel, a new town. By the investigations which Dörpfeld made here in the year 1893, this citadel was discovered to have been built and inhabited in the age which is called "Mykenæic," an age which by approximative calculations is fixed within the years of 1500 to 1000 before Christ. The name of this age is taken from the Peloponnesian town of Mykenæ, which during these centuries was at the height of its glory. Indeed there are many indications which go to show that the lords of this sixth town were sufficiently well acquainted with the other "Mykenæic" towns of the Ægean Sea, and cultivated commercial intercourse with the merchants of the Peloponnesian Tiryns and Mykenæ, and with the Kretan town of Knossos. Two distinct kinds of earthenware articles were in common use in this sixth city. One variety was of native manufacture; we may call it "Troic." The other was imported, and is of the style classed as "Mykenæic." The quantity of Mykenæic wares that were brought in from foreign manufacturies was considerable. The débris of this sixth or Troic town is rich with potsherds thereof. These imported wares were so popular that the native manufacturers who produced Troic wares found themselves obliged to imitate the shapes and varieties of the foreign goods. All of this shows that in those days intercommunication by sea was easy and frequent among the towns on the various shores of the Ægean. These fragments of pottery are highly prized by the antiquarians. It is by them more than by any other finds that this Troic city had been approximately dated.

A high wall, originally of sun-dried bricks but later rebuilt with hewn stone, surrounded the Mykenæic city. Two-thirds of this stone wall with its solid towers are still quite well preserved to a considerable height. But the northwest portion has been so completely destroyed that not even the foundation stones were left. The

⁶ Twenty-three carats fine.

geographer Strabon⁷ records an assertion that about 550 years before Christ the walls of the town Sigeion were erected with stone taken from ancient Troy, which then was uninhabited; and that likewise the town of Achilleion was built with stone of the same provenance. Possibly, therefore, it was under these circumstances that the northwest portion of this wall was carried away; for as has already been stated, this sixth city has been identified as ancient Troy. Three magnificent entrance gates are to be seen in the part of the wall which is yet preserved. Probably a fourth one was in the wall which has disappeared. Of the three which are preserved, one looks towards the east, another to the south and the third one to the west. The missing one would have faced the north.

This wall did not enclose an extensive area. About 20,000 square metres was then the extent of the artificial surface of the hill. Immediately inside the wall a wide street encircled the entire town. Above this street the buildings stood on concentric terraces three or four in number, each terrace being higher than the one outside it. Narrower streets radiated from the centre of the town down to the gates and the ring-street near the walls. Probably the most important edifices were in the middle of the town, on the highest terrace. But no traces whatsoever of them have remained, because when in Roman imperial times the Greek city which then existed here was enriched by new buildings, the top of the hill was cut off and the upmost terrace was entirely removed. Thus were destroyed whatever foundations of Priam's Troy may have then existed on that most conspicuous site of the town.

From such foundations as have been preserved it can be seen that the dwelling houses consisted for the most part each of one spacious room, built of stone. Each house stands separate. There are no party walls. Narrow gangways separated house from house. In many of the houses strong earthenware vessels, as large as the most capacious barrels, stood buried in the clay floor of the houses, and served as storing places for grain and other articles of food. There were also special rooms with groups of such buried vessels. These rooms must have been magazines.

Not even in this sixth settlement was iron used as a material for the making of cutting instruments. The "Iron Age" had not yet begun. Bronze and copper were still the commonest metallic substances. Double-edged axes, celts, sickles, lance heads, needles, razors and knives of bronze have been dug up. Likewise the more primitive custom of making many articles out of stone and bone had not been abandoned. With these ancient peoples as with us the introduction of a more perfect material did not necessarily ex-

⁷ XIII., 599.

clude the continued use of previously known and more imperfect kinds.

About one thousand years before Christ Mykenæic civilization began to die out in all of the places of the Ægean where it had so long been flourishing. What the causes were that brought down this catastrophe upon these powerful communities we do not know. Like the other Mykenæic cities, so also did Troy cease to exist about this time. Indeed it was one of the first of these cities to disappear. Possibly the decay of many of the other Mykenæic cities was gradual and came somewhat later; but the downfall of Troy was sudden. The condition of the ruins prove that the city did not decay by being abandoned, but that it was destroyed by a foe. Most of it was laid waste by a fierce and purposed conflagration. Portions of the citadel wall, of the gates and of the houses are torn down in such a way as to show that the work of destruction was not accidental but intentional—the acts of an enemy who had captured the town.

This sixth city is Homer's city of Priam. The results of the excavations correspond almost minutely with what a study of the *Iliad* compels us to think that Troy must have been. The sixth city is proven to have been contemporary with Mykenæ, where ruled the powerful Agamemnon, who led the Achæans in the vengeful war against Priam. It is situated on the spot where ancient tradition believed Troy once to have been. It perished by being captured and pillaged and burned, as the great Epic narrates to have happened to Priam's city. One is even inclined to think that perhaps the bards who composed the older songs of the *Iliad* were well acquainted with this sixth city or at least with its ruins, so true to it and its surroundings are their descriptions of Priam's city, the hill, the city walls, the towers, the gates, the plain of the Skamandros and the sea coast. It is true that there are some difficulties against accepting this intimate acquaintance of the poets with this Mykenæic citadel. For instance, the city, as now excavated, was not large enough to contain the large army of defenders which the later parts of the *Iliad* assign to Troy. But in matter of numbers poets may be allowed to have made use of their usual license; and with Dörpfeld we might trim Homer's figures from 50,000 down to 5,000. An easier and lazier way, however, of explaining both the coincidences and the incongruities is to believe that Homer's descriptions are very general and would in good part suit most any important town of the Mykenæic age.

We now take leave of the sixth city, which was Priam's, and pass on to the later settlements. After the destruction of Troy the hill remained desolate for a time, and then was repopled by inhabitants

who still followed the lines of waning Mykenæic civilization. But about 700 years before Christ an entirely different set of invaders came and occupied the hilltop, putting an end to all Mykenæic life. The nature of the implements and pottery which these new-comers made for themselves leads us to the supposition that they had learned their arts in a European region, along the shores of the Danube. These Europeans did not build any lasting dwellings here. In part they occupied the stone huts of the Mykenæic inhabitants whom they may have driven out, and in part they built for themselves shelters of osiers and mud, as they had done when living near the Danube. Instruments and utensils similar to those of these European squatters on Hissarlik are found in Hungary near the Danube, and are commonly attributed to post-neolithic times. They are peculiarly made earthenware vases, stone hammers, axes, celts, etc.

Who these Europeans were would be hard to imagine, if Strabon did not mention "Treri" as having made settlement in the Troad round Abydos, and "Kimmerii" as also having come into these same regions. Now these invasions of Treri and Kimmerii that Strabon refers to could well have taken place seven or eight centuries before Christ and would well correspond with the epoch of the arrival of the Europeans at Hissarlik. The Treri were a people who dwelt south of the Danube, in the country now called Bulgaria. The Kimerii inhabited the country north of the Danube, between that river and the shores of the Don. So the probability is that the strangers who ousted the settlers of the seventh town were either Kimmerii or Treri, or both united.

Concerning the men who dwelt in the several preceding settlements, we know very little about their nationality and equally little about the languages which they spoke. But of those who came and built the eighth town there is no room for the smallest doubt. They were of the Hellenic race and spoke the Hellenic tongue. With the departure of the European squatters begins the clearly historical career of this place. The Hellenic town was usually called not "Troy," but "Ilion." But this historically well authenticated town of Ilion never was of active importance in the world. It possessed no special fame save what it owned by being descended from the storied Troy of Priam. Hellenic Ilion was but a small town, but its mysterious traditions made it always reverend. Xerxes when on his way to invade Greece stopped there to sacrifice a thousand steers to Iliac Athena, the tutelary goddess of the Hellenic inhabitants. Alexander on his expedition of conquest against Persia interrupted his march and turned from his course to perform sacred rites at the tomb of Homer's hero, Achilles.

When the Romans became masters of this part of the world they showed many special favors to the Ilions. The Romans were proud of the myths that connected the history of Latium and of Rome with Æneas and the city of Troy. Under Roman tutelage Ilion was enlarged, beautified and in part rebuilt. This Romaic city formed the débris of the ninth stratum on Hissarlik. The Romaic town was larger than any of those that had preceded it. The ancient hill was made to serve merely as a citadel. Round about the foot of this citadel a new town was built. This lower and spacious town was protected by a new wall. So much did the Romans respect Ilion that Cæsar thought of removing the seat of empire thither from Rome. Augustus rebuilt on a more magnificent scale the splendid temple of Iliac Athene. Romaic Ilion continued to be inhabited until perhaps about five hundred years after Christ. Then under Byzantine rule it dwindled away. Under Turkish domination the hill of Hissarlik, which for thirty-five centuries had been the abode of various successive tribes of men, and had been honored by the immortal songs of the Homeric troubadours, was merely a wind-swept stony field.

DANIEL QUINN.

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A QUEEN OF GERMAN POETS.

THE writer for whom the title of this paper claims so elevated a rank is little known in English-speaking lands. Seven years ago the centenary of her birth was celebrated in Germany, and her statue was then erected in her native place; but the occasion does not seem to have elicited an article in a single English-written magazine. Four or five poems translated by Captain Medwin, the friend of Byron and Shelley; an imitation of her "Pastor's Week," by Mr. Maurice F. Egan; an article by Miss A. M. Clarke, in a *Month* of 1886; finally, a translation of her chief prose work, "The Jews' Beech," by Mr. Herman Denroche in the *New Ireland Review* of autumn, 1899—that is apparently a complete record of the attention paid within the English literary empire to Annette Elizabeth, Freiin von Droste-Hülshoff, styled at the head of this essay "Queen of German Poets."

More surprising still is the fact that she is not very well known to her German fellow-countrymen themselves. One may meet with fairly educated Germans who have barely heard her name.

Yet, while Annette von Droste is but sparsely talked of outside her immediate Westphalian fatherland, there is at the same time scarcely any difference of opinion among competent literary critics as to the very high place to which she is entitled among German authors in general, and as to her preëminence among writers of her own sex in particular. Thus (not to multiply quotations) Vilmar says: "She in many respects surpasses most recent poets, and is the first German poetess with a true vocation;" Robert Koenig, "She completely excels all the poetesses of the century in depth and originality." And Paul Heyse concludes a series of sonnets to her memory with the words:

So warst du Deutschland's erste Dichterin.
Thou wast our country's foremost poetess.

For this anomalous difference between popular and professional estimation one or two explanations may be suggested. In the first place, it may be remembered that the number of German poets, great and small, is so enormous that it is really difficult for an educated native to have any distinct notions concerning more than quite a small proportion of them. "The broad top of the German Parnassus" is an old theme of jesting; and the casual gazers from the Bœotian plains below may easily be pardoned if they pay no attention to one or other really distinguished individual among the hill-top company.

But why, it will be asked, has Annette von Droste been peculiarly unfortunate? There are reasons—not all bad reasons. She is frequently obscure; she is seldom effusive; she is occasionally hard. No poet—above all, no woman poet—was ever so free from gush, exaggeration, rhetoric and verbosity. She was superior to all these popular faults; hated them with a hatred derived at once from aristocratic refinement, from a highly analytic turn of mind and from Westphalian straightforwardness. Her hatred carried her too far. In some of her narrative pieces she has pruned out details of fact till what remains is a riddle, the solution of which must be sought in an editor's often not much clearer note. In her lyric, satiric or reflective effusions (if "effusions" they may be called) she is so unwilling to dilate an emotion or expand a thought, so afraid of the weakness of superfluity and the sickliness of sentimentalism that many of these poems, like some of Browning's, though capable of fascinating forever after a third or fourth reading, are too likely to repel once for all at a first. Her syntax, like Browning's, sometimes becomes harsh and obscure through her impatience of mere help-words, and the parodist of "The Ring and the Book," who wrote:

We love to dock the smaller parts of speech,
As we curtail the already curtailed cur,

need not have forged any more telling epigram against Annette von Droste-Hülshoff.

It was also unfortunate that she failed to concentrate her powers on any single kind of work. During a life of fifty years, broken and overclouded by continual and painful illnesses, this gifted woman continued to hesitate as to her true literary vocation. In addition to almost every conceivable class of poetic writing she also tried descriptive prose, the drama and the novel. She thus missed the advantage, so important in all careers, of being known for some definite excellence. Nor, again, had she the good fortune to produce two or three happy summaries of her poetic powers, such as are found representing Campbell or Shelley in every book of extracts. No doubt some of her shorter pieces may be found in the anthologies, but then they only imperfectly represent her greatness.

If I begin my sketch of Annette's life and writings by dwelling at some length upon the surroundings of her early days, it is because these strongly conditioned her entire destiny and work. Never married, the almost constant companion of a mother who survived her, seldom far from brother and sister or from the scenes of childhood, she remained till death the loving child of Westphalian moor and heath, of the ancestral moated manor of Hülshoff, of home memories and home attachments.

The family of Droste-Hülshoff had for hundreds of years held its place among the Kleinadel or squirearchy of Münsterland. The house stood solitary at a distance of many miles from the nearest town, with two rows of windows in its huge roof, surrounded by a moat which broadened on one side into a pond, by capacious barns and stables and by a well-planted little park. Around spread out a wide flat country, with no diversity of hills or rocks or flowing streams; here and there boasting pleasant woods and ponds rich in wild flowers; elsewhere an unfruitful region of barren moor or light sand. "Singular sleepy land," exclaims Annette.

Singular sleepy land! mild elemental powers! winds habitually soft and plaintive! dreaming waters! small, quiet thunderstorms with no reverberation! tranquil, fair-haired, blue-eyed population, who never curse, seldom sing or whistle, but whose lips are very ready to form a comfortable smile when at their work they stop (every five minutes or so) to study the clouds or send smoke from their little cutty pipes towards a heaven with which they seem to feel themselves on quite friendly terms!

These peasants had for centuries been learning a quiet life under the kindly rule of the Bishops of Münster, their feudal lords. Primitive and slow, they kept alive, with many virtues, many notable superstitions. Not even in the Scotch Highlands was the belief in second sight more firmly established than in Münsterland.

In the same descriptive sketch Annette, writing under a thin disguise, gives a summer night's impression of her own home:

The tower clock has just struck 10, but it is really not yet night. I have just been brought a splendid new tallow candle, and am evidently expected to sink at once into the down—I who in the city am accustomed to begin my game of piquet at 11! A quarter of an hour ago I heard the draw-bridge rattling up, a sign that all is over and done, and that the house now stands under the protection of heaven and the broad moat—the latter, be it said in passing, being in some places no more than knee deep; but that's of no consequence; the water is real water, and nobody could wade through it without getting notably wet—protection enough against thieves and hob-goblins.

Then we may follow Annette's footsteps out over the seemingly uninteresting moor and pasture lands which begirt her home. She has glorified them in her "Haidebilder," "Moorland Pictures," which contain, perhaps, the most original and successful efforts of her genius. They combine the refinement of Tennyson's "Dying Swan" with the plain vigor of Crabbe, and with an eeriness peculiarly their own. A good specimen, especially as to the last characteristic, is "The Boy on the Moor," which Miss Clarke has translated in her *Month* article. I offer instead, however, a version of "The House on the Moor"—a genre-piece much less typical, but which happily blends, I think, minute observation with refined idealism:

How fair amid the sombre pines,
Like nestling yellow-hammer,
Deep-roofed in straw, yon cottage shines
In sunset's golden glamor.

From stable window doth appear,
Where chain and straw bed rustle,
Huge horns, white forehead of a steer
Who sniffs with dripping muzzle.

A little garden, thorn-begirt,
Allures the stranger sweetly
With drooping roses, tulips pert,
Bedded and bordered neatly.

Therein a little maid, who rakes
With backward-folded kirtle,
And now a lily stem she breaks,
Now trims a prickly myrtle.

Dark rising on yon golden rim
Three shepherd lads are coming,
An olden month of Mary hymn
Now one, now all are humming.

An axe falls, crashing, in the yard,
Some giant log dividing;
Now tells a handsaw, grating hard,
Of steady muscle grinding.

See, o'er the fretted pines aloof,
The twilight star ascending;
It seemeth o'er the cottage roof
In benediction bending.

'Tis all a picture, such as olden
Cloister walls displayed them,
Where monks artistic on a golden
Background finely laid them:

The carpenter; the herds; from them
 The ditty softly sounding;
 The maiden with her lily stem;
 The peace divine abounding;

The star that from the blue lets fall
 Its solitary ray;
 Oh, tell us, in yon little stall,
 Is Christ born here to-day?

It was in January, 1797, that the fated poet of these scenes first saw the light. Four days later, amid a vast assemblage of uncles, aunts and cousins, she was held over the baptismal font by her great-grandmother and received the ponderous appellation of Anna Elizabeth Francisca Adolphina Wilhelmina Louisa Mary. From the beginning a frail, sensitive and excitable child, she had all need of the sedulous, if somewhat rigid, care which fortunately marked her bringing-up. It was an old-fashioned household, that of Hülshoff. Immemorial usages prevailed; domestic order and discipline, respect for age and authority were so thoroughly a part of life that we can trace their influence in our poet even to the close of her career. There was a domestic chaplain; common prayer and daily Mass ranked first among family observances. One is more surprised, however, to find that this sleepy-looking "moated grange" stood upon a level of intellect and cultivation no less high than that of its morals and piety. Its currents both of thought and of action were chiefly directed by one personage—the Baroness, Annette's mother, a woman of great energy and capacity, who had in her youth written elegant verses and was now admired as a model Hausfrau. She acted on the wise belief that the singular receptivity and activity of her daughter's mind were best to be dealt with by providing for it abundant and wholesome occupation. The little girl was consequently put face to face with an extensive educational programme, including everything her brothers learnt and some things they did not. It is not surprising that her acquirements became exceptional. As she grew up she could read with ease Latin, French, English and Dutch. She knew a little of Italian and Greek, something more of mathematics, physical sciences and history, while botany and geology remained through life favorite pursuits. In the early days before her twentieth year it seemed as if music and not verse were to be the chief voice of her inner life. Old German music and the popular songs of Westphalia had a special charm; they stimulated her to interesting compositions and to vocal performances which seem to have had a somewhat weird attractiveness.

The Baron von Droste-Hülshoff, in his youth not undistinguished in camps, was now a pious and gentle soul, with cultivated tastes and some hobbies and oddities. Annette has pictured for us, not

without humor, his violin playing, his aviary, his tulips, his herb-arium of native flowers, his delight in the mysterious and horrible, his love of "printed bloodshed" and his "*Liber Mirabilis*." This singular volume was nothing less than a carefully kept register wherein the Baron noted down in Latin all unearthly occurrences that in any way came under his notice—omens, prophecies, visions, witchcraft, second sight and the like.

Our poet inherited her mother's clear intellect and firm character, but colored (one may say) by nearly all the peculiarities of the father. Two brothers and a sister completed a happy home circle. Naturally enough birthday greetings were the earliest manifestations of the child's poetic talent. They appeared when she was only seven or eight. At the age of nine she penned a very solemn quatrain, thus closely reproduced by Miss Clarke:

How quickly the pleasures of life are gone past,
How short, oh, how short is the time that they last!
Delightful they are, we would fain hold them fast,
But the hour is soon fled; they are past, they are past!

Very smooth lines and advanced reflections for an authoress of nine! Yet, strange to say, Annette reached her twenty-second year without completing any work of permanent value.

The time of passage from girlhood into womanhood, to which we must now hasten, had its full interest in the biography of our poet. It was a time of severe inner conflict—conflict between the gay world which Annette encountered in her city visits, and a deep-rooted impatience of its pettiness and frivolity; conflict between a strong poetic vocation and the claims of aristocratic family life; conflict between an ardent and strong soul and a slight and weak physical organization; conflict, finally, between strongly rooted piety and harassing spectres of doubt.

Now we read a letter about new acquaintances, new dresses, evening parties; next comes one to Uhland or the Brothers Grimm in reference to their labors in German folklore. Then follow hours of painful solitary brooding; two of her relatives, mother and daughter, are carried off by unexpected death upon the same day, and the news becomes a text for unsparing considerations on the hollowness of all earthly pursuits. At one time we find her thanking heaven for having made her home life so happy; but then again there are lyrics, there is a narrative poem, an unfinished drama, wherein a bitter life-weariness, a passionate *Weltschmerz* seem to speak out plainly. Sometimes the interior darkness seems unbroken by the light of heaven; nevertheless, it was this period which gave birth to the first half of the "*Spiritual Year*," a series of poems purely religious and devotional. Thus various and bewildering were the

voices of a soul which was very sincere, though nowise given to self-display.

From the effusions of Annette's early romanticism no extract need here be offered. They are usually marked by faults quite antithetic to the characteristics of her mature verse. As to the "Spiritual Year," however, the general high level of merit makes selection a difficult task. In their combination of fine feeling, sincere emotion and masterly versification these religious poems have seldom been equaled. Sometimes, indeed, their tone is a little hard and their rhythm a little curt; they are not remarkable for that flowing tenderness which is the most popular merit of religious verse. Annette has told us that her spiritual songs are not meant on the one hand for the gay and frivolous, nor on the other for saintly, God-united souls. Their appeal is indeed somewhat limited. They are the utterances of one continually conflicting with darkness, fear and scrupulosity. Some verses from the poem "For Ash Wednesday" may help towards realizing their general character:

Upon my brow this cross
Of ashes grey:
O paltry charm of life,
How well unto our loss
Thou dost betray!
With hues in sunny strife,
Scarlet and snow,
Thou coverest the foul decay beneath,
Till stealing death
Strippeth all masks away.

Cometh a skeleton
Before mine eye,
All horrent stands my hair,
I quake to look upon
What shall be—I,
To what the hours prepare
My change even now,
What I can touch and find
In self enshrined,
Self's bitter mockery.

Thou miserable flesh,
That heart and will
Oft tanglest in the fold
Of vile and traitorous mesh,
Life gilds thee still;
But soon art thou ice cold,
The sport of worms,
Degraded to a clod:
Oh! then may God
The immortal hope fulfil.

Surely an extraordinary production for a girl of twenty, this sombre religious poem, so uncompromising in its stern realism!

The degree to which Annette's religious beliefs were shaken by doubt has been variously estimated.¹ In her frequent visits to

¹ The question has been treated in a thoroughly competent manner by Father Wilhelm Kretten, S. J., in the complete edition of the poet's works brought out by him and the Baroness von Droste-Hülshoff (her niece).

Bonn she usually resided with her cousin, Professor Clement von Droste-Hülshoff, occupant of the chair of canon law and a prominent defender of the views known as "Hermesianism." Hermes, their first propagator, had shortly before been a professor in Bonn University. His theories were a rationalizing of Christianity to the detriment of faith, and later on, in 1835, they were condemned by Pope Gregory XVI. Not merely this heresy, but other forms also of denial and skepticism floated in the atmosphere which Annette breathed in her cousin's house. Alert and keen as her mind was, she appears nevertheless to have modestly refrained from taking a part in theological controversies. She suffered (she tells us) the Hermesian and similar questions to remain "all Hebrew to her." An ear-witness relates that when once, after 1835, the doctrines condemned in that year were brought forward by some one as still defensible, she said: "Rome has spoken, and I don't see how the question is open any longer"—words which in that time and place were no commonplace profession of faith. Yet there seems no doubt that intercourse with Bonn circles left in a mind equally devout and intelligent the seeds of difficulties and questionings, of that state of internal conflict which finds full and even painful expression in the "Spiritual Year."

Fortunately, however, Annette formed at the same period a friendship which proved a sedative to this inner turmoil and at the same time a stimulant to literary work. Professor Schlüter, of Münster, was three years younger than the Fräulein von Droste; but his learning was already extensive, and a serious and noble character had been early ripened by calamity. In his twenty-first year he had completely lost the use of his eyes. It was Annette's prudent mother who first thought of the young professor as a useful director of her daughter's mental cultivation and literary activity. Soon the latter's confidence was completely won. Fervently religious, enlightened, candid and sympathetic, Schlüter well repaid to the end the friendly reliance of mother and daughter.

Needless to say, he was not her only critic. On the contrary, she seems to have been richly provided with eager censors and candid friends, and her letters tell sufficiently often the consequent tale of bewilderment and boredom. One of the most persistent, severe and capable of her admonitors was Levin Schücking, who (long after) made some name for himself in German literature. He was thirteen years younger than Annette, to whose protection his mother, when dying, had commended him. To Schücking she pointedly alludes in "Das Eselein," although it also satirizes false idealism in general. She introduces us to her Pegasus, not (she says) a singularly attractive beast, but yet "his flanks were strong

and supple, and clear light filled his eyes." A gifted young man, however, appears, with a talent and a passion for beautifying everything. He takes the colt into his charge and begins to ply all manner of cosmetic implements, mostly painful in application:

Your coloring, too, cannot possibly do,
Not black, yet failing in brightness,
No tint of romance, no learned blue,
No clear historical whiteness. . . .

And as to that tail, flapping out like a sail,
Whose wildness you may think charming,
It's against every rule of the modern school,
And calls for a thorough reforming.

So brisk went the shears from crupper to ears
To carry the full design out,
Not a tuft nor a hair would the tweezers spare,
Till the beau-ideal should shine out.

At length the reformer, proud of his work, invites to a view:

"Behold with pride," so the artist cried,
"A steed no stable surpasses."
But fancy my horror to catch in the mirror
No Pegasus' form—but an ass's!

Another friendship, that with a poetically-given married lady, Sibylla Mertens, brought Annette abundant opportunities of displaying self-devotion and amiable endurance. On at least two occasions, visits made by her to Bonn or Coblenz, with a view to rest and recovery of health, were turned into a long and trying confinement to the sick room of the still frailer Sibylla Mertens. "I don't know what you are thinking of me, dear old mother," so runs a hasty letter home, "but I know very well that I am not to be blamed, and for the last four weeks hardly knew if my head were on my shoulders or not. I have been tending poor Sibylla day and night, almost quite alone, for she had just before dismissed her maid, who drank, and so she couldn't stand her. . . . I have still to get up once or twice almost every night. I have the whole household to look after, as well as the two children, and have certainly more than twenty keys to use every day."

One of these two children afterwards remembered how sometimes, in the midst of her trying exertions for a houseful of people whom she might have treated as mere strangers, Annette would sit down to amuse them with the most charming stories, spun out with endless fertility of invention. To one of these children also she addressed, fifteen years later, a beautiful but melancholy poem, wherein she recalls that long confinement to the sick room and the gladness to escape from it:

Within the little hut among the pines
How we two lunched on luscious peach and grape,
And held high festival for our escape
From wakeful nights and daylong toll and fears!
And then we trained the tender sprouting vines,
And said: "How fair a bower these will drape
After yet fifteen years!"

Yet fifteen years! O cruel time and slow!
Those tiny elms now darken all the slope,
Our little rustic temple scarce would ope
Its creaking door, its drear decay to show.
But on the terrace, in a new green bower,
Fit paradise for life's most hopeful hour,
Two stand and gaze into each other's soul,
While warm winds flutter in her locks' brown wealth.
Dear child, God bless thee, leave thee all youth's dower,
Mirth and true love and health.

But she who bore thee, she upon whose brow
I've seen the light thine own reflecteth now,
Now with her old friend at the gate she stands,
Pressing farewell on her more pallid hands;
Hers from beside whose feet the golden stream
Of youth has ebbed faster than thou canst dream.
Their looks and words—thou call'st our parting cold?
Ah, we are stiffened stems, but more unfailing;
Tearless indeed, but true; for both are ailing,
Ah, both are sad and old!²

To come back to the youthful days of which these lines are so wistful a retrospect, Annette seems to have made, on the whole, a favorable impression upon the social gatherings of Münster, Cologne and Bonn. To commonplace people she appeared eccentric; into vapid retailers of small talk she appears occasionally to have struck terror. Her highly-strung nerves as well as her exceptional mental gifts excluded patient toleration from the list of her special merits. On the other hand, she had considerable talent as a *raconteuse* and as a mimic. So good was her imitation of a certain shopkeeper in Cologne, who philosophized in an odd medley of High German and local dialect, that some of her hearers afterwards made pilgrimages to hear the original. Her appearance was very much out of the common. A small and slight figure supported a somewhat large head, and this was crowned with that almost fabulous adornment, really golden hair. The features were strongly and nobly cut; the eyes exceedingly prominent, with a mysterious far-gazing expression—a peculiarity closely connected with the prosaic fact that Annette was exceedingly short-sighted. It is singular enough that, hampered by this physical defect, she should have so signally succeeded as a miniature painter of external nature. As a matter of fact she availed herself very largely, for minute observations both scientific and poetic, of the aid of eye-glasses and telescopes.

Such did Annette appear between her twentieth and thirtieth years, for her, as for most of us, the liveliest and most expansive time of life. I have spoken of strong friendships won during that time. Did no stronger feeling arise to quicken the currents of the soul? What space is occupied in her biography and her poetry by

² These stanzas represent only the latter half of the poem, "After Fifteen Years." I may here remark that the literature of the translations given in the text is generally in inverse proportion to the difficulty of the metre adopted.

that passion which woke the lyre ages before Sappho, and which poets have even feigned rather than leave unsung? The question brings before us perhaps the most singular aspect of this eminent woman's life and art. Of her life; for although a legend exists of an attachment, an unhappy attachment, which had to be broken off because of the inferior rank of the suitor, there exists scarcely a shred of evidence to support the romantic tale. Of her art; for throughout its whole varied range the note of personal love, other than to relatives, is not heard. It would be difficult to find any similar silence in the work of a great poet. Dante, rapt into Paradise, sang of the idealized Beatrice, and in the cloister lyrists, like Bernard or Teresa, addressed glowing verses to objects of mystic adoration. But Annette's heart utters no voice of tender passion, whether earthly or transfigured; she frequently writes with insight and feeling of passion in others, but remains silent concerning herself. Hence her poetry offers a varied freshness of theme to those weary of the never-ending tinkle of the modern amorous monochord.

To the domestic affections her heart and lyre responded sensitively. In 1827 her elder brother married; a few months later her much-loved father unexpectedly died. The happy family circle was forever broken. On her father's grave Annette laid no poetic offering. She felt his loss too deeply to sing his elegy. "There are graves," she tells us, "where lamentation is hushed, but the heart bleeds in secret; no drop is seen on the eyelid, but sorrow crushes the soul within. Yet they are also places of refuge, of true consolation and of immortal lessons." Such for her was the grave of her father. Her father's house she and her widowed mother resigned to its young lord and his wife. They retired to an old half farmhouse, half villa not far away, the Hülshoff dower house. Lost among trees and fields, the "Rush House" (Rüsch-haus) was stiller and lonelier even than Hülshoff, and under its shadows Annette may be said to have passed out from youth into a still and lonely middle age. Occasionally visits of some duration would be paid to friends at a distance, occasionally (though less often) a guest would brighten up the silent dower house. But sensitive, frail and frequently ill as the Freiin was she had a horror of traveling and welcomed but a few chosen visitors. She fell into some curious valetudinarian habits. She admits the fact herself, and gaily details some of her peculiarities: "I don't breakfast till 10.30; then I take cold milk mixed with cold water or with a little cold coffee; then for dinner potatoes with some cold meat. I have got so accustomed to this that hot food always makes me unwell; but it's a whim," she admits, "and I am subject to whims." She was not, however, self-

indulgent or idle. She read, studied and wrote; she roamed around geologizing or botanizing; she made collections of various curiosities. For collecting old watches she had a special hobby, commemorated in her poem "Die Steckenpferde." Her prime favorite was one huge watch which struck, quite of itself, the hours, half hours and quarters. This noisy pet she used to bring everywhere about with her, and could scarcely settle down to work or rest without having it by her side.

Nor did Annette forget to emulate the solitary burden to which she in one poem compares herself—the linden out on the wide heath, which sheltered from sun or rain all sorts of wayfarers. She was devotedly attentive to her old nurse. Once every year she brought off the old peasant woman to spend a day with her relatives; then the Fräulein's seldom-worn silks and jewels would be brought to light, and she took a naïf delight in the pleasure felt by the good country folk at seeing their old Hännchen accompanied and petted by so splendid a young lady. The peasant children of the neighborhood soon discovered Annette's marvelous talent as a storyteller, and would waylay her about the grounds or gather beneath her window and insist on hearing a specimen of her art. Her income of some £400 a year was constantly at the service of the distressed. Poor students seem to have been a favorite object of her benevolence; to one such she contributed no less than £60 for the continuance of his university career.

Yet, on the whole, the life of the poet at the Rush House was characterized above all things by its deep loneliness—a loneliness which became intensified when, as frequently happened, Annette could not be induced to accompany her mother and sister on their more or less prolonged visits to the houses of distant friends. The utter solitude of the days and weeks she then spent often affected her (she admits) to such a degree that she felt "like one in a dream, and hardly knew whether she were in time or eternity." These long spells of lonely brooding brought forth some characteristic products. One was a poem of over 800 lines, entitled "The Physician's Bequest." It is full of true poetic power, but its theme is exceedingly obscure and its moral coloring exceedingly dark. A young man sits down amid a smiling spring landscape to read a document which has been sent to him from the hand of his dying father. The latter has closed a life whose last years had been spent in a state of semi-insanity. His "bequest," bearing evidence of the writer's disturbed mental condition, narrates the circumstances under which his reason was shaken; how he had once been called forth, as a physician, to attend a mysterious patient in a mysterious retreat of robbers, and had there become a participator in a mysterious crime. The most

careful reading will hardly give a clearer notion of the too obscure subject of this poem. In its working out Annette displays high poetic power; but its selection showed some lack of judgment, and certainly a morbid state of feeling.

Not very much more happy was her choice of subject for another important product of the same period (1828-1834). The 2,700 lines of "The Hospice on the Great St. Bernard" are mainly occupied with descriptions, connected by a slight and not too happily conducted narrative; and these descriptions introduce us to regions which were unfamiliar to the author, but which, since her time, have been over-described. I have said enough, I think, to account for the fact that this longest of the poet's works, in spite of great merits, has never attracted, and probably never will attract, many readers.

In 1835 a pleasant change broke in upon the excessive dullness of Annette's existence, a long visit to a romantic mansion in romantic Switzerland. Her sister had become the wife of Joseph Baron von Lassberg, a man remarkable for the enthusiasm and energy with which he sought to keep alive old German ideals, old German manners, old German literature. His house near Lake Constance was a veritable museum of antiquities, and more than that, a focus of antique patriotism. Here, though not without occasional sighs for her Westphalian home-land, Annette, detained at once by affectionate urgency and the counsels of physicians, prolonged her stay for nearly two years. Here she could roam upon the Alpine slopes, by the lake-shores or mid the rich pastures of Thurgau. Here she could decipher the famous Lassberg manuscripts, such as that of the Nibelungenlied; she could converse with men like Uhland and Simrock. Strengthened in body and mind, she brought to completion in 1838 the third and most successful of her long poems. It was a brilliant and vigorous narrative on a national subject—"The Battle of Lohner Bruch," commemorating a passage of the Thirty Years' War of which Westphalia was the theatre. Her countrymen were much gratified; her fellow-Catholics, however, regretted that once more her subject was not an ideal one, her poem being largely, in fact, a glorification of the Protestant leader, Christian of Brunswick, and reëchoing accusations, always uncertain and since disproved, against the brave and high-minded Tilly. As to the merits of the execution, however, there has been no dissentient voice. Johann Scherr goes so far as to say that "this poem may boldly take its stand beside the best that in any literature of the world has been said or sung of war and weapons." Singular praise, truly, to be earned by a quiet invalid woman! One, and perhaps only one, difficulty would I urge against the acceptance of this high estimate; it is that the general inspiration of "The Battle of Lohner Bruch" is not suf-

ficiently original. It is Walter Scott reproduced in German. Annette had read devoutly her "Marmion" and her "Lay of the Last Minstrel." It may be, however, that, once started, she rises quite as high as her illustrious leader. Her local coloring, like his, is so full and precise that it makes difficulties for the translator, and interferes, perhaps, with wide popularity. For this and other reasons I have neglected to provide a really typical extract from a poem which requires and deserves to be read as a whole. The opening lines, however, offering a reposeful picture which contrasts admirably with the succeeding scenes, run somewhat in this manner:

The glories of the sunset hour
Play on Westphalia's oaken groves,
Bid tender farewell to each flower,
To lake and pool, whose silver ripples
Fling glittering back a thousand loves;
While margent lilies softer gleam,
And all the reeds so gently whisper
Back to the ebbing wind, 'twould seem
The last good-night some tiny lisper
Returns, soft-couched by tender hand,
And sunken half to slumber-land.

More calm the landscape grows, more pale;
And gently falls eve's holy veil,
Its mystery of dusk and dew;
So falleth o'er the widow's face
The heavy-shrouding sable lace,
Which yet a tear may glitter through.

Space will not allow details as to the history of the publication of this or any other of Annette's works. Suffice it to note, for the consolation of the unprinted or unsold poet whose eyes may fall on these lines, that none of her productions were printed till 1838, her forty-first year; that they were then left almost unnoticed by the discerning eyes of the periodic press, and that it took three years to sell off her first edition of 500 copies!

Between 1837 and 1841, years spent partly at the Rüsche-Haus, partly at another quiet family property, partly with her brother and his circle at Hülshoff, "The Spiritual Year," dear to the gentle-minded Schlüter, was completed and a work of very different character was taken up. This was a comedy named "Perdu." Annette has amusingly described for us the reason which led to her making this attempt. "Here," she writes, "people are pulling every string to get me to write something comic. This perpetual teasing makes me half annoyed, half irresolute. I think humor becomes but few people, and very seldom suits a woman's pen. For the present I couldn't think of it. To-day a joke and to-morrow a sacred song—that would never do! Such states of mind are not to be put on and off like clothes, although many people seem to think they can."

Four weeks later she has finished "The Spiritual Year." "Tired

of hearing for twenty years that I quite misunderstand my own talent, I have set to work at a business that is repugnant to my inmost nature. I do not expect it to be an utter failure; I am not without a humorous vein; but it does not characterize my ordinary and most natural disposition; it is only called forth by that gay half-intoxication which comes upon us in numerous and lively society, when the air is full of sparks of wit and each endeavors to outdo the other in smartness and fun. But the very thought of sitting down to write a comedy makes me above all things inclined to yawn!"

It was not inevitable, but neither is it surprising, that the comedy produced in such a spirit should have been an utter failure. Such it was—a failure which, considering the author's apparent endowment for comic drama, "has hardly been paralleled save by Charles Lamb's unlucky farce, 'Mr H.'" Fortunately, Annette's piece, unlike Lamb's, did not get as far as the stage. It circulated among her friends, and while giving little satisfaction, caused some annoyance. Many individuals thought they saw themselves satirized in this or that personage, and the authoress had, in fact, yielded a little to a satiric propensity which was destined to bring her into further troubles.

In 1841 Annette revisited Switzerland under circumstances yet more favorable than those of her first sojourn. The Baron von Lassberg and her sister now inhabited the castle of Meersburg, situated on the northern shore of Lake Constance. In a landscape of varied grandeur and charm Meersburg rose, a huge and romantic monument of ancient times. Its great tower had been built by King Dagobert in the seventh century, Charles Martel had laid some of its walls, Guelphs and Hohenstaufen had in turn possessed it; then the bishops of Constance had made it their chief stronghold. We may speak of it as the home of Annette's last years. Return to the cold and foggy winters of Westphalia became more and more dangerous to her weak health, and though in 1846 she purchased a little house and estate of her own, yet it lay quite close to the ancient fortress.

Needless to say, Suabia and Switzerland were not left unsung by their northern guest. Her heart and its longings remained indeed singularly true to the flat moors and sands of her native Münsterland, but she could not be insensible to the charm of these foreign rocks and woods and waters. She consigned her impressions in a few admirable lyrics. One of these brings again before us Levin Schücking, whom we met previously as the would-be reformer of her Pegasus. She had obtained for him the post of librarian at Meersburg and treated him with a sort of maternal familiarity. "The Inn on the Lake" is a record of a pleasant day spent by the

twain, and was rapidly improvised at the very spot described.³ In its quick but happy changes of tone there is all the charm of a true improvisation:

How pleasant the secluded spot, Levin!
The little hostel, perched upon the slope,
The vast and varied splendor in its scope,
Its little host, so comical of mien.
Odd contrast 'twixt the tiny man, his eyes
Outbeaming flattery, his rolling gait,
His brisk officiousness and the cold state
Of those unbending Alpine majesties!

Now sit! Grapes ho! And promptly doth appear
Our dapper landlord, with neat queue behind.
O see, for very ripeness from the rind
Of the rich fruit droppeth a blood-red tear!
Feed then unsparing from the crystal bowl
That lures thee with its rubies honey-cored;
But I, beside the Autumn's generous board,
Feel sullen Winter creep with stealthy sole.

Such dismal reveries but mysteries are
To thee, young blood. Then I'll be merry, too,
By thy dear side and drain my glass anew.
But look, what wonders, whether near or far!
How tower behind the rugged granite steep,
Seeming 'twere ours to reach in twenty strides;
How far below the unheard torrent glides,
Seeming—to cross it were one easy leap!

Hearest the Alphorn over the blue lake?
From yonder hills of Switzerland, so clear,
So calm the air, almost I seem to hear
The cow-bells tinkling, see the herdsmen take
Their craggy homeward path. Say, does there hang
A chamois there, where the ravine cuts deep?
And now a hunter's figure seems to creep—
Why, eyes would sure not miss them, if they sprang.

Fall to! The snowy giants lie afar,
Near is the ancient Burg, our kindly home,
Where lies the Past in many a mouldered tome
In rugged rhymes of angry love and war.
Me well befiteth, when the fancy falls,
To wake old sorrows from their dusty sleep;
But thou, Levin, dost gaily chirp and peep,
Like a young swallow 'mong the grim, grey walls.

See, out upon the sunset-reddened floor
Cometh and goeth the black diver's head;
Now down she plunges, like the fisher's lead,
Now floats she on a tiny wave once more.
And as we gaze, our thoughts together flow—
'Tis Life's apt image on that glassy plain.
But thou art thinking, she will rise again,
And I reflect, she sinks again below.

Now for one last glance on this favored land,
On mountain, meadow and wide-curving sea;
Then home—for surely from the balcony
Our path ere now by anxious eyes is scanned.
Quick to the road!—but see, our host comes pressing,
All smile and duck and nod, unto the gate.
"Safe home! Good-night! Sleep soundly and sleep late!"
Such is the merry Suabian's vesper blessing.

³ Annette had remarkable powers of rapid poetic production. A considerable section of her lyrics was actually produced within a fortnight, in accordance with a wager; no doubt many of the pieces existed already in her mind or in crude form. On the other hand, like some other rapid improvisers, she was fond of brooding over first attempts and minutely applying the file—not always with happy results.

The friendship of Levin Schücking, for whom she had done very much, was lost to Annette before her death. He married, and the young wife and the old friend did not prove sympathetic. More than this, he had drifted into aggressively Liberal views, and had published some "Teudenzromane," containing some satirical portraits of aristocratic personages, which his patroness was thought, quite ungroundedly, to have helped him to sketch. In 1846 the estrangement was complete. Already Annette was undergoing another severe trial. In 1845 she began anonymously in Görres' "Historisch-Politische Blätter" a series of prose "Pictures from Westphalia," and although no unprejudiced reader will charge these sketches with imprudent frankness or excessive satire, they nevertheless excited quite a tempest of wounded feelings. A self-centred provincial society is ever exceedingly quick to scent satire in any description of itself and its surroundings; and the good people of Münster and Paderborn proved no exception. Annette's own friends and even family circle seem to have joined, with few exceptions, in the outcry against the disloyal portrayer. It is true that the secret of authorship was remarkably well kept, remaining for a couple of years the property of two or three persons. But the pain to Annette was little lessened by this precarious incognito. Constant ill health still filled up the measure of sorrows for one whose life had tasted much of bitterness.

It is not surprising if the literary products of the two or three closing years show that her spirits, as well as her health, were broken. Her long-maintained correspondence with Schlüter flickered out. Intensely nervous, she shrank from all intercourse with strangers; two little nieces, however, were (and are still, if I mistake not) able to testify that her skill and willingness to amuse children remained as of old. She seems to have largely sought her consolation in exercises of piety. The quiet parlor and chapel of the Dominican nuns at Constance were her frequent haunts, and in one of her poems she expresses self-reproach that she had not long before had the courage to break absolutely with a world that had offered her so many thorns.

Fortunately, however, for posterity, while life remained, poet she could not cease to be. Under the simple title "Am Boden See," "By Lake Constance," she has rendered some of the emotions of those closing years in lines which have securely entered upon immortality. It is a picture from the twilight of day and of life, the shadowy outlines of which make translation a peculiarly difficult task:

Wearily over the wide plain creeping
The pallid night fog thickeneth,

Panteth the twilight's heavy breath
As a tired horse whose rider's sleeping.
In the fisher's hut no lamp doth glimmer,
In the lonely tower no crickets wake;
Nothing is heard but the low simmer,
The unresting heart-beat, of the lake.

I hear the waves on the reeking strand
Toss, toss for ever, their ceaseless fall
Crumbling the stones of the nodding wall,
Rustle on the pebbles, swish on the sand;
And mid the monotonous breaking, breaking,
Upsurgeth a sound of hollow lament,
Like a voice of pain from lips half pent
Like a distant roar of storm upwaking.

Hast thou then seen, hast mirrored so much,
That in thy dreams it must o'erglide thee,
That quivers thy subtle nerve at the touch
Of human footstep falling beside thee?
Gone, all gone—the brave and the strong,
The rich and mighty, the poor and small,
And naught remains but, thy floor along,
The broken reflection of them all!

The knight who spurred on the battle morn
From his castle gate—now the briars stretch,
And the sauntering tourist sits to sketch
Where his archway frowned its granite scorn.
The poor old mother, who laid her shroud
Forth on thy shelving stones to bleach;
The sick man, creeping along thy beach
To look his last on sunlight and cloud.

The child, who raised his tottering tower
Of sand and pebbles; the happy bride,
Who smiled as she flung upon thy tide
Leaf after leaf of the lover's flower;
The poet, who beat with rolling eye
His verses out to thy monody;
The pilgrim who sat, ere he passed, on the stone—
All, all, like mist on the wind, are gone.

Art thou so faithful, old water fairy,
Holdest all clasped, lettest none depart?
Has Truth, then, sunk from her ancient eyry,
Her hold in the hills, to dwell in thy heart?
Then O look on me—for like foam I pass!
So, when above me green waves the grass,
My face, long mouldered to dust, shall seem
Once more to quiver across thy dream.

A strange wish—that one's face should be writ in water! Annette faded away gradually beside the long-memored Suabian lake. Yet the end, when it came, was somewhat sudden and unexpected. In May, 1848, death found her quite alone in the tower chamber she occupied as a guest at Meersburg. Near her were found a few lines of verse she had recently been writing. They give a pleasant impression of unaltered kindness in retrospect and of serene confidence in the eternal future.

In a churchyard shadowed by the gray fortress of Dagobert, in view of the Swiss mountains and the Suabian Sea, amid slopes rich in corn and wine, were laid to rest the mortal remains of Annette von Droste-Hülshoff. Beside her, only a few months later, was laid

her noble kinsman, Baron Joseph von Lassberg; and now a handsome Gothic chapel rises over both.

Few poets have found a more picturesque resting place. Yet she doubtless would have chosen a grave in the north, near the stiller waters of Hülshoff, amid those Westphalian tilths and moors and sand-wastes that nurtured her childhood, and whose shyest charms she had the unique gift to interpret.

The specimens I have imperfectly rendered of her work have each one represented a different aspect of her genius; and the gallery, such as it is, is far from complete. She attempted, doubtless, too many things; but there were few departments of poetic literature in which she did not produce some excellent work. To attempt to summarize in conclusion so many-sided a genius, so unusual a character, were to make my epilogue too long and difficult. I am satisfied to have provided materials for forming a first estimate, and to have encouraged, as I hope, some few to make better acquaintance with a poet whose very merits have hitherto contributed to delay just renown, and (perhaps I may add) with a woman whose life-story, though uneventful, does not lack pathetic interest.

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THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AS ORIGINALLY FORMED AND APPROVED BY POPE PAUL III.*

DESCRIBING the condition of Europe contemporary with the military career of Ignatius Loyola, who, while suffering from serious wounds, was miraculously moved to the contemplation of Almighty God, the historian of the Society of Jesus outlines the ecstatic stages of progress of self-edification in the soul of the future saint.¹ His completion of his work on "Spiritual

* *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Composée sur les documents inédits et authentiques. Par J. Chrétineau Joly. Ouvrage orné des portraits. 6mo., Tomes 1-6, pp. 2600. Paris, 1845.

¹ J'entreprends une oeuvre difficile, impossible peut-être. Je veux raconter l'origine, les développements, les grandeurs, les sacrifices, les études, les mystérieuses combinaisons, les luttes, les vicissitudes de toute sorte, les ambitions, les fautes, les gloires, les persécutions et les martyres de la Compagnie de Jésus.

Je dirai la prodigieuse influence que cette Société exerça sur la religion; par ses saints, par ses apôtres; par ses théologiens, par ses orateurs, par ses moralistes; sur les rois par ses directeurs de conscience et par ses diplomates; sur les peuples, par sa charité et par ses doctes enseignements; sur la littérature, par ses poètes, par ses historiens, par ses savants, et par les

Exercises" described by Père Jouveney, for which St. Francis de Sales claimed "won more converts than there were letters in the work;" his gathering around him French and Spanish young men who became his disciples in devotional work; his long and persistent efforts to obtain recognition from the Holy See, which met with such poor success as would discourage most men not inspired with heavenly zeal as was Loyola; the ordination and associating under his leadership of his disciples, their works of charity and pulpit eloquence, and their success in breaking down heresy, which was continually cropping out, finally won for Loyola and his companions that recognition which induced Pope Paul III., on September 27, 1540, to proclaim the Bull "Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae," for the institution of the Society of Jesus.

This Bull is one of those Papal historical documents which places on record the founding of a new order for religious work by the Holy See, and which relates at great length the work already accomplished by Ignatius Loyola and his companions, Peter Lefèvre, James Laynès, Claud Lejay, Pasquier Brouet, Francis Xavier, Alphonsus Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez, John Codure and Nicolas Bobadilla, all priests of the cities and dioceses respectively of Pampeluna, Geneva, Siguenza, Toledo, Viseu, Embrun and Placentia; masters of arts, graduates from the University of Paris, and for several years pursuing theological studies.²

A general of the society was now to be elected. Four only of the fathers with Loyola were present in Rome; the others were engaged in spiritual works in other cities. A day was appointed for the election of a general; the absent fathers were notified and all directed to spend three days in prayer and contribute under seal the name of the preferred.

écrivains d'un gout et d'un style si purs qu'elle a produit dans toutes les langues.

Je la montrerai à son berceau militant pour l'Eglise Catholique et pour les monarchies que le Protestantisme naissant se donnait déjà mission de détruire.

Je pénétrerai dans ses collèges, d'où sortirent tant des personnages fameux, la gloire ou le malheur de leur patrie. Je la suivrai au delà de mers, sur tous ces scénans inconnus où le zèle de la maison du Seigneur entraînait ses Pères qui, après être devenus la lumière des Gentils, elargissaient le cadre de la civilisation et des sciences, et apprenaient aux hommes assis à l'ombre de la mort combien sont beaux les pieds de ceux qui évangélisent la paix. J'étudierai son Institut si peu connu, et dont on a parlé avec tant d'amour ou tant de haine.

J'approfondirai cette politique, si ténébreuse selon ses détracteurs, si à découvert selon ses partisans, mais qui a laissé une ineffaçable empreinte sur les seizième, dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles, l'époque la plus célèbre du monde par la diffusion des idées et par l'importance des événements.

² Histoire, etc., de la Compagnie de Jésus. Par J. Chrétineau Joly. Tome I., p. 36.

Ignatius Loyola was elected the first general of the Society of Jesus. The vote was unanimous. He refused and demanded another election, which was soon after held; but his companions would have no other leader, and he had to accede to their choice. At this time he had reached his 49th year. His head had become bald; his complexion was of an olive cast, but his face had become emaciated from fasting and prayer; his forehead was large and prominent, while his deep-set and brilliant eyes gave a particular type to his physiognomy. His vivid complexion, his warm heart and active mind, which he controlled so well, would lead a casual observer to believe he was phlegmatic; but this was not so. He was of medium stature, and when walking managed to hide his lameness to a considerable extent. His general appearance indicated the saint as well as the great man; for Ignatius Loyola, by his virtues and by his works, had deserved the latter title more than had at the time many diplomats, soldiers and legists.

On Easter Sunday, April 17, 1541, he formally accepted the control of the Society of Jesus. On the 22d of the same month, after visiting the basilicas of Rome, he reached that of St. Paul without the walls. The general celebrated Mass at the altar of the Blessed Virgin. Before Communion he turned toward his followers. In one hand he held the Sacred Host, in the other the formula of the vows, which he read with a loud voice, promising obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff in regard to missions and the requirements specified in the Bull "*Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*" of the Holy Father. Then placing five hosts on the paten and approaching Fathers Laynès, Brouet, Codure and Salmeron, who were kneeling at the foot of the altar, he received their professions and administered to each Holy Communion. This was the consecration of the society.*

The portrait of the founder and future saint which faces the title page of the first volume of J. Chrétineau Joly's historical work, which is a subject for the study of the interested reader, corresponds with the foregoing outline of his personal appearance.

It remained for the founder of the Society of Jesus to formulate the conditions under which new members were to be received and to codify the rules for the government of the order. Primarily, ex-members of any other religious order were ineligible. Those accepted as novices voluntarily renounced family connection and all that men hold dear in this world, accepting the rôle of strict obedience. He created six degrees in the society. Novices were divided into three classes: those destined for the priesthood, for temporal work and *indifferents*; the latter were those who joined the order willing to serve as priests or as temporal coadjutors, as the superiors deemed advisable.

* Joly, Tome I., p. 48.

The *frères temporels formés* were those employed in the service of the communities as sacristans, porters or cooks. After ten years of probation, and when they had attained 30 years of age, they were admitted to public vows. The *scholastiques approuvés* were those who had finished their novitiate, made to God the simple vows of religion and who continued their probation either in private study, in teaching or in other duties until making their final vows. The *coadjutors spirituels formés*, so called, who were not sufficiently proficient to receive the four vows, having merit and ability, were admitted to the solemn profession, and who served as directors of colleges and residences, could not be promoted before 30 years of age and ten of religion.

The *profès des trois vœux*, who were always of a limited number, were those not having all the qualities requisite for the profession of the four vows, who were admitted to solemn profession because of such merit as was useful. Their duties were similar to those of the spiritual coadjutors. The *profès de quatre vœux* composed the society in all respects. They only could be elected general, assistant, secretary-general or provincial. They only were entitled to form part of the congregation who nominated the general and assistants.⁴

In so far as the observance of vows and rules, *a la manière de vivre*, there was no distinction in these different degrees. In personal care, clothing, food and lodging all was based upon the principle of perfect equality, from the general to the latest novice. While novices were allowed to retain their personal wealth, they could not dispose of the same without the consent of their superiors. The Holy See and the Council of Trent had sanctioned this rule, which was adopted in all Catholic countries except France. If, however, novices before making their profession desired to bestow a part or all of their personal wealth on the society, they could do so; but it was neither an obligation nor a duty.

The term of probation lasted from fifteen to eighteen years. Vows could not be made by candidates before they had reached the age of 33 years. Notwithstanding the diversity of climates and of nationalities, all had to conform to the life prescribed by the constitutions. Strict poverty was enjoined on the professed. Their respective houses could not hold property. They were, moreover, obliged by a special vow never to consent to a modification of this rule, unless to make it more strict.

The professed were forbidden to aspire to any position in the society, nor to accept any prelacy or ecclesiastical dignity, nor to seek such directly or indirectly. They could not accept such unless constrained by the Holy See under pain of mortal sin. This was

⁴ J. C. Joly, Tome I., p. 48.

the most effective method to close the door to ambitions and to preserve to the society its distinguished members. The professed accomplished all that was intended by the founder. They instructed, preached and directed. For these functions they could not accept money but only receive compensation as alms. Such conditions, including many special regulations, which the founder compiled, became part of the monastic constitution and the code of laws of the society.

X The Institute of the Society of Jesus was unique. It had no model in the world, nor has it served as such for other organizations. It insists upon much perfection on the part of those who submit to its rule. It was founded at an epoch so exceptional that no surprise need be felt at the excitement created by the peculiarity of its discipline, which became its strength, while other associations were weak and languid.*

Having attempted to define the laws regulating the respective degrees of the society, it remains to explain in what manner its founder established his rule of authority. The government of the society was by a general in perpetuity. The general is chosen by the congregation and cannot decline his election. His residence is to be at Rome, the centre of Catholicity and of the society. He alone is authorized to make rules; he alone can dispense with them. His function is not to preach, but to govern. The general rules through the provincials and other superiors, according to his judgment. He nominates all functionaries for three years and longer, if advisable. The general approves or disapproves of the acts of subordinate officials. He selects those necessary for the administration of the society, the *procureur*-general and the secretary-general. He is authorized to withdraw one or more members of the society from their immediate superiors.

X No Jesuit may publish any book without having submitted the same to at least three examiners designated by the general. Each provincial shall prepare triennially a catalogue of his province to be sent to the general, indicating the age of each subject, the capacity of his strength, his talents, natural or acquired, and his progress in virtue and the sciences. An active correspondence is advisable between the general and the provincials, in order that the former may know what is passing in distant parts. Local superiors shall send weekly reports of their houses to the provincials, and the latter quarterly reports to the general.

The general should have courage and strength of soul to bear the infirmities of many and to undertake great works for the glory of God. When such appear necessary he shall persevere, even if

* J. C. Joly, Tome 1., p. 50.

those in power oppose. Their commands or their menaces should never cause him to swerve from justice and Divine obedience. The general should be endowed with a profound sagacity and great intelligence to understand, theoretically as well as practically, the working of affairs. Science will be necessary for him as well as prudence.

The general only is empowered on his own part, or through those delegated by him, to receive into the houses or the colleges of the society those who may appear suitable subjects for admission. He may receive such on approval, as to the profession, as spiritual coadjutors or as approved scholars. He can also dismiss them forever from the society; but to inflict such punishment on a professed requires the sanction of the Holy See. He may assign postulants and professed such studies as seem advisable. Upon the conclusion of such studies he may send them to any locality for a fixed or undetermined period.

The general has the power to recall such fathers as the Holy See had designated for a mission for an undetermined period. He has also the right to create new provinces. The general has the power to stipulate in the interest of all houses or colleges the conditions of any contract of sale, of purchase, of loan, income bond or other negotiation relating to the funds or estates of such houses or colleges; but he cannot suppress a house already established without the concurrence of the general congregation, nor can he apply the revenues of any establishment to other uses. The general has the control and government of all colleges.

It is the general's duty to see to the observance of the constitutions. He has also the faculty to dispense or vary them according to persons, times, places or other circumstances. He can convoke the society in general. He can also convoke the provincial congregations. He has two votes in the assemblies, and in case of a tie has the casting vote. It is requisite he should know as far as possible the inner conscience of the members under his control, and principally the provincials, as well as all those holding positions in the society.

The power of the general is defined as above by the text itself of the constitutions. Ignatius Loyola was too wise to leave a door open through which scandal might enter. His conscience impelled him to prescribe precautions which in his wisdom he deemed advisable to prevent the abuse of clerical power. These were reduced to six.

The first related to exteriors, clothing, nourishment and the general's expenditures. It was left to the society to augment or diminish these latter expenses according as might be deemed advisable

to the society and the general. It was necessary for the latter to agree to this regulation of the society.

The second regarded the care and health of the general in order that his works and penitences might not exceed his strength.

The third concerned his soul. Placed near him was an admonitor elected by the society, who, with respectful moderation, was empowered to represent to the general whatever might be deemed improper in his person or in his government.

The fourth was to warn the general against ambition. If, for instance, a monarch sought to force the general to accept a dignity, the acceptance of which would lead to the resignation of his function, and if the Holy See consented to or authorized his acceptance, although without pain of sin, the general could not accept such without the consent of the society. The latter would never consent unless the Holy See insisted.

The fifth provided against negligence, old age or a serious malady apparently hopeless of cure; a coadjutor or vicar was to be named to perform his functions.

The sixth was adopted for special occasions, for mortal sin publicly known; for the use of revenue for his personal expenses or for his family; for the alienation of the estate of the society, or for perverse doctrine. In such cases the society, after convincing evidence, could and should depose him and if necessary remove him from the order.

Finally, Ignatius Loyola, in order to create another offset, provided for the appointment of four assistants, who, always present, were charged with the observance of the three first precautions provided against him, who were chosen by those who elected the general.

In the event of the death or of the continued absence of the general, and if the provincials of the society were not unwilling, a substitute might be chosen for the vacancy by a unanimous or by a majority vote.

The assistants, who were taken from each of the large provinces of Portugal, Italy, Spain, of France and of Germany, became the ministers of the general, with authority to become the judges. The general could suspend an assistant.

In case the general should fall under any of the cases designated for his deposition, the assistants of their own accord could assemble a general congregation, which might depose him in due form. If the evil was too urgent, the assistants would have the right of deposition themselves, after securing by letters the suffrages of the provinces.

The authority of the general, as shown by this analysis, was

unlimited so long as his method of governing the society was legitimate and his life was regular. To better understand this important point, Ignatius Loyola had decided that the provincial congregations should assemble every three years; but before any deliberation of such assemblage it should be ascertained whether it was advisable to assemble a general congregation.

The founder wished that the deputies from the provinces immediately after their arrival at Rome should reach an understanding on an affair so delicate independent of the general. In such an assembly secret voting in writing was to be the rule, in order that a secret vote might protect the liberty of the voter.

This is a resumé of the obligations, the charges and the duties which bound each member of the Society of Jesus. Such also were the rights and prerogatives of the general. All were inspired, all possessed of the desire to carry as far as possible self-renunciation and to extend to the utmost limit the principles of authority.

Such an order, appearing in Europe at a period when Protestantism on all sides had declared for the doctrine of free examination, soon found itself opposed by an immensity of dissidents. M. Guizot, who was a Calvinist, wrote: "Personne n'ignore que la principale puissance instituée pour lutter contre la révolution religieuse du seizième siècle a été l'Ordre des Jésuites."⁶

In his "*Histoire de la Papauté*" Dr. Léopold Ranke, although a Protestant, writes: "Ce qui caractérise évidemment l'institution des Jésuites c'est que, d'un côté, non seulement elle favorise le développement individuel, mais elle l'impose; et de l'autre, elle s'en empare et se l'indentifie. Voilà pourquoi tous les rapports entre les membres sont une soumission et une surveillance réciproques. Et cependant ils forment une unité intimement concentrée; une unité parfaite, plein de nerf et d'énergie. Voilà pourquoi cette congrégation a donné tant de force au pouvoir monarchique; elle lui est entièrement soumise, à moins qu'il n'abdique lui même ses principes."⁷

The great Council of Trent, convoked by the reigning Pope Paul III., was opened December 13, 1545. Although the Society of Jesus had but recently been established, the Holy See, recognizing its services already rendered and the celebrity of its members, deemed it advisable not to deprive the Church of the light which the members of the society might shed on theological questions in the Council, appointed Father James Laynès and Alphonsus Salmeron as theologians of the Holy See attached to its legates. Father Claud Lejay represented in a similar capacity the Cardinal Otho Truschez, Bishop of Augsburg.

⁶ *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe*, par M. Guizot, p. 363.

⁷ *Histoire de la Papauté*, par Léopold Ranke. T. I., p. 301.

Both Laynès and Salmeron were comparatively young men—the former 34, the latter 31 years. In selecting them for the important positions in the great Council, where they would come in contact with some of the most eminent theologians of the Universal Church, the general relied upon their prudence as well as upon their ability. But more fully to impress upon their young minds the course to be followed, he wrote the ever memorable instructions, which, coming from the hand of the founder of the Society of Jesus, may be accepted as the true ideal of what should constitute a Jesuit father in the rôle of a theologian.

“When discussing spiritual subjects,” he wrote, “in assemblies for the welfare of souls, the glory of God is accomplished if God is favorable. At the same time, if we do not watch over ourselves, and if God is not with us, we are the losers to the prejudice of those with whom we may be interested. But considering the life to which our vows bind us, it is not permitted us to abstain from such relations; the fruit which results therefrom in the Lord will be more prompt and more certain if we are prepared in advance under a rule of conduct clearly traced. I therefore offer you some suggestions which may be useful in the Lord. I desire ardently, speaking as your general, that in performing this new rôle you keep before you three points:

“First. In the Council, the greatest glory of God and the welfare of the Universal Church.

“Second. Outside the Council, your old rule and method to aid souls; a result which I anticipate principally by your efforts.

“Third. The particular care of your souls, to the end that you may not become careless or indifferent, but to make yourselves on the contrary by assiduity more worthy to perform your duty.

“In the Council be rather slow than prompt to speak; respectful and charitable in your suggestions upon subjects as they come up for consideration; attentive and calm while listening, so that you can understand the purport of the speakers and be more competent to speak yourself or to abstain from discussing the subject. In the discussions which may arise it is necessary to understand both sides of the question, so that it may not appear that you are self-opinionated. Endeavor as far as you are able to have no one retire after your discourse less disposed for peace than he might have been at the beginning.

“If the subjects discussed are of such a nature as may oblige you to speak, express your opinions with modesty and calmness. End always with these words: ‘According to the extent of my information.’ Finally, rest determined on one thing, which is: to treat properly the important questions of divine and human sciences. It

is advisable to remain seated when speaking. Speak calmly. It will not be advisable to arrange the order and the time for discussion to suit your own convenience, but adopt the time of him who would confer with you, to enable him to go where God pleases.

"Outside the Council neglect no efforts to merit good will. Seek, moreover, the occasions to hear confessions and to preach, to give retreats, to instruct youths, to visit the poor in the hospitals, so that the grace of the Holy Ghost may descend with more abundance upon the fathers of the Council influenced by your works of humility and charity.

"In your sermons do not discuss questions mooted by heretics, but always advocate the reform of life and insist strenuously upon the obedience due to the Catholic Church. Speak frequently of the Council and solicit the prayers of the faithful for its favorable results. In hearing confessions remember that what you may say to your penitents will be publicly repeated. For penances impose prayers for the Council. You will visit the hospitals in their turn each week, but at such hours as may be convenient for the sick. You will console their sufferings not only by your words, but also by the bestowal of such little gifts as may be available. In deciding questions your words should be brief and well considered. But to excite piety speak decidedly but in a kindly manner.

"There remains the third consideration, which relates to your self-protection against the dangers to which you may be exposed. While we should never forget our own rule of life, we should remember above all to preserve among ourselves the most perfect union of thought and judgment. But no one should rely upon his own prudence; and as in a few days Claud Lejay, whom the Cardinal of Augsburg sends to the Council as his assistant, will join you, you will arrange for a conference each evening upon the events of the day and as to what should be done on the morrow. In the morning you will consider together on the work before you. Besides, examine your conscience twice each day. You will carry out these points not later than five days after your arrival at Trent."

These instructions of the general were observed to the letter. In the midst of the court of Cardinals, of Princes, of Ambassadors, of prelates and of abbés, where luxury prevailed, where were displayed the richest ornaments and where each nation sought to acquire splendor and renown by its prodigality and by its intrigue, the three Jesuit fathers gave their attention to more important cares. They preached, they heard confessions, they catechized, they begged alms to distribute to the poor and they served in the hospitals. They were poorly clad, for, although theologians of the Holy See and

speaking under her authority, they had not renounced their original humility.

This appearance of poverty at first wounded the prelates of the Council, but after acquiring a knowledge of their mode of life, but especially after hearing them preach, the majority of the prelates were no longer scandalized at the indigence which obscured so much brilliancy. But the legates would not accept the situation; they compelled Fathers Laynès, Salmeron and Lejay to accept new vestments.

On the 3d and 4th of December, 1563, were held the final sessions of this great Council. The Society of Jesus during its last deliberations received this tribute:

"Per hæc tamen Sancta Synodus non intendit aliquid innovare aut prohibere quin religio clericorum Societatis Jesus, juxta pium eorum Institutum a Sancta Sede apostolica approbatum, Domino et ejus Ecclesiae inservire possit."

This declaration was an indorsement of the Society of Jesus. In the meantime the so-called Reformation had ensued. England was lost by the apostasy and lust of "The Defender of the Faith." Her splendid temples, her monasteries and convents with their rich foundations became the spoil of the favorites of Henry VIII. The blood of the Catholic nobility of England flowed upon the scaffold, while the wealth of the titled victims was confiscated. The ill-gotten capital thus acquired from the convents alone, according to the historian, Dr. Lingard, yielded an annual income equivalent to \$7,000,000.

When the recreant monarch turned his attention to Ireland the result was the debauching of some of the hierarchy; but the Irish Bishops as a rule could neither be purchased nor intimidated, while the Irish people remained steadfast in the faith of St. Patrick. Then ensued in that unfortunate kingdom the most cruel war of persecution against the Irish race known in modern history; but Ireland could not be made a Protestant country.

The venerable primate of Ireland had sought refuge in Rome. Through him the details of what was passing in that unfortunate country reached Pope Paul III., who decided that the people of Ireland deserved a testimonial of love, of compassion and of encouragement from the Holy See. Those who should carry such should expect to face the dangers resulting from the war waging against the Catholics of Ireland. The Holy Father had recourse to the general of the Jesuits, who designated for the perilous service the Fathers Paschal Brouet and Alphonsus Salmeron. The Holy See invested these fathers with the titles of Nuncios Apostolic. They were carefully instructed by the general and immediately left Rome

to fulfill their mission to the people of Ireland. Their adventures were curious, while it is agreeable to add that they accomplished their mission and returned in safety to Rome.

Scotland was also lost to the Holy See, while her religious foundations and institutions were despoiled and her temples wrecked by Knox and his malignant followers.

It should be noted here that the moral standard of the religious communities wrecked under Henry and Knox was far above reproach. This could not be claimed for the inmates of the religious houses of the Continent when the so-called Reformation started by Luther, Calvin and their satellites disrupted religious peace.

The condition of affairs from a religious standpoint in all the kingdoms of Germany and Italy had become most deplorable, while France could not be excepted. The members of the secular and regular clergy included many who were tainted with immorality, while the conventual communities, from the mother superior to the lesser ranks, were not above reproach.

The leaders of the anti-Catholic crusade had anticipated from the general situation an easy victory, for heresy had already gained a startling foothold. The Holy See appealed to the general of the Jesuits to combat the menacing evil. The available fathers of the Society of Jesus in Europe at the time were marshaled for service. Salmeron, Brouet, Laynès and Lefèvre departed for Germany and were the first members of the society who had been seen in that nation. They were subsequently joined by Bobadilla and Lejay. They were all soon engaged in a fight for the reformation of morals and the establishment of virtue. They were so victorious that much of Germany and nearly all of Austria were saved to the Catholic faith.

This did not prevent, however, many of the rulers of German principalities from following the example set them in England by Henry in apostatizing and in despoiling religious foundations for personal greed.

In the meantime the general had continued his apostolate among the poor of Rome. In his experience in preaching to the poor in the streets of Rome he had found many Jews anxious to become Christians, but who withheld their open avowal of Christianity from the fear of the consequences from the persecution of their patrons. The general determined to found an institution for the shelter of all his catechumens. In this work he was aided by the Holy Father and some of the wealthy Cardinals. The edifice was completed and called the House of the Catechumens. Its records have been kept only since 1617. Between that year and 1842^a the names of con-

^a The year when M. Joly began the compilation of his great work.

verts, of Jews as well as of all other nationalities, who were converted and who found a temporary refuge in this charitable institution originally founded by the general of the Jesuits numbers 3,614.

The apostolate of the general and of his associate fathers had been continuous among the poorer classes of Rome, as it had been by the latter in other cities where they had labored. It will, perhaps, read strange to some that in the city of the Popes these physicians in their ministrations for the cure of souls and the reform of morals found vice prevalent to a remarkable extent. Women who led dissolute lives were numerous in the poorer quarters of the city. This class, when their attractions had faded, suffered for food. Their condition excited the charitable soul of the general. For a refuge for this class of unfortunates he found means to build and endow the House of St. Mary Magdalen. In order to save young girls in poor circumstances from seduction and a life of shame he had built and endowed the House of St. Catharine.

But there were found also in Rome many abandoned and orphaned children of tender age. These needed care as well as did the unfortunates of more mature years. But they were of both sexes. Two asylums were necessary. To build these, to provide the land, to equip and make ready for occupation these places of refuge required much money. This the general begged, and indeed he had to labor hard and to put the rich families of the city, the Cardinals and even the Holy Father under contribution before he succeeded. These five endowed charities still exist in charge of religious communities. Every year, on the festival of St. Ignatius, a Mass is celebrated at the church of the Jesuits for the soul of the general. The boys of the asylum he had founded assist in serving this Mass.

Pope Paul III. had bestowed the Cardinal's hat on the veteran ecclesiastic, Don Michael de Silva, Ambassador of the King of Portugal to the Holy See, without consultation with the latter monarch, who would not have objected. It was a breach of etiquette and caused serious trouble. The general, after considerable effort, restored peace.

The most distinguished of the fathers composing the immortal ten companions of the general was Francis Xavier, the "Apostle of the Indies," and the subsequently canonized saint, the first member of the Society of Jesus to be thus distinguished by the Church of Rome. To show the manner of men these first fathers were, an outline of the apostolate of this saintly missionary is here given in an abbreviated form.

Francis Xavier was born in Navarre April 7, 1506. At the age of 22 he had already filled the chair of philosophy in the University

of Toulouse, when he was won by Ignatius Loyola to the work of salvation and became a member of the Society of Jesus.

In 1540 King John III. of Portugal solicited the Holy See to assign six missionaries to spread the Gospel among the people of the Eastern nations who had fallen under Portuguese rule. The Holy Father consulted the general, who could give him but two from his band of ten. These were Simon Rodrigues and Francis Xavier.

March 14, 1540, these young priests were presented to the Pope, who accorded them a gracious reception and his benediction. The next day they started for the field of their missionary work; but Father Xavier was so poorly clad that the general forced him to accept his own warmer habit.

Neither of the young fathers possessed a change of clothing. They arrived at Lisbon in June, but their embarkation for the missionary field was delayed until the following spring. They spent the winter in charitable visits to the hospitals and prisons, in the instruction of children and in giving retreats to adults. In time they preached and exhorted in the churches and the cathedral, to the King, his nobles and to the people. The wealth coming as tribute from the recently conquered countries was spread in Portugal, but more generally in Lisbon. Luxurious habits ensued to a great extent.

Rodrigues and Xavier opposed the evil so vigorously that the nobility abandoned such habits for spiritual exercises and led a more Christian life. Moved by this conversion, the King sought to retain at the capital the two missionary fathers, but by the advice of his son as well as of a majority of his ministers, this project was abandoned for a time, but again considered, when the Portuguese Nuncio at Rome asked that the two missionaries who had in so brief a time changed the religious status of Portugal might be allowed to remain in the kingdom. The Holy Father, who could not well refuse and was embarrassed, consulted the general, who proposed as a compromise that Father Rodrigues remain, while Father Xavier should continue his journey to the Indies. This arrangement was sanctioned by the King of Portugal, who solicited and obtained for Father Xavier the appointment of Apostolic Nuncio to the East Indies.

At this period the number of professed Jesuits was only ten, while Francis Xavier became the fourth Ambassador from the Holy See who had been appointed from their ranks.

April 7, 1541, the Portuguese fleet sailed from the Tagus under the command of Don Alfonso de Sousa, Viceroy of the Indies. After a voyage of five months, retarded by tempests and shoals which were poorly indicated on the charts, Father Xavier disem-

barked on the coast of Mozambique in the latter part of August. The extreme heat became insupportable even for the Portuguese. Father Xavier had attracted to his personality Paul de Camerino and Francis Mansilla, who became his assistants in his spiritual work. The missionary was now in the prime of life—35 years of age. He was of medium height, of a sound constitution; his appearance was commanding, inspiring respect and confidence; his forehead was large, his eyes blue and expressive; his gait denoted the gentleman, which completed an *ensemble* of gravity and kindliness which was attractive.

After landing he continued on the African coast the work of regeneration, to which while on the fleet he had given all his attention. He had evangelized the sailors and soldiers at sea, while on the coast he imparted to the Negro inhabitants the consoling knowledge of Jesus Christ.

Mozambique is an island which formerly was controlled by the Saracens and near the territory inhabited by the Caffirs. The sailors and soldiers were in a deplorable state. The sea voyage had exhausted their strength, while the insalubrity of Mozambique completed the destruction of what remained of their vitality. This region had already been fatal to the Portuguese.

Father Xavier and his two assistants had been physicians to the souls of the Portuguese while at sea. They now became nurses to the sick on the insalubrious coast. He preached and exhorted by day, while at night he watched by the couch of the sick and of the dying. He comforted and administered. Sleep for him was not even rest, for he would be near the sick, whose slightest moan or restless complaint quickly reached his ear and brought him to their side to console or administer.

The most robust physique could not hold out against the consequences of such excessive zeal. Nature conquered, and the missionary became a victim to the African fever. But his constitution must have been miraculously strong, for it is said of him that while weak and suffering he allowed himself no relaxation in his attendance on the sick and agonizing.

Finally, after remaining in port six months, the fleet sailed from Mozambique. Camarino and Mansilla remained ashore to care for the sick who had been left on the island, while Father Xavier accompanied Don Alfonso de Suosa. After an agreeable voyage the fleet anchored at Socotra in the Mecca.

According to the Moors who inhabit Mecca it is the island where the Amazons once held sway and where women still rule. The locality is barely habitable. The inhabitants profess a creed part Mahomedan, part Christian; the latter probably a relic of the religion

prevailing in ancient times. Father Xavier did not understand their language, which differed from any in Europe, but he hoped to revive in their souls the love of God, who had died for all mankind. He exhorted them in a figurative way, although he had already received from on high the gift of tongues. The conviction so apparent on his countenance reached their hearts and they crowded around him. Some offered, others presented their children that they might be purified by baptism. All promised to live and to die in the faith he taught, on condition that he remained among them. Moved to tears by their fervor, he would have consented had not the Viceroy reminded him that greater missionary fields than Socotra awaited his apostolate, whose nations offered more zealous and perilous exertion.

Father Xavier yielded, and, tearing himself from the weeping crowds of his first converts, he from the ship's deck extended his blessing upon their heads.

May 6, 1542, the fleet arrived at Goa, near the Ganges, a commercial centre of India, which Albuquerque had conquered from the Saracens in 1510 and which was governed at the time by his relative, a Bishop. Although Father Xavier was Apostolic Legate from the See of Rome, with all the attributions and powers conferred by the Holy See, he preferred the rôle of a missionary submitting to episcopal jurisdiction and receiving protection and aid in his apostolic work.

The Portuguese had established Christianity in India on a solid basis. But the zeal of the conquerors weakened under surrounding temptations. Ambition, avidity and unrestrained passion made them restive under Christian rule. Throwing aside all restraint, virtue was ignored to that extent that to be a Christian became in the eyes of the native synonymous of all that was vile and degraded. Masters submitted their slaves to prostitution, and from this vile traffic acquired colossal fortunes. What was most deplorable was the apparent acquiescing of the priesthood in this immoral traffic.⁹ The moral effect upon the natives was so bad that they returned in crowds to their idolatrous customs.

Such was the situation when the Jesuit father arrived. His first care was to reform the Catholics and lead them to the practice of Christian life. Following the custom of Ignatius Loyola, his first apostolate was in behalf of the children. With bell in hand he traversed the streets of the city calling upon parents to send him their children, and when he had gathered a crowd he led them to the

⁹ *Ut sic spoliati et subjecti facillius perprædicatores suadeatur illis fides. De Justis Belli causis. Par Sépulvéda, chanoine de Salamanque et historiographe de Charles Quint. Quoted by Joly, T. 1., p. 157.*

church. With persuasive methods he taught them to pray and explained the commandments of God. These children became missionaries in their parental homes, while the seed of Christianity thus sown bore abundant fruit. Crowds flocked to hear him preach. He abandoned his classic idiom and addressed the people in a familiar language. His expressive countenance, animated by the sincerity of his soul, his expressions of remorse and penitence touched the hearts of his hearers, who were moved to return to a state of grace. Even the most hardened sinners succumbed. Father Xavier persevered in his apostolic work.

The life of the people changed as if by enchantment. Usury was abandoned. Ill-gotten wealth was restored; the chains of slaves illegally held in bondage were broken; concubinage was suppressed, and the habits of life reformed and replaced by a virtuous standard. The passion for the accumulation of wealth had been the cause of the moral ruin of the Portuguese. This wealth, to a large extent, was placed at the disposition of the missionary, to be devoted to good works. Their wishes were accomplished with the knowledge of the Viceroy, who was made happy by such results.

This reformation had changed the moral aspect of the city of Goa. The Vicar General of India, Michael Vaz, induced Father Xavier to extend his apostolate to the Pechérian coast, between Cape Comorin and Manar Island, whose inhabitants were Christian by baptism only. It was a sterile region, and so hot that no priest had been able to live there, while strangers were generally attracted there by the pearl fisheries. The recital of this spiritual and temporal situation moved the heart of Father Xavier, and he resolved to go to Pecheria. Securing the services as assistants of two young ecclesiastics of Goa who were proficient in the Malabar dialect, exclusively used in that locality, but refusing all the money offered him, but taking such clothing as was essential to that climate, which Don Alphonsus de Souza had provided, he embarked for this new field of missionary work October 17, 1542.

Father Xavier found that no converts to Christianity could be gained unless the preliminary missionary work had been authorized by the reigning Queen. She was a young woman who at the time had been for three days in the labor of child-birth which would apparently have a fatal termination. She received the visit of the missionary, who exhorted her to embrace Christianity and to invoke assistance for relief from the Virgin Mary, and to have confidence in her intercession. The young Queen consented to be baptized, and soon after the ceremony was safely delivered of a son. The whole household submitted and were baptized. This event crowned the missionary's work with success in that locality, and he and his

two assistants resumed their journey toward Tucuran, where were thirty villages. Acquiring a partial knowledge of the dialect of the people, he converted them by the methods he had before made use of. His great success and miraculous progress, however, excited the bitter opposition of the idolaters. They were powerful and lived luxurious lives.

To overcome this class the Brahmans had to be converted. These were the priests who administered to the idolaters and interested in the maintenance of their impostures. He succeeded so well that in Travancor forty-five chapels were erected; but the opposition was very bitter and the converts were made to suffer outrages and deadly persecution.

The territory of Travancor was invaded by the mountain tribes of Bisnacor, whose object was plunder. Their number was considerable. They were opposed by the King of Travancor, whose army would have been defeated with deplorable consequences had not Father Xavier intervened and by a miracle caused the dispersion and flight of the robber hordes. The King thereupon granted full liberty to the missionary to propagate Christianity in his dominions. At Coulon, a commercial centre on the coast of Comorin, the apostle had been preaching to an unbelieving assemblage of residents, who would not be convinced without miraculous demonstration. Calling God to his aid, he said to them: "Yesterday you placed the remains of one of your friends in the tomb. Remove the body and carefully see if it retains any signs of life." It was removed and brought to where he was exhorting. It had already commenced to decay. Kneeling in prayer and meditation, Father Xavier suddenly said to the dead: "By the holy name of the living God, I command you to rise and to live, in proof of the religion which I preach!" The act of canonization of the Jesuit missionary cites this miracle and adduces testimony proving that the dead man was restored to life with health and vigor.

The people of Coulon no longer doubted or hesitated. They became Christian.¹⁰ The fame of the missionary spread to all the nations on the coast, and deputations without number followed, inviting in earnest terms his visit to their respective localities. Persecutions ensued in some localities, with the result of the martyrdom of men, women, children and even infants. But the blood of the martyrs became again the seed of Christianity.

The missionary directed his steps to the city of Cambaye, where at the time the Viceroy resided. The course of the latter being equivocating, he journeyed to Cochin, where he arrived December 15, 1544, and there met Michael Vaz. The policy of the Viceroy was considered. The conclusion was a communication to John III.,

King of Portugal, embodying the disappointing experience of the missionary in his apostolic work and praying for the removal of de Souza. The King removed the latter and appointed Don Juan de Castro in his place, with orders to coöperate with the missionary in his work.

On September 25, 1545, he arrived at Malacca, a city located beyond the Gulf of Bengal, not far from the Island of Sumatra and near the equinoctial line. Its climate is temperate, while all, even to the language of the people, who are the most harmonious in the East, tends to inspire a luxurious existence, which the activity of business affairs had not overcome. This climatic effect influenced the blood and neutralized daily life.

The missionary hoped to open relations with Macazar, but the universal corruption prevailing in Malacca determined him to regenerate this city. Too great an austerity would be out of place. With souls so effeminate gentle methods would succeed, while their pleasures should not be too severely criticized. Confidence could be inspired by an agreeable deportment and a smiling countenance.

The missionary was fine looking, his voice agreeable and his spirit buoyant, while he had already become renowned by the miracles he had wrought. He instructed the children and taught them obedience. He taught young girls modesty and virtue, which in such a climate was not known by name. He induced men to approach to the tribunal of penance. He reformed their habits and taught the people the happiness of family life. After many well occupied weeks he began the study of the local language and composed his instructions.

It was at Malacca that he heard of the arrival at Goa of three Jesuits whom the general had sent to his assistance. These three fathers were Anthony Criminal, John Beira and Nicholas Lancilotti. They were eager for work. He appointed Father Lancilotti professor of Latin in the College of Sainte Foi, at Goa, and sent to Pecheria Fathers Beira and Criminal. January 1, 1546, he embarked for Amboyne, which he reached February 16.

This island contained seven Christian villages, the remainder of the inhabitants being idolaters. His first effort was to revive the faith in Christian families whom he sought out and instructed in the performance of their religious duties. The Portuguese and Spanish fleets rode at anchor in the harbor. A pestilential fever broke out among the Spanish sailors. Terror had paralyzed those who might have assisted the stricken ones. Even the physicians dared not combat the plague.

¹⁰ J. C. Joly, T. I., p. 165.

Lying on the decks of their vessels or stretched along the beach, the sick received no aid or care. Father Xavier heard of the situation. He was giving instructions at the time, but hastened to assist the deserted sick. Seeking the most dangerously afflicted first, devoting himself to the aid of their bodies as well as to the cure of their souls, he attended the dying in their agony, and when their spirits had passed to eternity he buried their mortal remains because money could not tempt others to place them in their graves.

But his humanity did not rest with the performance of this work. Among the natives were some of the sick who needed nourishment or medicine. The Jesuit father begged assistance from door to door, imploring compassion for their brothers in the faith, for men whom the hand of God had stricken down. His words of mercy were so irresistible that he succeeded in organizing assistance and rendered more tolerable the existence of the Spanish fleet.

The plague diminished gradually, and the Spanish fleet was soon enabled to put to sea, while the Jesuit fathers, relieved from their charitable work, resumed their ordinary avocations and visited the environs of Amboyne, carrying the Gospel to Baranura and Rosalao. The missionary then proceeded to the Molucas, a group of small islands in the Eastern Ocean near the equator, and landed at Ternati. The field was ripe and a great reform was effected.

The most important convert was the Queen Neachiti, who became a zealous Christian worker. About 200 miles from Ternati was a group of small islands inhabited by cannibals. The soil was sterile, the climate volcanic and fatal to Europeans. Father Xavier determined to visit this group, although he was advised to the contrary. He wrote the general of his intention, saying: "The country where I am going is dangerous to European life; the people barbarians, and the food available is more or less poisonous. This has deterred other priests heretofore from attempting the conversion of this race. But I am in duty bound to rescue these imperiled souls from eternal death, even at the peril of my existence. My dearest friends have begged me not to undertake this mission; but I feel that I can accomplish it and save many souls."

After several days at sea he disembarked and found the bodies of nine Portuguese left on the beach as a warning of the fate of others who would attempt to land upon the island. The islanders fled to the forest, fearing the vengeance of the whites, but the missionary followed and persuaded them to hear him. He addressed them in the Malay dialect, and in an agreeable manner explained the object of his coming. His apostolate in this locality was a success. He returned to Goa in July, 1547. Other missionaries for the East had in the meantime arrived, who had been sent to Father

Xavier from Rome by the general. These were Fathers Ribera, Nunez and seven others.

About April 15, 1549, Father Xavier wrote the general: "Before sailing for Japan I wish to express to you my satisfaction in undertaking this long journey, which is attended with great perils. If with four vessels two are saved, this result is considered fortunate. Although more hazardous than any journey I have yet undertaken, I have not been deterred. Our Lord impresses me with the belief that the cross when well planted produces abundant fruit."

August 15, 1549, Father Xavier landed on Japanese soil, after four months of perilous navigation, four centuries before Commodore Perry, of the United States navy, had unfurled the Stars and Stripes in a Japanese port and opened to the commercial world this comparatively unknown region. After the missionary had acquired a partial knowledge of the Japanese language he began to preach in public. He visited the bonze priests, with whom he opened amicable relations and who heard with respect his explanation of God and of the immortality of the soul. They could not believe that one who had traveled so great a distance from their country could deceive them; but the words of the missionary went no farther than their ears; their hearts were inaccessible.

However, two bonze priests could not resist his eloquence. They avowed themselves Christians. Their example was followed by multitudes, who surrounded the missionary, asking for baptism. Curiosity had moved the bonzes to be friendly to the missionary, but self-interest caused them to persecute him. They asserted he did not practice their austerities. Thenceforward he abstained from all food derived from animal life.

Miracles were necessary to convince such skeptical communities. These prodigies were not wanting. Father Xavier restored the sick to health and the dead to life! Before such miracles active opposition ceased, and the first city in which the missionary had resided in Japan was won to Christianity! With Fathers Come, de Torrez and Fernandez he left this city, bearing upon his shoulders his vestments and the sacred vessels of the Mass. These composed his entire possessions, while his companions were no richer. The missionaries arrived at Firando, in whose harbor were anchored several Portuguese vessels. These ships saluted the man of God. With the roar of cannon and the display of flags the sailors cried out with joy. He was conducted with such favorable manifestations to the King's palace.

His poor appearance was not in his favor, but on learning that this humble-looking priest was all powerful with the King of Por-

tugal, whose ships dotted the Japanese seas, the people were filled with admiration.

Father Xavier asked for power to proclaim the law of God in the kingdom, which was accorded him. That same day he commenced his missionary work. His exhortations were so effectual that within a month Christianity triumphed over vice. This conquest of the missionary had for him been too easily won. His soul desired more ardent combat. Father Torrez was left at Firando to confirm the people in the faith, while, on October 27, the missionary directed his steps to Meaco, at the time the capital of Japan.

The rich city of Amanguchi was on his route. It was full of strangers and traders, attracted by pleasure and commerce; but the city was a Sodom, with the luxury of Babylon. Fathers Xavier and Fernandez preached the Gospel in the streets and condemned the voluptuous life of the people, but without result, and they continued on their way to Meaco.

The cold was intense and the ground covered with snow. The missionaries were thinly clad and barefooted, while their only food was parched rice. The Portuguese merchants made up a purse of 1,000 crowns and presented it to them, but this money was distributed to needy converts. Not a single crown was used by the missionaries.

After two months of painful travel the missionaries reached Meaco, but on account of political disturbances no missionary work was possible in this city, and they retraced their steps to Firando. By this time Father Xavier's clothing had become so dilapidated that he was forced to accept a more decent apparel from the charitable. Meantime Father Antoine Criminal had met a violent death at Pécherie, and thus became the first martyr of the Society of Jesus.¹¹

The Christian converts in the Islands of More, the Moluccas, Méliapor, Bazain and Coulon numbered more than 500,000 souls. Before leaving Goa Father Xavier organized the missions under one head. Father Barzée was made superior general of all the missions in the new world; Father Nunez was stationed at Bazain, Father Lopez at Méliapor, Father Roderigues at Cochin and Father Meridez at Pécherie. Father Xavier assumed the title of Provincial of India and of all the kingdoms of the East under the authority of the Holy See, as Nuncio Apostolic. He then commenced his preparations for his mission to China, which in its progress encountered vexatious obstacles. He finally arrived on Chinese territory, but so weakened was he by the voyage that he expired December 2, 1552.¹²

¹¹ J. C. Joly, Tome I., p. 185.

¹² J. C. Joly, Tome I., p. 190.

In all the kingdoms which Father Xavier had won to Christianity the news of his untimely death was learned with the most profound sorrow. The body of the venerable missionary was buried in quicklime, in order that the flesh might be consumed. The remains were sent to Goa, where they arrived March 16, 1554. They were found to be in a perfect condition, fresh and life-like. In 1612 Claud Aquaviva, general of the Society of Jesus, directed that the right arm of the missionary, with which he had performed so many miracles, be detached from the body and sent to Rome. In this process the body was found in a natural condition, exhaling an agreeable odor. Alban Butler, in his "Lives of the Saints," states: "In 1744 the Archbishop of Goa, accompanied by the Marquis de Castel-Nuova, Viceroy of the Indies, by order of John IV., King of Portugal, visited the relics of St. Francis Xavier. He found the body perfectly preserved, no unpleasant odor evident—the face, the hands, the chest and the feet showing no trace of corruption."¹⁸

Historians of all modern nations offer their tribute to the life and works of St. Francis Xavier. In his Bull dated August 6, 1623, Pope Urban VIII. placed among the number of the saints this Jesuit, as God had the patriarch Abraham, father of nations. Xavier, recites the Bull, had seen his children in Jesus Christ so multiply as to exceed the stars of heaven and the sands of the sea. His apostolate was that of a divine vocation, the gift of languages, the gift of prophecy, the gift of miracles. The Church appreciating, therefore, presents to the veneration of the faithful his merits, less as a model for imitation, but more as a vessel of election to be glorified.

In the meantime the Roman Catholic Church in Europe had been menaced with disintegration. In Italy, in Germany, North and South; in Austria, with her mixed races; in Spain also; in the northern maritime kingdoms as well as in France demoralization among the Catholic communities had resulted from the scandals which had disgraced the priesthood as well as the members of the religious orders and communities of men and of women. The rulers of some German kingdoms and principalities, following the example of Henry VIII., had laid sacrilegious hands on religious foundations and had become besides adherents of heretical leaders. It was a sad situation for the Holy Father to contemplate. He had recourse to the general of the Society of Jesus. The crisis was momentous, the future ominous with peril for the Church.

¹⁸ Every twenty years the chasuble enshrouding the remains of the saint is removed. The Queen of Portugal embroiders the new vestment, while the one removed is cut into pieces which are distributed as relics. Note of M. Perrin, Tome I., p. 191.

The general acted with promptitude. Of his ten companions six were providentially available. The Fathers Brouet, Laynès, Lejay, Lefèvre and Salmeron were first sent to Germany and were soon followed by Father Bobadilla. It became a contest for the reform of life and the establishment of virtue. The Jesuit fathers won the battle.

Much of Germany and all of Austria were recovered from Lutherism, while in Italy, Spain and France moral reforms succeeded where irregularities and scandals in certain quarters had formerly prevailed. In the low countries and in the maritime kingdoms and principalities of the north Calvinism and heresy still remained.

July 31, 1556, Ignatius Loyola, founder and first general of the Society of Jesus, was called to his eternal reward, aged 65 years. At the time of his death the number of Jesuit fathers in the world exceeded 1,000, comprising nine provinces in Europe and one each in South America, the Indies and Ethiopia. There were only thirty-five professed fathers in the institute, which controlled over 100 colleges, while it had existed only sixteen years. Father Laynès was appointed vicar of the society pending the meeting of the conclave, which subsequently elected him second general of the Society of Jesus.

Of the immortal ten companions who comprised, with the general, the society as authorized by Pope Paul III., there survived at the time of their leader's death Fathers Laynès, Codure, Lefèvre and Bobadilla.

Subsequently Ignatius Loyola was canonized, as was also the third general, Francis Borgia. Other members of the order were subsequently included among the saints of God.

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AN OLD MONARCHY AND A YOUNG REPUBLIC.

BEFORE Bonaparte, as First Consul, fought the battle of the Pyramids, he endeavored to rouse the enthusiasm of his troops by pointing to those hoary memorials, standing like petrified giants on the dim limits of the field to watch the great struggle of modern arms, as they had watched countless other struggles in the far-stretching past. "Frenchmen," he said, "behold, the eyes of forty centuries look down on you to-day!" It is not easy to see what relevancy appeared to the conqueror's mind between the Egypt of the past and the France of his day. There

was not much in the shape of loot for his armies to expect by a victory at the Pyramids; Cheops and Ghizeh were stolidly immovable. Still, apart from loot, the French soldier of that epoch was largely a creature of sentiment, and Napoleon knew what effect a ringing manifesto, no matter how hollow the ring, often had on his legions when faint and weary from marching and fighting. The conqueror has gone the way of all conquerors, but the gray Pyramids and the boundless sands are still there, seemingly to remain until the end of time. Egypt is still the mystery, the impenetrable borderland between the twilight of history and the definite system out of which the civilizations of the Orient and the Mediterranean arose.

Old as the Pyramids are, there is something almost stupefying in the fact that beyond their horizon line there exists to-day a monarchy and an empire that go back to the period anterior to the building of those mighty monuments and possessing within their own limits other monuments, different in character, but more wonderful in many respects than those primitive efforts to realize the perdurable in architecture. Abyssinia is in all probability the cradle of the races of Egyptian rulers as well as those who carried to Egypt the principles of early science in building. Is it not startling to think that to-day the young American Republic is touching hands with the dynastic line which preceded even the Shepherd Kings, long before the Pyramids were begun? Such indeed is the fact. Hoary antiquity, stretching back to the era of Tubal Cain, nods its blanched locks to the greeting of the lusty race who have made the art of Tubal Cain the talisman to transform and recreate the old world and its civilizations and systems. We seem to be walking in a dream when we behold the monarch Menelik, descendant of King Solomon, exchanging greetings and presents across the ocean. We bridge, by that fact, an ocean of time, and may be solving, in action, the riddle of the Sphinx.

Long ago the general name Ethiopia was applied to the country south of Egypt which now embraces Nubia and Abyssinia as well as the parent country. Ethiopia is inextricably interwoven in the early history and the earlier tradition of Egypt. Diodorus spoke of the people of Ethiopia as the first created of men, and the Egyptians as a colony drawn out of Ethiopia by Osiris, or Jupiter Ammon, "the Son of Morning," the founder of Thebes. But Homer, Herodotus and Strabo declared that the Ethiopians came from Asia into Africa, and later authorities have traced their source to a region between the Euphrates and the Tigris, called Cush or Susiana; and the Ethiopian language is found to be allied to the tongues of the people dwelling around the same region—the He-

brew, the Arabic, the Syrian, the Chaldaic, the Samaritan and the Persian, while there appeared no similarity between it and the language of the ancient Egyptians—a point elucidated to some extent in portion of the Book of Genesis and also of the Psalms. Asiatic Ethiopia was regarded by the oldest chroniclers as a region whence the seeds of future civilization were borne abroad by the Noachic colonists. Both the Mosaic Genesis and the Genesis of Hermes, as transcribed by Manetho, high priest of Heliopolis, who transcribed the sacred writings of his country into Greek, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, agree in many respects as to the derivation of the Ethiopians.

One fact stands out prominently in both the ancient writings and the ancient pictures painted on the great Egyptian temples. It is this: the Ethiopians were black as to skin. When we put into relation with this fact their ability as a colonizing and a mercantile race, and also as a governing and conquering race, the syllogism is plain. Black furnishes no natural obstacle to brain development; the color of skin is accidental. The old Greek writers did not hesitate to accord to the early Ethiopians the fullest meed of praise for their proficiency in knowledge and their refinement of manners. Homer tells us of the favor with which they were regarded by Olympus, and how the ruler of that region, attended by all the other gods, used to visit Ethiopia to feast along with the "blameless race."

The commercial tendencies of the Ethiopians are indicated by sundry passages in Holy Writ. In Isaias the prophet is found foretelling of Judea how "the labor of Egypt and merchandize of Ethiopia and of the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine."

Just now the interest in this branch of the human race is centred upon Abyssinia—only one portion of the great but indefinite whole long known as Ethiopia. Abyssinia is once more, to some extent, within the wide bounds of the Catholic Church, and its history and conditions form a subject of no small curiosity to the Catholic reader. There appears to be a distinction of marked character between the Abyssinians and the Ethiopians. Their historians do not claim to be able to fix the time when their ancestors formed a settlement on the western shore of the Arabian Gulf, yet all traditions point to the conclusion that the race is not aboriginal, as the Ethiopians claim to be—or at least of such remote antiquity as to have their beginnings lost in the mist of ages. Their monarchical line, stretching back in certain succession to the period of Solomon, has a legendary portion going further by many centuries, till, like other Oriental chronologies, it reaches the vague realm of the gods

or demi-gods. The existence of this ancient monarchy is attested by the clear evidence of the Old Testament. Balkiss, as the Turks name that "Queen of Sheba" who forgot queenly etiquette that she might gratify her curiosity regarding the great personality of the wise Hebrew King, is described as having been the twenty-second queen of her line. If this be true, then the royal house of Abyssinia is indeed by far the oldest one in all the world.

The results of the Queen's visit to Solomon were momentous. It gave a Jewish impress to Abyssinian institutions—for the Queen seems to have made a study of the Jewish laws and polity—and it gave a Jewish strain to the royal line, for Balkiss bore a son to Solomon, and his name was Menelik—the same as the present monarch's. The Abyssinian chronologies give a list of seventeen sovereigns from the Queen's reign down to the Christian era. On the royal standard of Abyssinia is the figure of the lion of Judah, symbolical of the ancient connection between the two monarchies. It was in the eighth year of the reign of Zabaesi Bazen that our Saviour was born. At that period the kingdom had attained to a height of importance beyond any other realm of the Red Sea shores. Axum was the capital city—a place whose ruins denote not only an antiquity greater than many of the great cities of Egypt, but an architectural genius as bold and ambitious as that which planned the mighty temples of Thebes and Karnak. The city gave its name to the whole people—Axumites and Abyssinians were the respective variants of the stem word.

A monument discovered amidst the ruins of Axum gives the names of the kings or emperors of Abyssinia who ruled shortly after the period when Christianity first made its appearance there and knocked at its gates. They were two—Aizana and Saizana—and they held the sceptre jointly. The exact year of its appearance is not to be determined, but we may conjecture it to be about 320 A. D. from the fact that Frumentius was consecrated Bishop by St. Athanasius, at Alexandria, and immediately returned to Abyssinia to renew his labors there in his new character. He, together with his brother, Ædisius, both natives of Tyre, in Syria, had been spreading the knowledge of the Gospel for some years previously, and there is reason to believe that it was received with a welcome by the court and the people, since the education of the royal children was intrusted to Frumentius, and on the death of the King, the administration of the government also. It would appear that there were some Christians there already, when the brothers arrived at Axum. They were merchants from Rome, and these helped the brothers effectively in the diffusion of Christian truth. Ædisius after a while returned to his native country, but his brother deter-

mined to remain in Ethiopia to continue the work he had so successfully begun. The two brothers Aizana and Saizana ruled the country jointly when the Emperor Constantius sent an embassy to the court with the object of gaining its adhesion to the principles of Arianism. This was in the year 356 A. D. Frumentius successfully opposed this bold effort, and would appear to have remained at his post until death came to relieve him. The Monophysite heresy, after his time, was more successful in winning adherents in Abyssinia; and in the adjoining kingdom, Nubia, it was a Monophysite priest, named Julian, who introduced Christianity into the country in this corrupted form. Monophysitism soon spread widely over the Eastern African Church, and it was many centuries before it was eradicated. It took root in Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia, and the Church which sprang out of the heresy became generally known as the Coptic Church. As Judaism had long been planted to a considerable extent in Abyssinia, owing to the large number of Jewish merchants resident in the ports and a thriving commercial intercourse with Judea, the Christianity introduced into the empire became tinged more or less with the Hebrew cult and the ritual assumed something of the Jewish forms. Still the Abyssinians, in large part, clung to the purer faith taught them by Frumentius (or Abba Salama, as they styled their Tyrian apostle), and when a still more formidable foe to Christianity, in the shape of Mahometanism, appeared on the stage, they stood as an impregnable fortress against its southward spread in Africa.

It was not long after Mahomet emerged as a prophet until the whole region from Egypt to the Congo became subject to his spiritual authority. His emissaries penetrated into Abyssinia, but there they met with no welcome. When persuasion failed, the sword was resorted to, but this availed no more than the artful tongue. It was galling to the Prophet and his zealous aides to find a country distant not more than two hundred miles from Mecca scorning his advances and defying his power. War was henceforth to be the portion of Abyssinia. The conquest of the country was again and again attempted by the Sheriffes across the sea, and its borders were kept in an incessant state of unrest and security, owing to the diligence of the Moslem chiefs in stirring up insurrections among the petty chiefs and the lavish distribution of money and weapons. But Mahometanism struck no roots in the Abyssinian soil.

An unaccountable spell of silence takes place in history from this period down to the fifteenth century, with regard to the fortunes of both Abyssinia and Ethiopia. These countries would appear to have dropped out of the world's recollection for a space of many

centuries. The newly-born spirit of maritime discovery was the means of restoring the diseased memory of mankind and geography, though not of having the historical hiatus filled in—for this has never been done. For a considerable period vague rumors of the existence of a magnificent African kingdom, with a monarch called Prester (or Presbyter) John, had stirred the curiosity of European dreamers. Travelers who had met the caravans which traded between the Nile delta and its head waters brought these reports, and, as usual at that time, embellished them with the glowing product of their fancy. Visions of fabulous wealth and Solomonic splendor were conjured up, in connection with the mysterious long-lost country, and it was not long ere the desire to discover and locate it took tangible form. The adventurous Portuguese were the first Europeans who attempted this fascinating task. In the reign of Henry the Navigator the hope of finding a route to the East by doubling the Cape of Good Hope inspired several bold mariners to seek fame and wealth by such an achievement, and among these two in especial deserve mention as the pioneers of modern discovery—Covilham and De Payva. In the year 1487 they got a commission, the first to find out Abyssinia, and the second to reach the shores of India by the new route. Covilham failed in his task, but almost on the verge of success, for he died on the Red Sea, not far from the Abyssinian coast; but De Payva, more fortunate, struck land at Calicut and Goa, on the coast of Malabar, and from thence crossed over to Eastern Africa. He landed at Sofala, where he got considerable information concerning the mysterious Prester John and his nebulous kingdom. The name Prester John is explained by the Portuguese historian Ludolphi as a form of the Abyssinian Chanus, meaning the prince of the adorers, i. e., Christians, while Scaliger, he says, insisted that it was a corruption of the word Tristegani, i. e., an Apostle, or the Apostle. The most amazing stories were set afloat concerning this potentate—how his riches were comparable only with his preternatural gifts, amongst which was that of extraordinary longevity. For several centuries, it was boldly stated, he had reigned over the Abyssinian kingdom, undisturbed by foreign invader or domestic treason, and his rule was beneficent and prosperous beyond that of any other monarch. It was the good fortune of De Payva to be able to settle all doubts and dissipate all fables regarding this mystic personage and his realm. He determined to brave all the risks and terrors of desert and mountain, bedouin and banditti, and endeavor to see this mysterious being with his own eyes. His success was complete. After enduring incredible hardships, De Payva reached the royal residence, which was then in the country called Shoa (for the Abys-

sinians have a habit of changing the capital city from time to time, as circumstances seem to demand). He found that the King's name was not John, but Isander, or Alexander; his reception was most cordial, and so well did he like the treatment he received from the Abyssinian court and people that he was easily persuaded to take up his residence in the country, where he remained all the rest of his life.

It was not without some ground that the idea of patriarchal longevity with regard to this monarch had been disseminated. Many centuries before his name was heard of the Roman historians and geographers had mentioned a race of Ethiopians, the Macrobian, who lived to a great age. Their country was reputed to be enormously wealthy in gold, and this fact induced Cambyses, King of Persia, to cast longing eyes upon it. Herodotus, the historian, tells of the outcome of his ambition. Cambyses, when he had conquered all the land of Egypt, chose as ambassadors to the Macrobian men of the Ichthyophagi, or Fish-eaters, of Elephantiné, who understood the Ethiopian language, and gave them a number of costly presents for the King of Macrobia. This monarch looked askance at the suspicious objects, rich robes, perfumes, bracelets and neklaces of gold and jewels. The latter he took to be a species of fetters. There was also some rich wine. This he kept, but returned all the others to the envoys. He asked how long the Persians lived and what sort of food they ate. He was informed that they lived chiefly on bread made from corn, and that the limit of life in Persia was eighty years. Then the monarch said that he did not wonder that they did not live to a greater age, considering the rubbishy food on which they subsisted. His people usually lived to a hundred years, he said, and he attributed their superiority in vitality and strength to the diet of boiled flesh and milk which they used. He sent a bow to Cambyses, with the message that when he could bend it as easily as any of his Macrobian could, he might then cherish the hope of conquering their country.

Cambyses, far from being struck with the point of this message, became furious with rage and did as foolish a thing as Xerxes is said to have done when he ordered the sea to be lashed as a criminal for acting rudely to his envoys. He set out immediately with his mighty army to punish those insolent Macrobian, without any sufficient commissariat, or without taking into account the sandy deserts that lay between him and the objects of his wrath. Before he had marched a fifth part of the route the provisions were all consumed. Then the famishing soldiers killed the beasts of burden and ate them. Then they turned to the soil, digging up such wild roots and shrubs as were edible. But when they arrived at the

skirts of the desert, and perceived that even this poor substitute for food was no longer available, their desperate plight at once plunged them into a frenzy of ferocious terror, and with wolfish eyes each man gazed upon his fellow. They were about to begin an orgie of cannibalism when Cambyzes, aroused from his dream of folly, gave the order to turn back toward Thebes, the last city at which the army had halted on the outward march. The retreat was almost as disastrous a one as that of Napoleon's hosts from Moscow.

Herodotus ascribed the longevity of these Ethiopians to a cause which points to the antiquity and universality of the belief in a "fountain of youth"—the same mirage that lured Ponce de Leon to his ruin on this continent. The messengers of Cambyzes, on expressing astonishment at the great age attained by the Macrobian, were led to a spot where lay a fountain in which they were invited to bathe. On emerging they found their skin shining wonderfully, and there exuded from it a perfume as of violets. Herodotus mentions many other remarkable aspects of ancient Ethiopian life. The water of the "fountain of youth," he says, for instance, was so light in body that no wood, or object lighter than wood, would float on the surface, but sink to the bottom of the fountain. If they used this water for drink in their daily life, he thought, it must have the effect of prolonging their lives considerably. When the Ethiopians died their bodies were embalmed and covered with plaster, somewhat as mummies are in Egypt, and the likeness of the deceased was painted over the face-covering. The body was then deposited in a tomb or sarcophagus made of glass or crystal, and taken home by the next of kin, to be kept for a year and honored with sacrifices. Whether the custom of making mummies originated with the Ethiopians, or whether the Egyptians borrowed it from a still earlier people, is a point that may never be cleared up. The similarity of the sepulchral customs between these two nations is, however, too striking a circumstance to be overlooked. Antiquarians who have studied the ruins of the old cities of Saba, Meroë and Axum find indications, in the architectural forms, of a gradual movement from the upper waters of the Nile toward the Delta, and the prevalence of the pyramid, the obelisk and the great pillar temple all along the route would go to show that it was from the side of Ethiopia that the majestic conception in architecture had its rise. Ethiopia is, indeed, regarded by several distinguished archæologists as the parent of ancient Egyptian art and civilization.

But to return to Abyssinia and the finding of "Prester John." Portugal did not for some time realize any substantial benefit from the discovery of the long lost monarchy. But De Payva's daring was destined to bear fruit in time. In the year 1510 the sovereign

of the country was Queen Helena, and she, being menaced by the Turks, sent an Armenian merchant named Matthew as her ambassador to Portugal. He, however, did not reach Lisbon until three years later, as he had been captured on the way and imprisoned in India. The Portuguese monarch received him with welcome, and he was sent back with a fleet, going by way of India. Many disasters happened to the ships on the way, so that none of them ever reached an Abyssinian port. Later on, however, an expedition was fitted out at Goa and set sail for Masuah, or Massowah as it is now called, on the 13th of February, 1520. There it was received by a vassal of the Abyssinian monarch, the Baharnagash, who undertook to lead it on to the camp of the King—he having at that time no fixed capital, because of his continual wars with rebel chiefs. The embassy encountered many grievous mishaps en route, and the journey through the wild mountain gorges of Tigré, amid savage storms and roaring torrents, and the constant terror of wild beasts, filled the members of the party with the most dreadful apprehensions at times. With the party was a friar named Alvarez, who wrote a graphic description of the terrible journey.

This momentous expedition, which was destined to have as important a bearing on the religious affairs of Abyssinia as that of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, was the first attempt of Europe to make friends in that part of Africa. At its head was a Portuguese military officer, Lope Sequeira, and his chief aide was a gentleman named Rodrigo de Lima. Francisco Alvarez, the friar above referred to, accompanied the mission as chronicler as well as negotiator of the religious business of the embassy.

The sojourn of the mission in Abyssinia was a long one. It lasted five years. At first the monarch received its members coldly and with considerable suspicion, but soon altered his demeanor when he had satisfied himself that the motives of the members were genuinely friendly. Although generically called Prester John, the King's name was David—the third of that name who had ruled in Abyssinia. He received the embassy in great barbaric state, wearing a dress of cloth of gold and carrying in his hand a large silver cross. At that time he was only twenty-three years old, and Friar Alvarez described his complexion as that of ruddy apples.

Young as he was, "Prester John" was by no means a contemptible theologian, as Father Alvarez found. He was well read in the decrees of the various Councils of the Church, and disputed over the question of the marriage of priests and the supremacy of the Roman See with all the skill of a practised doctor of divinity. The monarch, after a little time, took the embassy to the famous old monastery of Machan Celacen, where they witnessed the ceremonies

of baptism and ordination carried out on a great scale—as many as 2,356 persons being admitted to the priesthood. The ambassadors noted with astonishment that many of those so ordained were children, and Father Alvarez remonstrated with the Abuna, as the chief prelate is styled, on so gross a violation of the ecclesiastical law and usage.

The Monophysite heresy had, unfortunately, found too many adherents in Abyssinia, notwithstanding the stout resistance of the Christians there to the formidable Arian revolt. The heresy came in by way of the Egyptian Coptic Church. Its propagation was mainly due to the pernicious activity of the licentious Theodora, consort of the Emperor Justinian, who was himself opposed to the doctrines of the sect. An adherent of Eutyches, the founder of the Monophysite school, Timotheus Æluros (“the cat”), took possession of the Alexandrian patriarchate, after his followers had murdered the orthodox bishop, Proterius. He was succeeded by two other Monophysites—Peter Mongus (the stammerer) and John Nikeota. Thus the heresy became rooted in the African Christian States, and superadded to its discords and inconsistencies were the practices and beliefs that had been incorporated with the aboriginal heathen cult, by reason of the connection with Judea—amongst these being the practice of circumcision.

For five years the embassy remained in Abyssinia, and this interval was turned to such good account by Father Alvarez that the Negus and many of his nobles and their followers became converted to the true faith. The dignity of Abuna was bestowed upon Father Bermudez, a Portuguese priest who had been long resident in the country. Bearing presents and a letter to the King of Portugal, the embassy at length took its departure. The friendship thus begun with Portugal was destined to bear good fruit, though not immediately, for Bermudez, who was not very judicious, apparently, soon quarreled with the Emperor and was obliged to leave the country, and the ground gained by the embassy in the matter of conversion was for the time lost, since, when the next envoy, Father Oviedo, came on the scene some years later, he found great difficulty in getting the monarch to listen to him on the subject of getting his people back into the fold. The Abyssinian theologians who opposed the Catholic claims Oviedo, however, challenged to an open discussion before the Emperor. They took up the gauntlet, and, after a full discussion of every disputed point, retired defeated. The triumphant dialectician thereupon claimed the whole people as children of the true Church, but his proceedings were not characterized by that prudence which the experience of his predecessor should have dictated. He in turn was banished, and for many years

there was no renewal of the attempt to maintain the connection between Portugal and Abyssinia through the medium of the Church.

In 1589 there went out from Lisbon a very superior man, Father Peter Paez, and he appears to have fared much better than his predecessors. His judicious methods were so successful that he effected the conversion of the monarch and his court, and procured the establishment of Catholicity as the national religion. Father Paez appears to have been a priest possessed of those great gifts which made the clergy of France and Spain, about that age, the foremost in exploration of unknown regions and the most scientific men in all the world. He introduced many useful arts into Abyssinia, and he spent much time in traveling the country making observations and collecting valuable data. He is believed to have preceded Bruce in tracing the mysterious river Nile to its long-hidden source. Father Paez left a record of his work in manuscript. It is referred to by two historians of Ethiopia, Tellez and Kircher, but it does not appear to have ever been put into type. There is no record of his ultimate fate. It is likely that he perished, unknown to the world, in some of the wild solitudes amid which he carried out his search for the sources of the enigmatic river Nile.

Father Paez was more successful than any of his predecessors in infusing some principle of stability into the religious reform he had effected in Abyssinia. Catholicism was so firmly established, at least at the court, that in the year 1620, which must have been considerably after his death, the reigning monarch, Socimos, or Segued, despatched a mission to Goa to secure a fresh supply of priests. Only one, however, responded. He was Father Jerome Lobo. His journey was beset with so many mishaps and vicissitudes, arising from the Turks being then masters of the Red Sea, that it was several years before he reached his destination. Portions of the country which he traversed were entirely inimical to Catholicism, partly because it was supported by the royal power, partly because of the gross superstition of the natives and partly because the great bulk of the lower classes was fanatically attached to the older heretical form of Christianity in which so many generations of Abyssinians and Ethiopians had lived and died. Moreover, the landing of Father Lobo had synchronized with the appearance of that dreaded scourge the locust army, and in the distorted minds of the natives this circumstance possessed a sinister meaning; missionary and plague became identified as twin evil agencies, and in many places the people fled outright at his approach, in the abject terror of fetish fear. The locust plague proved fatal to thousands: a great famine ensued; and this misfortune appears to have decided

the fate of Father Lobo's enterprise, for he disappears with its advent from the stage; the old King sank into a state of dotage, and his eldest son, who succeeded, turned against the Catholics and began a furious persecution, with the result that the leading families were driven out or sold as slaves to the Pasha of Suakin, a fanatical and bloodthirsty son of Islam.

For twenty years there was no further attempt to keep Abyssinia in touch with the outside world. At the end of that interval Signor Baratti, an Italian traveler, penetrated the isolated land, only to find the anti-Catholic spirit still rampant and triumphant, and a special native creed drawn up against Catholicism.

In 1698 Dr. Poncet, a French practitioner who had lived long in Cairo, undertook a journey into Abyssinia, at the invitation of the Negus, who had been suffering for some time from a serious malady. He was the first traveler to give to Europe an idea of the real extent and character of the vast Desert of Sahara, for it was with the caravan from Sennaar, whose route lies across that terrible wild, that he traveled down from Egypt. After a fearful journey, through wastes devoid of vegetation and dangerous at every step from the constantly moving sands and scorching simooms, he arrived at the city of Gondar, which was at that time the fixed residence of the Negus. He was successful in his treatment of the royal patient, and was sent home by a better route than that which had brought him to Gondar—namely, by way of Tigré and Masuah, or Massowah. The doctor's itinerary was the first book which revealed to Western minds the awful perils of travel in Northeastern Africa.

A century elapsed ere the outside world had any more tidings of Abyssinia and its people. In 1769 James Bruce, a countryman of the celebrated explorer Mungo Park, penetrated to Dongar, coming by way of the high mountain range which forms the natural barrier between the coast and the interior of the country. The configuration of the hills he found in some places quite startling; like pyramids standing on apex he describes them. The narrow path often wound along the face of a frightful precipice thousands of feet deep. Gondar he found to be built in the cool shelter of a dense grove. He was fortunate in having some medical skill, as he was thus enabled to save the life of Ayto Confu, son of the Queen, Ozoro Esther, who was described as the most beautiful woman in Abyssinia. Were it not that her portrait, which appears in a work by the Rev. Michael Russell, D. D., bears out the description somewhat, one might well question the Abyssinian ideal of feminine loveliness; the lady looks quite prepossessing in a costume of Oriental richness. Were it not for this adventitious circumstance Mr. Bruce's stay in

the country might not have been pleasant, since the people, for some reason, thought him to be a Catholic—and at that period the hostility toward Catholics and their belief was acute. The favor with which Mr. Bruce was regarded by the Queen he found immensely valuable. It procured him access to monasteries and churches and enabled him to acquire a large store of MSS., Gospels and hagiology, valuable for their antiquity as well as authenticity. These parchments contained much interesting historical matter relating to the kingdom, the canons of the Church and other important compilations.

Although, as above stated, a century had elapsed since the external world had any tidings from Abyssinia, Mr. Bruce made the discovery, while sojourning there that another attempt to keep up the connection with the See of Rome had been made in that apparent interregnum. He learned that in the year 1751 a mission had arrived and was received with favor by the Negus, Yasous II., the Queen-mother, and the principal nobility. It was composed of three Franciscan priests—Fathers Remidio and Martino, Bohemians, and Father Antonio, from Aleppo. Bruce did not make much mention of this mission, but one remark of his—that his great friend, Ayto Aylo, “had been converted by Father Antonio, a Franciscan, in 1755”—put other investigators on the *qui vive*. Lord Valentia, a very distinguished writer and traveler, was one of these. He was successful in procuring a MS. chronicle of the mission, written in Italian by Father Remidio. The writer tells how the missionaries were joyfully received by the Negus, who told them that from his childhood it had been his wish to have teachers like them in his kingdom. He asked them many curious questions on doctrine and ecclesiastical history, about affairs in Europe, and so forth; and was so pleased with the tenor of the answers he received was he that he rose from his throne and said: “This house shall be your habitation.”

These favorable auspices were, however, as illusory as the mirages which delude the eyes of travelers in the deserts which border the country. As soon as the people at large heard of the transaction they rose up in rebellion against the Negus, and the monarch, in order to secure his own safety, miserably complied with their mandate to banish the newcomers. They were driven from the palace and conducted across the borders of the kingdom; and history is silent regarding their further procedure.

During his sojourn in Abyssinia Mr. Bruce availed himself extensively of his opportunities to study the literature as well as the religion and social institutions of Abyssinia. Inasmuch as the people, like many others in the Orient, remain in much the same condi-

tion as their forefathers, for many generations before, in regard to fundamental principles and customs, it is extremely probable that what this traveler found existing in his time has continued with little modification almost down to our own time. Averse as the Abyssinians have been in the past to the influx of Catholic missionaries, they have shown themselves still more hostile and violent toward overtures from Protestant sects. A few of these, English and American, from time to time penetrated into the interior, but their reception was more than cool.

Since that time until the visit of the American mission, under Mr. Skinner the Abyssinians were nearly forgotten by people of the Anglo-Saxon race. A few Frenchmen had, however, visited the country and were well received. These were chiefly military men, sent to negotiate over frontier questions and the like; and their nationality is warrant for the greater tact and suavity of their bearing toward such as the Anglo-Saxons regard as inferior races. But there was one visit from Englishmen which proved disastrous to the Abyssinian monarch and people, and changed the royal succession. The descent of an English army into Abyssinia proved to the people that their girdle of stupendous mountains did not render them impregnable to outside attack.

The events which brought about the invasion of a British army may be briefly summarized thus: In the middle of the nineteenth century the supreme power in Abyssinia was in the hands of Ali, a prince of the Gallas, but by a combination of force and guile he was ousted by Liz Casa, who, under the name of Theodore I., was subsequently crowned as Negus. Theodore was for a time largely under the influence of the British Consul, Mr. Plowden, but the advice given by him for the unification of the country having proved disastrous, Theodore became the enemy of the British. His resentment was aggravated because he felt his dignity (as he conceived it) hurt by the failure of Queen Victoria to answer a personal letter he had sent her. Mr. Plowden had meanwhile retired, but Theodore seized his successor, Mr. Cameron, and put him in prison, ironed. Another Englishman, Mr. Rassam, was despatched to endeavor to procure his release, but all his efforts proved futile, and he himself was sent to keep Mr. Cameron company. Then the British Government ordered Sir Robert Napier to move an army from India and lead it into Abyssinia to avenge the outrage. It was a most difficult and hazardous undertaking, as the route lay through a savagely mountainous country. Elephants were utilized to advantage on the march, the light field guns being easily carried on the backs of these intelligent and useful monsters. When the army descended into the open country they found the hosts of Theo-

dore ready to receive them. They were massed upon the fortified heights of Magdala, the town where the Negus had fixed his capital. After a desperate battle the heights were carried by storm, the Abyssinians gave way, and Theodore was found among the slain, his hand grasping a pistol in such a way as to show that his last use of the weapon was against himself. The battle was fought on the 13th of April, 1868. It was the only occasion on which any outside power was successful in attacking the Abyssinian interior. The British did not remain long in the country, but they carried off with them the son of Theodore, a young lad, who might have succeeded his father if allowed to remain in the country. The crown, however, was given to John, the Ras, or King, of Tigré; but he in turn was slain in a fight with dervishes of the Soudan, in the year 1889. His successor is the present monarch, Menelik II., formerly Ras of Shoa—the ablest ruler that the country has perhaps ever had.

Concerning the present relations of Abyssinia to the Catholic Church, it may be said that the outlook is much more favorable for reunion than at any time since the expulsion of the European missionaries. Thanks to the wise and paternal action of the late great Pope, Leo XIII., the great body of the Coptic Catholics have been brought back into the Church. On the 11th of June, 1895, the Holy Father addressed to the Coptic clergy an apostolic letter, recalling the ancient connection between the Coptic nation and the Holy See, and the splendor of the traditions of its founders—St. Mark, the Evangelist, he who had acted as the vicar of Peter; Dionysius; Peter the Martyr; Athanasius and Cyril; Antony, the desert saint, and others. He recalled how the Copts had sent a delegation to the Council of Florence, under Pope Eugenius IV., and lamented that the reunion there effected had not remained intact. To his affecting advances the Copts soon returned a sympathetic reply. They sent it by a deputation of clergy and civil dignitaries, headed by the Right Rev. Monsignor Cirillo Macario, Bishop of the Catholic Copts. The address to the Holy Father was read by His Excellency Boghos Bey Ghali, a high Egyptian functionary. It breathed the most fervent hope for the full realization of the Holy Father's desire for the reunion of the Churches of the East and the West, and craved his apostolic blessing for the Coptic nation. This the venerable Pontiff lovingly imparted, being visibly touched by the warmth of the reply which his advances had evoked. The Coptic Rite, it is estimated, numbered about 145,000 followers. These are now in renewed connection with Rome, through the Patriarchate of Alexandria; and it is believed that this connection will shortly be extended to the Copts of Abyssinia, if such, indeed, has not already

been accomplished. There are in that country about 25,000 Uniats, while the dissidents (that is, the Monophysites) are estimated at about three millions. There are also many Jews and Mahometans among the population, besides an unknown number of pagans on the wild borders. There is no Catholic hierarchy, but there is a Vicar-Apostolic, who, receiving his instructions from Rome, renews the ancient connection, to some extent, between the Supreme See and the Ethiopian Church.

Notwithstanding the progress made since the accession of Menelik II., the state of civilization among the people of Abyssinia is still lamentably low. The opening of communication between the country and the United States may, however, be fruitful in good results. If Catholic missionaries go out from this country, they may be able to do good work, but they will do well to be judicious in the treatment of existing abuses. The work must necessarily be uphill, for the ideas that underlie the habits and beliefs of the people are founded in immemorial tradition. It may be useful to present some notion of what these ideas and habits are, as recorded by the most reliable observers.

A rooted belief in amulets and talismans to ward off evil spirits or menacing dangers of any kind is an immemorial characteristic of the Abyssinians. This weakness is, however, not peculiar to them. Many other Oriental and not a few European populations are affected by a similar superstition. But there is something unique in the attitude of the people toward strangers who visit their country. They are usually welcomed and hospitably entertained, but if they wish to depart there is much reluctance to allow them to fulfill their desire. To such an extreme is this characteristic carried that it has in at least one instance been the cause of war between an outside country and the kingdom of the Negus. In earlier times it was the cause of much trouble, which stopped short of war only because of the inaccessibility of the court and capital and the difficulties of transportation.

Although the Abyssinians generally receive strangers with cordiality or civility, they preserve the Oriental dislike to eating or drinking with them. All vessels that have been used by strangers while sojourning with them they break or subject to purification on their departure.

Having said so much regarding the religion, the superstitions and the social customs of this interesting people, it is proper to take a glance at their political and governmental institutions, which are in several respects unlike most others in the world outside those great barriers of hills which shut Abyssinia in seclusion. It will be recalled that when Dr. Johnson wrote "*Rasselas*" he laid the

scene to a large extent in that country, though the idea of his "happy valley" would seem to correspond rather with the accounts of Ethiopia and the fountain of youth. But he was nearer the truth when he depicted the custom of the country with regard to the heirs to the throne. These are invariably taken away and placed in a large dwelling on the top of a high mountain, where they see no one from the outside world but the servants appointed to look after their wants and the teachers to whom their education is confided. Thus they grow up in complete ignorance of the intrigues of courts and the flatteries of sycophants, healthy in mind and body and free from the ordinary temptations which beset the path of youth in the rest of the world. But the reflections of Dr. Johnson in the adventures of Imlac and the Princess would lead one to believe that not even a happy valley and the absence of worldly wiles may suffice to satisfy the cravings of the mind for novelty or the soul for something higher than the stereotyped teachings of schoolmasters and governesses.

The history of Abyssinia reveals the existence of some wise and progressive rulers, from time to time, but it shows, besides, that among those who ascended the throne after this careful early training there were many in whom seclusion and precaution had not diminished their natural passions or inherent despotism or duplicity. Some of the Kings appear, indeed, to have been more than usually repulsive in their temperament and habits, and as grotesque in their sensualities and cruelties as some of the later Roman Emperors. The Emperor Theodore, who was the immediate predecessor, once removed, of the present Menelik, has been described by several historians as a fantastic and ferocious savage.

The habit of eating raw meat obtains among all classes in Abyssinia, it would appear, and this would seem to account for a tendency to imitate the lower animals in the indulgence of ferocity and sensuality. Whether the rulers of Abyssinia indulged in this nauseating food is not quite clear, but the accounts of many travelers concur in ascribing to the nobles, men and women, indulgence in it as well as brutish intoxication following the savage banquet. No forks are used at meals; and it is the custom for the ladies to stuff the food with their fingers into the mouths of their husbands or brothers as they squat around the table on their haunches, and it is politeness to stuff as much as the mouth can contain without running the risk of actual suffocation in the process.

These are only a few of the peculiarities of the Abyssinian common people, and even the better classes. Many other strange characteristics might be enumerated, did space permit. But from what has been thus briefly described it will be seen that the missionary who

recognizes social reform as part of his proper work will have a task before him not much inferior to that of Hercules when he set to work to clean out the Augean stables.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

Philadelphia.

THE CONDEMNATION OF FOUR WORKS BY THE ABBE LOISY.

L'Evangile and l'Eglise.
Etudes Evangeliques.
Autour d'un Petit Livre.
Le Quatrième Evangile.

I.

Decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Index.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino nostro Pio Papa X. Sanctaeque sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 4 Decembris 1903, damnavit and damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, vel alias damnata atque proscripta in indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera:

Albert Houtin—*La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de France au xix. siècle.*

Albert Houtin—*Pres difficultés avec mon évêque.*

Alfred Loisy—*La Religion d'Israel.* Decr. S. Off., ser. iv., 16 Dec., 1903.

Alfred Loisy—*L'Evangile et l'Eglise,* 16 Dec., 1903.

Alfred Loisy—*Etudes Evangeliques,* 16 Dec., 1903.

Alfred Loisy—*Autour d'un Petit Livre,* 16 Dec., 1903.

Alfred Loisy—*Le Quatrième Evangile,* 16 Dec., 1903.

Datum Romae die 23 Dec. 1903.

ANDREAS CARD. STEINHUBER, Praefectus.
FR. THOMAS ESSER, Ord., Praed. & Secretio.

THE ABBÉ LOISY.—Students of contemporary French religious literature have been awaiting the results of the delation to the Holy See of several books from the pen of the Abbé Loisy, regarding which much notice has been taken in several English journals. The decision has been given, and his last two books, "*L'Evangile et l'Eglise*" and "*Autour d'un Petit Livre*," have been placed on the Index, along with his "*La Religion d'Israel*," "*Etudes Evangeliques*" and "*Le Quatrième Evangile*." The effect of this decision must be important, for the author and his works are very well known in France. Hitherto, when M. Loisy has found himself the object of episcopal condemnations, he has invariably submitted, and we do not for a moment doubt that this attitude will be maintained in the present conjuncture. Indeed, the more solemn the source of the condemnation, the greater the

THE ABBÉ LOISY.—The Abbé Loisy has written to the Cardinal-Archbishop of Paris informing His Eminence that he is sending to the Sacred Congregation of the Index his submission to the decree condemning his books. The Abbé is to be congratulated upon an act which will, no doubt, produce deep satisfaction in Rome and throughout the Catholic world. Such an act, even for the humblest, involves a great mental strain, and those Catholics who perform it are entitled to the sympathy of all who love manliness and courage. Human feeling is usually pulling the other way, for most men are fondly wedded to their own opinions, and, unfortunately, the path of duty is not rendered more smooth by people who pose as friends in the press. On the one hand, even some who favor obedience make it more difficult by the use of hard terms which seem to reveal a certain pleasure in

reason for submission. "Roma locuta est;" and M. Loisy, whose piety and humility are admitted to be conspicuous even by the testimony of his opponents, will, we hope and feel sure, bow before the decision arrived at regarding his speculative theories by the highest tribunal in the Church, and by his obedience set an example which will at once edify and instruct.

lacerating wounds; and on the other hand, there are many who, having themselves renounced allegiance to religious authority, try to picture the acceptance of it as something unbecoming, if not degrading. The Abbé Loisy has too much strength of character to allow himself to be misled by unwise counsellors.

It is interesting to compare these two paragraphs from a Catholic paper with the following:

AN ANGLICAN VIEW OF M. LOISY. By the Rev. W. Sanday, D. D., Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford.—Many of us in the Church of England have been following with deep interest and sympathy the fortunes of M. Loisy. Neither the interest nor the sympathy have been wholly personal. Of course, we need not say that the Abbé Loisy himself is an attractive and even more than attractive figure. The part that he has played will stand out prominently in the history of our time. But we in the Church of England cannot forget that we have passed through, and indeed are still passing through, a crisis very similar to that which is agitating the Church of Rome. With us it has been quite as acute and much more diffused. Whereas in France the crisis has culminated rapidly, almost in a single decade, in England it has been spread over a full half century; and whereas in France the single name of M. Loisy is conspicuous above all others, in England the movement has been associated with many names.

In this one decade, and largely through the work of this one man, the Church of Rome seems to have caught and even in some ways passed us. For I look upon it that in his main object M. Loisy has practically succeeded. The cause of freedom, within limits, is substantially won. It is not likely that the shadow on the dial will ever go seriously backward.

In this country the whole idea of an Index of Prohibited Books is unpopular. We prefer, with all its risks, the atmosphere of free discussion, and we believe that truth holds its own in the end. But from the paternal standpoint of the Church of Rome, it seems to me, if I may say so, that the authorities have acted wisely. Speaking from my own point of view, I should be inclined to say that such a decision as this substantially met the rights of the case. With all my admiration for M. Loisy, I cannot help thinking that some parts of his teaching are really hazardous—not well founded in criticism, and likely to have regrettable consequences.

I am well aware that M. Loisy subscribes entirely and *ex animo* to all the beliefs of his Church. But his critical solvents are sometimes so strong that I cannot follow the process by which he is able to do so.

For instance, he is of opinion that the Fourth Gospel was not written by St. John, and that it does not embody a strictly historical tradition, but that it is almost all pure allegory. While holding these opinions, and so regarding the Gospel as expressing Christian ideas current at the beginning of the second century and not a series of facts that actually happened in the first, I find it difficult to understand what he conceives to be the ultimate justification for those ideas. It seems to me that the Christian ideas of the beginning of the second century presuppose a far larger basis of fact than M. Loisy allows for them. If he urges in reply that he has thrown doubt not upon the facts themselves, but only upon the literary evidence that is commonly produced for them, I can only ask what other knowledge of the facts we possess apart from that evidence. I have little doubt that the beliefs of the second century imply in the main antecedents not very different from those contained in our Gospels. So far as M. Loisy questions these, without putting anything substantial in their place, he seems to me to leave the beliefs of the second century unaccounted for. As I understand him, these beliefs seem suspended in the air, and without solid foundation.

I am, of course, not concerned with the process by which M. Loisy arrives at his beliefs, except in so far as that process is one that other Christians can be expected to follow. On that subject I should have grave doubts, and from that side I should consider the tendency of his books such as to give rise to not a little anxiety. But, as a student and a scholar, the objection I should take would be, not that his methods of criticism are likely to have unfortunate effects, but that as criticism they are faulty and wrong.—*The Pilot*, January 23, 1904.

It is not often that Catholics and Protestants alike agree in

Rome's condemnation of a book. Still less often is it the case that a Biblical critic of high standing in the Church of England concurs in the verdict passed upon a Biblical critic of the Catholic Church. The Abbé Loisy has long been known as a fearless critic who has not hesitated to put forward views which have hitherto been associated with so-called Rationalism. Catholic theologians, however, have for some time been watching his career with anxiety. Fearless in propounding his views, he has been equally fearless in withdrawing them when episcopal censures have been passed upon them. He recalls the times of the "Avenir" of Montalembert, of Lacordaire and of the unhappy Abbé, who had not the docility and submissiveness so remarkable in himself. Hitherto Rome has not spoken, but now it almost seems as though the Abbé had forced her hand. It will be remembered that Professor Harnack's lectures on the "Essence of Christianity" caused a ferment in the non-Catholic Biblical and theological world, and hardly less excitement was caused by the Abbé Loisy's reply, entitled, "L'Evangile and L'Eglise." It was felt at once that the Abbé had gone too far in his concessions to modern critical views. P. Lagrange, O. P., in the *Revue Biblique*,¹ P. Pégues, O. P., in the *Revue Thomiste*,² and F. Palmieri, S. J., all united in condemning it. The ferment caused by its publication induced the Abbé, perhaps ill advisedly, to publish his "Autour d'un Petit Livre," in which in a series of letters to prominent ecclesiastics in France he stated his views with great clearness and precision. Almost immediately afterwards appeared a bulky volume of 960 pages, "Le Quatrième Evangile," a work which must have occupied the author several years. Many views therein contained had already appeared in his "Etudes Evangeliques," republished for the most part from the "Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses," 1897-1900.

In the paragraphs quoted above from Dr. Sanday's article in the *Pilot* one feature of these various works has been noticed, viz.: the Abbé's denial of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel. It is not, however, his denial of a long established and cherished tradition so much as the methods of criticism which had led him to it which now concern us and which undoubtedly led to his condemnation. The Church has never shown herself opposed to very free literary criticism of the Bible. The many treatises of the Abbé Loisy himself which have not come under the Church's censure are a proof of it. This has been well expressed by Archbishop Mignot in the "correspondent" quoted in the *Pilot* for January 23, 1904:

¹ April, 1903.

² March, 1903.

"Our faith," he writes, "would be in jeopardy if by the word *faith* were understood the *ensemble* of so-called traditional beliefs, received without any examination; it would be in jeopardy, for instance, with many intellects, if we were to stick to the old cosmogony, the common chronology, to the vulgar notions about the authenticity, integrity, mode of composition of our books, their dates and authors, the confidence they deserve when touching history or science. . . . On the contrary, we have nothing to fear if what is called 'Christian faith' corresponds to a belief in a primitive revelation gradually developing under a continuous action of Providence and to be freed by the Church from the impurities mixed with it by the ignorance and prejudices of the past."

And a little further on he adds:

Our opponents twit us with an ignorance of the progress of criticism, or even hostility to it; they will have it that it is incompatible with the teaching of the Roman Church representing above all a principle of undisputed authority. Indeed, there would be an incompatibility between the Church and criticism if criticism meant an initial denial of the supernatural; not so if the word applies to a literary examination of the authorship and an investigation into the historical value of the sacred books.

The Church's condemnations generally fall on conclusions, but thus indirectly either upon the method employed or upon the writer's abuse of a method in itself unimpeachable. And this seems to us to have been the Abbé's mistake. He has a marvelous gift for literary criticism, but it would seem that this very gift has led him off the right path. He has studied and meditated the Fourth Gospel for many years until he has entered deeply into its spirit. As a literary composition its symbolical character has impressed itself upon him, and he has read the whole in the light of symbol. Would it be unjust to say that he has so colored his spectacles that he perforce sees everything in their light? We believe that Jansenius was a deep theologian and a saintly man, yet is it not unfortunately true that the result of reading St. Augustine's works no less than eight times resulted in the ill-fated "Augustinus?" He had, if we may so express it, read himself into a groove, and therefore read himself and his own views into and not out of St. Augustine.

We will only take the one feature of the Abbé's criticism which has been mentioned above, viz.: his denial of the authenticity of St. John's Gospel.

II.

When we pass from the Gospel narratives of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke to that of St. John, we find ourselves in another world. The first three evangelists have indeed their characteristics which individualize them, but the lines along which they move are the same. St. Matthew's Gospel may fittingly be called a *summa predicabilium*, a repertory whence the early Christian teachers could draw details for depicting the life of Christ. St. Mark's Gospel deals with the ministry of Jesus, "The beginning of the Gospel of

Jesus Christ," viz.: "the beginning of Christ's preaching of the good tidings." St. Luke follows in their footsteps, but throws his narrative into more historical and orderly form. The two former unite as eye-witnesses; the latter had probably never seen the Lord, but depended on the witness of others. The narrative in all three is simple in the extreme; parables and miracles interwoven, familiar instructions to His disciples, who grow in knowledge and love of Him, while His enemies grow in rancorous hate. All follow one upon the other till the closing scene on Calvary. Christ is represented as a "Hebrew of the Hebrews," as the Son of the carpenter, who "went about doing good." It is everywhere the humanity which is uppermost, the Divinity, the Messiahship even, are carefully hidden. The words "tell the vision to no man" close the Transfiguration. In the words of the Abbé Loisy: "The Synoptic Gospels are, of course, books of Christian preaching and not histories properly so called; but the popular tradition on which they rest is still dominated by the impression of the reality of the facts. We see in it Jesus of Nazareth, fully conscious of His providential mission, beginning to preach in His Galilean surroundings the near approach of the kingdom of heaven. The native simplicity of His words at first draws together a crowd; the prestige afforded by His deep filial piety towards the Heavenly Father who had sent Him, and His deep compassion for those suffering in soul and body, bring about Him a clientèle of poor people to whom He addresses Himself first of all. Miracles flow from Him spontaneously and appear to multiply in spite of Himself. The official guardians of religion, however, are not slow to bestir themselves. The Pharisees criticize the attitude of the new teacher towards the law, towards traditions and towards people of evil repute. The populace, too, soon find that they are mistaken in their reckoning in this promise of a kingdom of God which has not for its primary end the independence of Israel. Jesus knows that He ought to carry the good tidings to Jerusalem, but His experience in Galilee warns Him of the probably fatal result of such a step. However, He obeys the law of His destiny. He comes to Jerusalem for the Passover; He teaches there some days, while the priests watch Him uneasily and the scribes with jealousy. Finally He is delivered up to the Roman authorities as a disturber of the peace and as a false Messiah. The governor sees that He is no political agitator, but the equivocal sound of the titles—Messiah and King of the Jews—which are avowed even before His judge, is difficult to shirk, and Pilate yields to pressure. Jesus dies on the cross, and His properly Messianic character, His glory as the Head of the body of the chosen just, only begins with His resurrection. Looked at thus, the linking together of the facts,

the behavior of the actors in the scenes, of Jesus after His baptism, of the Pharisees and priests, of Pilate, needs no explanation. The whole explains itself by the mutual relation of the circumstances and the principal events. The dignity of Christ is felt throughout, but it is hidden under a modest appearance. His career develops much as other things do in this world.

But it is quite another thing when we come to the Fourth Gospel. Here Christ, from the very commencement, astounds Galilee and, beyond all, Jerusalem, by the most extraordinary prodigies, while at the same time men are stupefied by a doctrine which none of them can understand. The Johannine Christ is presented as a transcendental Being who is not of this earth, but from heaven; who seems to speak and act only to fulfill His own declaration that He is God and one with God. Of His intercourse with the men of His time, even with His own familiar friends, not a word is said. Those who are brought into contact with Him are only introduced to us to give Him an opportunity for making declarations which always come back to the same point—the Divinity of His origin. He is spared all contact with lepers, with the possessed, with fallen woman.³ We read of no familiarity with the Pharisees and publicans, nor even with His own disciples. He has foreknowledge of men's dispositions and of the programme of His own life. He marches with an even, nay, almost automatic step, to the fatal goal of His destiny, never moved by any emotion save when He wishes it; never disturbed by the fate which awaits Him, except it be once when He says that He is uneasy, but immediately adds that He ought not to be so and is not really so.⁴ Since, moreover, His teaching has no other aim than to prove the Divinity of His Person and of His mission, His miracles are limited to those which prove what He teaches. They are to manifest His glory,⁵ as we are told of the miracle at Cana. These same miracles are proofs of His omnipotence at the same time that they are transparent symbols of His spiritual work, that is, ever and always, of His mission such as His teaching defined it. They are great allegories in action which He Himself proposed before all the people. He goes to meet death, and the soldiers can arrest Him only because He permits it. He is not merely firm before Caiaphas and Pilate, but He dominates them with His whole Divinity. On the cross He is as it were on His royal throne. He asks for water so that He may fulfill a prophecy, and then, "knowing that all things were accomplished," the prophecies of old and His Father's will, He gives up the ghost.⁶

³ The story of the woman taken in adultery, chap. viii., 1-12, does not belong to the Fourth Gospel.

⁴ XII., 27-28.

⁵ II., 11.

⁶ *Autour d'un Petit Livre*, pp. 88-92.

Now the traditional view with regard to these seeming discrepancies has been that the author of the Fourth Gospel wrote with a full knowledge of the Synoptic narratives, but that he has given the independent account of an eye-witness, supplementing their picture of the Saviour.

Such an explanation, however, falls far short of the truth. The writer, to begin with, is not merely a supplementer; he has his own definite aim:

But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God; and that believing you may have life in his name (xx., 31).

Further, we notice that he studiously omits all parables, unless it be the acted parables of the vine and the sheepfold. Again, his narrative is largely made up of discourses which are of an entirely different cast from those in the earlier Gospel stories. Nor is it absolutely correct to say that he supplements his predecessors; he rather seems to correct them, and indeed appears to go out of his way to show his disregard for their statements. What harmonist can satisfactorily explain the different occasions assigned by the Fourth Gospel and by the Synoptics to the cleansing of the Temple?

Hence the Abbé Loisy acknowledges that he himself has undergone a revulsion of feeling: "As long as I had not made a deep and independent study for myself of the Gospel of St. John and was inclined to admit its apostolic origin, the assertions of ecclesiastical tradition seemed to me of great weight, and the existence of a special tradition of his own appeared to me the best explanation of the divergences from the Synoptics presented by St. John. But the more profoundly I entered into the spirit of the work and the more closely I studied it for the space of several years, the more clearly I seemed to see that, whoever the author was, he had not written from his own recollections, but had conceived and produced a theological and mystical interpretation of the Gospel. . . . For if we are to accept the testimony of the Fourth Gospel as an historical life of Christ, it cannot be as a complement to the narrative of the Synoptics. Rather we must say that he corrects them to such an extent as to almost entirely destroy them. We have two pictures of the career and teaching of Christ, and we must choose between them. If Jesus spoke and acted, and we see Him speak and act in the Synoptics, then He did not speak and act as St. John depicts Him; and, conversely, if St. John's is an historical account of the Gospel, then that of the Synoptics must be an artificial account of it, and a disfigured picture of Christ. A self-complacent exegesis which deems itself historical while it is really purely theological may deceive itself with regard to the incompatibility of the two pictures

and may maintain that they are of the same order. Critical exegesis cannot and should not do so.”

This is straightforward criticism and leaves no doubt as to the Abbé’s position. For him no historical data precisely as such are to be found in the Fourth Gospel. We may doubt not, indeed, the existence of Nicodemus, but his reputed conversation with our Lord; the Samaritan woman may have been a creation of the author’s brain; so also the man born blind, whose faith we have all admired. In the Abbé’s own words:

After these things was a festival day of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

The presence of the disciple at the foot of the cross and the witness he gives to the miracles of the water and flood have no historical consistency. The pictures of the leave-takings and of the piercing with the lance are both of them symbolical, interpolated into the framework provided by the synoptics for the passion, and contradicted by the former evangelists. There was no woman or disciple at the foot of the cross; and since Jesus died about three hours after midday, the piercing with the lance as a replacement of the “crurifragium” had no *raison d’être*. The disciple is, in his ideal character, only the perfect Christian and the spiritual witness. His share in these unreal scenes cannot make him an historical personage. He is the new-born Church receiving the inheritance of Judaism and Jewish Christianity.—*Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 128.

This is startling doctrine, but when worked out in detail it becomes still more so. It will be worth our while, then, to see how St. John’s narratives and the discourses he attributes to our Blessed Lord fare under the Abbé’s scalpel. The story of the man who lay for eight and thirty years languishing by the pool of Bethesda at the Probatic gate will furnish us with a good example of his method:

Now there is at Jerusalem a pond, called Probatica, which in Hebrew is named Bethesda, having five porches.

In these lay a great multitude of sick, of blind, of lame, of withered, waiting for the moving of the water.

And an Angel of the Lord descended at certain times into the pond; and the water was moved. And he that went down first into the pond after the motion of the water, was made whole of whatsoever infirmity he lay under.

And there was a certain man there, that had been eight and thirty years under his infirmity.

Him when Jesus had seen lying, and knew that he had been now a long time, he saith to him: Wilt thou be made whole?

The infirm man answered him: Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pond. For whilst I am coming, another goeth down before me.

Jesus saith to him: Arise, take up thy bed, and walk.

And immediately the man was made whole; and he took up his bed and walked. And it was the sabbath that day.

The Jews therefore said to him that was healed: It is the sabbath, it is not lawful for thee to take up thy bed.

He answered them: He that made me whole, he said to me: Take up thy bed, and walk.

They asked him, therefore: Who is that man who said to thee: Take up thy bed, and walk?

But he who was healed, knew not who it was. For Jesus went aside from the multitude standing in the place.

Afterwards Jesus findeth him in the temple, and saith to him: Behold thou art made whole: sin no more, lest some worse thing happen to thee.

And the man went his way and told the Jews that it was Jesus who had made him whole.

⁷ Autour d’un Petit Livre, pp. 86-88.

Therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, because he did these things on the sabbath.

But Jesus answered them: My Father worketh until now; and I work.

Hereupon therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he did not only break the sabbath, but also said God was his Father, making himself equal to God. (St. John v.)

Before giving the Abbé's commentary on the text a few points may be dwelt on:

V. 1—"After these things," *μετὰ ταῦτα*, not *μετὰ τοῦτο*, is used by St. John at the beginning of this and the two subsequent chapters, and is noteworthy as indicating the Evangelist's eclectic method. He selects his episodes, one or two in the course of each year's ministry, and that undoubtedly for the sake of the doctrine he wishes to derive from them.

"A festival day." No amount of controversy will settle what feast this was. If we read it with the article as do the codices \aleph C. and L. we shall probably understand it of the Passover, in which case there will have been four Passovers during the course of our Lord's public ministry, which thus extended over a space of three and a half years. If we disregard the article, the words may refer to the Feast of Purim, or to that of Trumpets. The former fell in March, the latter in September.

V. 2—The precision of the description should be noticed; the identification of this pool does not concern us here.

Vs. 3-4—The latter part of verse 3 and the whole of verse 4 should almost certainly be omitted. Their insertion is readily explained as an amplification of verse 7, and has little manuscript authority.

V. 5—We cannot conclude that he had lain eight and thirty years by the pool, though most commentators so understand the words.

V. 6—Our Lord's Divine or infused human knowledge is pointed out by the Evangelist, chapter ii., 24-25, etc.

V. 7—The man answers his interlocutor's implied fear that he may have acquiesced in his infirm state and may not care to be healed, preferring his present idleness.

V. 8—The command is practically the same as that of the Synoptics—cf., St. Mark ii., 9-11.

V. 9—"And it was the Sabbath-day," perhaps better "that day was a Sabbath," viz.: some special feast—the feast in question in verse 1. This is the motive for St. John's insertion of the miracle. It was an instance of our Lord's reiterated breaches of the Pharisaic observance of the Sabbath, and as such provoked the hostility of the religious rulers, and consequently also our Lord's discourse on His prerogatives.

Vs. 10-12—The Jews protest against the man's infringement of the Sabbath, but he only replies that one who had healed him ordered him to do so. He was probably a well-known object of

-compassion, and the Jews could not fail to recognize him (Cf. Acts iii., 10); but they pass over the healing, being absorbed in the breach of regulations. It should be noticed how true to life this picture is; the man's reply and their evasion of its import, "The Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath" (St. Mark ii., 28), are proof of an intimate knowledge of the Jews of the period and cannot be translated into the second century A. D.

"Who is that man?" They were the representatives of Moses and of God. What mere man dared break their law?

V. 14—"In the Temple," where presumably he had gone to thank God, and where, too, the Jews had seen him.

"Sin no more." Contrast this with ix., 1-3.

V. 15—"Went his way," and we hear no more of him. So it is always in St. John's narratives; the actors are introduced not for their own sake, but to bring into prominence the central Figure and His teaching. Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman are similar instances.

V. 16—"Therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus." The use of the imperfect *ἐδίωκον* and *ἐποίησαν* should be noticed. They habitually did so because He habitually, or from principle, disregarded their Sabbatine traditions. This indicates that St. John has chosen this episode merely as a type of many others. It serves as a starting point for the growing hostility of the Jews, and thus also for our Lord's series of discourses in the subsequent chapters.

The Abbé's criticism is weighty and elaborate, but we have not space to do more than select the salient points. As we remarked above, the verses 3 and 4 are generally omitted on grounds of sensual criticism, grounds which also appeal to the Abbé's sense of sensual propriety. But his literary criticism also rejects them. "We can quite understand the Evangelist grouping a number of sick round the pool and awaiting their cure, a cure which he does not mention as taking place; we can understand why he singles out one of them who during the space of thirty-eight years has often come thither and has found no relief; but it seems contrary to the deeper significance of the story that cures should be mentioned at all as taking place miraculously at this spot. Jesus alone works true miracles. Jesus alone cures. If miracles were commonly wrought at the pool they would minimize the value of the one which is going to take place. There may indeed have been cures wrought at the pool, since men came there to seek them, but the Evangelist could not have insisted on their reality nor on their cause. The water of Bethesda, like the baptism of John, is a figure of the reign of the law, and the case of the paralytic is intended to show that the reign of the law does not lead to salvation."

And how symbolical the whole story is! "That day then, a man lay stretched by the pool; he had been ill eight and thirty years." Since he probably stands for the Jewish people it is not rash to suppose that his thirty-eight years also have a symbolical meaning. If the story is to be referred to a period two years before the Passion the sick man would have been ill forty years when Christ died. This period of forty years, which is the same as that of the sojourn in the desert and which is the Biblical equivalent for a generation, is very appropriate for a person who represents Israel and who may also stand for the human race redeemed by Christ. Critics have recalled the thirty-eight years' sojourn in the desert and the connection is not improbable.

And a little further on we read: "Jesus does not come to pay a visit of charity to the sick at Bethesda. He comes to cure the man who has been a paralytic eight and thirty years, and so show in so doing that He brings life to men. The question: 'Wilt thou be made whole?' is only natural when understood thus with a spiritual meaning which elevates it and saves it from appearing childish or an artificial preparation for the miracle."⁸

Again: "It is no use puzzling over the question how it was that the paralytic failed during thirty-eight years to find a favorable opportunity. The older commentators gladly avoided the difficulty by supposing that the movement of the water was only a rare occurrence, perhaps only once a year. This is an impossible explanation, since the influx of sick people was continual and the welling-up of the spring is generally held to have been frequent, at least a daily occurrence, though perhaps at no fixed hour. We must look for the real solution of the difficulty in the symbolic character of the story. The paralytic must be cured by *Christ*. There is an inveterate paralysis which *He* alone can heal; for *He* alone restores youth, *He* alone regenerates human nature by the gift of eternal life. Judaism was like this fountain which only healed one at a time, if indeed it did really heal him, while all the others had to wait."⁹

"*Arise, take up thy bed and walk.*" The Abbé writes: "Critics have remarked that the words addressed by Jesus to the paralytic at the pool are almost identical with those addressed, according to the Synoptics, to the paralytic at Capharnaum, and several opine that we have here the same miracle transferred by the author of the Fourth Gospel to Jerusalem in order to bring it into greater prominence. The motive assigned, however, seems less solid than the hypothesis it is intended to support, for if such a transposition has taken place it is not for the sake of magnifying the miracle, but as

⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 389-390.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 391.

being better calculated to bring out the symbolic teaching which the Evangelist has in view. Since the author is more solicitous about the didactic interpretation of his narratives than about their material exactitude, we cannot say that the idea of such a transposition is impossible or improbable. Some of the older writers admitted the identity of the two paralytics and of the two miracles. St. Chrysostom blames them for it, but only refutes them by alleging the discrepancies between the two stories. . . . It is at least clear that the bed or *κεδβαττον* which is quite in keeping with the Synoptic narrative where the paralytic is brought to Jesus, is hardly in conformity with the Johannine narrative where the sick man, who has no one to throw him into the pool, could still less find porters to carry him in his bed and deposit him under the porches of Bethesda."

Why the Abbé should imagine that *κεδβαττον* should signify a cumbersome bed it is hard to imagine. It may well have been only a piece of matting.

Before continuing his commentary, it may be as well to put side by side the miracle upon the paralytic at Capharnaum as given by the Synoptics and St. John's narrative given above. We must leave our readers to judge for themselves of the compatibility or incompatibility of the two accounts.

And again he entered into Capharnaum after some days.

And it was heard that he was in the house, and many came together, so that there was no room, no, not even at the door, and he spoke to them the word.

And they came to him bringing one sick of the palsy, who was carried by four.

And when they could not offer him unto him for the multitude, they uncovered the roof where he was: and opening it they let down the bed wherein the man sick of the palsy lay.

And when Jesus had seen their faith, he saith to the sick of the palsy: Son, thy sins are forgiven thee.

And there were some of the scribes sitting there, and thinking in their hearts:

Why doth this man speak thus? he blasphemeth. Who can forgive sins, but God only?

Which Jesus presently knowing in his spirit, that they so thought within themselves, saith to them: Why think you these things in your hearts?

Which is easier, to say to the sick of the palsy: Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say: Arise, take up thy bed, and walk?

But that you may know that the

After these things was a festival day of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

Now there is at Jerusalem a pond, called Probatica, which in Hebrew is named Bethesda, having five porches.

In these lay a great multitude of sick, of blind, of lame, of withered, waiting for the moving of the water.

And an angel of the Lord descended at certain times into the pond; and the water was moved. And he that went down first into the pond after the motion of the water, was made whole of whatsoever infirmity he lay under.

And there was a certain man there, that had been eight and thirty years under his infirmity.

Him when Jesus had seen lying, and knew that he had been now a long time, he saith to him: Wilt thou be made whole?

The infirm man answered him: Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pond. For whilst I am coming, another goeth down before me.

Jesus saith to him: Arise, take up thy bed, and walk.

And immediately the man was made whole: and he took up his bed and walked. And it was the sabbath that day.

The Jews therefore said to him

son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy),

I say to thee, Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house.

And immediately he arose; and taking up his bed, went his way in the sight of all, so that all wondered, and glorified God, saying: We never saw the like. (St. Mark ii., 1-12.

that was healed: It is the sabbath, it is not lawful for thee to take up thy bed.

He answered them: He that made me whole, he said to me: Take up thy bed, and walk.

They asked him therefore: Who is that man who said to thee: Take up thy bed, and walk?

But he who was healed, knew not who it was. For Jesus went aside from the multitude standing in the place. (St. John v., 1-13.)

The commentary continues:

But if this detail and others like it come from the synoptics or are not meant to be taken historically—for the miracle is explained symbolically by the following discourse, in which the work of healing the man is confused with the work of salvation wrought by Christ—we have not really the slightest reason for preferring the hypothesis of a miracle at Jerusalem only vaguely known to that of a transference thither for doctrinal reasons of a Galilean miracle. This latter hypothesis ought to be the more probable, since it rests upon positive indications (the *κλίσσας* and the words "arise, take up thy bed, and walk!") and is conformable to the author's method; while on the other hand the hypothesis of the existence of a distinct tradition for the Jerusalem miracle merely relies on the notion that the Evangelist could not mean to place at Jerusalem a miracle which he knew took place at Capharnaum. But it is not proved, nay, it is not even probable that he would have hesitated to make such a transposition if he felt that it was to the interest of his doctrinal aim. His narratives are not, as we already know, histories in the strict sense of the word; they are figurative pictures in which the material and descriptive features are not the sense principally intended. It will not do to answer to this that if the author of the Fourth Gospel invited to transfer to Jerusalem the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees with regard to the Sabbath he had at his disposal narratives to be found in the synoptic traditions and relating to this dispute at Jerusalem, and could not have brought the paralytic from Capharnaum. The dispute about the Sabbath is only an accessory complication in the Johannine narrative. The story of the paralytic has not been chosen by the author in order to introduce this dispute, but because of its significance; the Evangelist will take care to draw this out after the question of the Sabbath, which is only, as it were, a subsidiary piece of instruction about which the author did not wish to furnish a special narrative.—Quatrième Évangile, p. 393.

And in support of this interpretation the Abbé elsewhere writes:

Certain features of these narratives are figurative of an idea which corresponds to a difficulty. Thus everything said about John the Baptist tends to show him the witness of the Word made flesh, and is also figurative of the relationship of the Law or Mosaic revelation to the Gospel. Similarly the marriage feast at Cana and the second testimony of John are figurative of the same relation of Law and Gospel. John, the Baptism in Water, the Judaism of the Law and the Prophets are terms which stand in allegorical opposition to Jesus, the Wine of the New Covenant, the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and Christianity.

The ejection of the sellers from the temple is referred to the Saviour's first visit to Jerusalem, because it was, according to the Synoptic tradition, the first act performed by Him in the Holy City; the Evangelist sees in it a figure of the coming of Christ and of His work. So also in the story of the woman of Samaria he sees the universality of salvation and the conversion of the Gentiles. The cure of the son of the King's officer is also a figure of the same doctrine and lends force to the theory of true faith; men must not ask for miracles as the Jews did in order that they may believe, but they must give in their adhesion, without having seen it in its historic manifestation, to the great miracle of the salvation which has been and is wrought by Christ. The paralytic of Bethesda awaiting for unavailing years his cure at the pool with five perches is peculiarly a figure of the Jewish people seeking in vain in the Law for their salvation. From the discourse attached to this episode we gather that it is a symbol of the great work which Christ has come to accomplish in this world. Again, the last-mentioned character of the Redemption, the permanence of the Divine gifts, are

signified in the multiplication of the loaves. The miracle of Jesus walking on the water completes the lesson of the loaves, making them see that, conformably with what He will say after the discourse on the Bread of Life, the life-giving Christ is the glorified Christ, Christ the Spirit, the Word returning to His eternal glory. The story of the man born blind preaches to us Christ the Light; that of Lazarus, Christ the Life. All these miracles reveal a definite function of the Saviour, an aspect of His mission.

The anointing of Jesus by Mary of Bethany is a figure both of the burial of our Saviour and the triumph of the Gospel, consequent upon His death. The solemn entry into Jerusalem symbolizes in the same way the glory of Christ risen, preached, taken up to heaven and remaining in His Church. Every incident of His Passion tends to manifest His royalty, the voluntary nature of His sacrifice, the Divinity of His Person, the supernatural character of His mission. The varying scenes of the trial before Pilate are significative of the spiritual Kingship of Christ and of the blind rejection by the Jews of the Messiah they had been waiting for. No more injuries, no more ignominy, no, not even more humiliation; the mockery is really for the Jews compelled to submit to Pilate's insulting raillery about their King; and in his mocking words we catch the echo of the Evangelist's contempt for this Messianic people who would have no other King but Cæsar.

The casting lots for His vesture is given for the sake of the prophecy, and so prefigure, in the seamless robe the unity, in the four lots the universality of the Church. The commendation made by Jesus of His Mother to His disciple and of the disciple to His Mother is but another symbol of the Church's unity founded on the reunion of all believers, Jews and Gentiles. The presenting the vinegar fulfilled another prophecy and prefigured the chalice of His death. The integrity assured to Christ's body when the legs of those who hung with Him were broken reduces to actuality the typical nature of the Paschal Lamb and signifies, as always, the unity belonging to the mystical body of the Saviour, while the water and blood which flowed from His pierced side prefigures the Christian sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, the signs of the Spirit who communicates to the faithful the life of the immortal Christ. The circumstances of His entombment, too, make it a homage rendered by official Judaism to Jesus. The stories of the Resurrection show us the Saviour glorified and teaching the faith; not a single feature of it is conceived with a view to historical representation; Peter and the Beloved Disciple, Mary of Magdala, the group of Apostles and Thomas, all are but different types of believers to whom Christ's manifestations are differently proportioned, but are all of them to terminate in the profession of faith: "My Lord and my God!"

The apparent realism of these pictures is not a proof of historicity. It is due to the mystic imagination of the author and to the depths of his convictions which prohibits him from clearly distinguishing in his religious musings between the ideal and the real, between theory and history, the symbol and its objects. He perceives the truth in the symbol, and allegoric vision is so familiar with him that there is not the least sign of any effort in adapting his images to his ideas. Even the chronology has to enter into the general symbolism of the book; it would seem to be founded on the mystic number—seven weeks of years—appropriate to the age of the Messiah, while a half week, another Messianic number, is reserved for His public career.

It appears to me, then, that the narratives of the Fourth Gospel are purely symbolical, and that the historical data it affords are not inserted for the sake of their primary significance, but for the sake of the meaning attached to them. If we wish to hold fast to the Evangelist's spirit we shall not be too anxious to distinguish between the theological doctrine, the historical tradition and the symbolical interpretation, as though these three elements were to be found there side by side. The theology of the Incarnation and the principle of symbolism closely united together are the dominating principle of the whole.—*Autour d'un Petit Livre*, pp. 99-104.

III.

Enough has been given to show that the Abbé cannot hold the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel in the traditional sense. What, then, does he put in its place?

The conjectures which seem to me the most probable are as follows: The author of the Fourth Gospel was a convert from Judaism, but it was a Hellenistic Judaism, and he had before his conversion been conversant

with the ideas of Philo. He is one of the greatest mystic theologians, nay, let us say the greatest who has ever been in the Christian Church. That he should have wished to remain unknown, that he should have passed unrecognized even in his own age and that tradition should have failed to discover the secret of his anonymity ought to cause us no surprise; the Imitation of Christ furnishes a parallel, and the Book of Wisdom stands on almost the same footing as the Gospel in question; there we find an unknown author speaking in the name of the wisest of kings, Solomon, a typical personage rather than a real and, what is more, not named. And this author propounds in the name of 'the Wise Man' the doctrine of self-revealing wisdom, just as John propounds in the name of 'the disciple' the doctrine of the Word Incarnate.—*Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 131.

If certain details are intended to give the descriptions the appearance of a real history, it is none the less true that the narrative is never continued beyond what the symbolism demands, and this even at the risk of appearing halting or incomplete. The story of the paralytic is lost in the discourse which it introduces; it is the same with the man born blind. Where did Lazarus go when he came out of the tomb? The Evangelist relinquishes his symbol when he has drawn from it what he wanted.—*Autour d'un Petit Livre*, p. 101.

But if this be the case, if St. John has given us no history, but like any writer of so-called historical novels, has more or less invented and freely adapted his historical framework to an ulterior end, what is the value of the Fourth Gospel? The Abbé answers:

The value of the Fourth Gospel will not be lessened by the fact that we can no longer find in it historical teaching concerning Christ, for He ceases not to be living in it in spirit. The echo of the Gospel story is immeasurably less pronounced than in the Synoptic account, but what does reach our ears is still a profoundly Christian message whose whisper or, let us say, whose spirit, for we must always come back to that, is truly that of Jesus Christ. The Evangelist's soul has meditated the Saviour's teaching, has interpreted it and has comprehended the interests and needs to which such interpretation would answer.—*Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 138.

The life-like character which appears to characterize these narratives is not due to the fidelity with which they are given, for they are not given as history; nor is it due to a conscious effort to imitate nature, for there is nothing second-hand in these details. It is due rather to the intensity of vision from which they proceed. They are not less improbable or incoherent than the discourses if we examine them as portraying facts. They are more often incomplete sketches, certain features of which are strongly colored and thrown almost by chance on the canvas. They are complete only as symbols and relatively to the lesson the author wishes to draw from them. Looked at as descriptions they would be very meagre in detail and wanting in harmony and consistency. The Fourth Gospel is a book with a key. Those who have not got that key can attempt to understand it, and can, if they like, conceal the difficulty they experience in grasping it; but none the less it remains obscure and confused.

This obscurity is, however, only relative and springs from a failure to understand the species of composition which is under discussion. It will vanish according as we enter into the spirit of the author and the idea of his book, and it is due principally to prejudices which the reader brings with him to its study. The mystery which will remain even for one who puts himself on the Evangelist's level is one which lies at the very root—the true mystery, the mystery of God, the mystery of Christ, the mystery of salvation. Whatever we may do to elucidate this three-fold and unique mystery, it will remain true that since Jesus Christ lived in and proposed to us this mystery it has never been better presented or more admirably defined than in the Fourth Gospel.—*Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 147.

It is not in itself impossible that one of Christ's Apostles should have written a theology of Christ. . . . We must confess that it is not very probable that one of the Saviour's companions should have written a treatise on the Incarnation under the form of a Gospel history. However, if we find that the traditional witness of tradition in spite of the uncertainty and obscurity which reign over its origin has sufficient authority to counter-balance all the objections suggested by an examination of the book; if we imagine that the aged fisherman of Galilee who remained upto an advanced age one of the pillars of Judaizing Christianity could in his extreme old age enter into and appreciate the spirit and method of the Judæo-Alexandrian school of thought, could make his Master speak the language of the schools, could, so to speak, substitute for the living per-

sonality of our Lord a metaphysical and theological Being, could efface for doctrinal purposes the recollection of His temptation and His baptism, could transpose and allegorize Gethsemane, the Transfiguration and the Eucharistic Supper, could entirely change the historical physiognomy of the Passion so as to make of it nothing but a symbolic picture, and could even systematize the details of the resurrection; if we do not realize any moral impossibility of an Apostle forgetting or deliberately neglecting the real conditions of his own vocation, the instructions given to the Twelve by the Saviour, the real character of the preaching of the Baptist, whose disciple he is supposed to have been, the true development of the career of Jesus, the actual circumstances of His ministry, the authentic form and even the very object of His discourses, His relations with the Jews, the publicans and sinners, the Pharisees, Sadducees and His own disciples—if we can do all this then we can attribute the Fourth Gospel to the Apostle John.—*Le Quatrième Evangile*, p. 137.

It is hardly necessary to prove here that the dilemma, "either Apostle or forger," to which conservative criticism has so imprudently condemned itself, does not really correspond to the facts. The author of the Fourth Gospel would only be a forger if he had given himself out as one of the Twelve, or if he had usurped the name of the son of Zebedee, with a view to writing the story of Christ from the standpoint of an Apostle and of an eye-witness. But he never says he is an Apostle; he remains anonymous and unknown; he never undertakes the historian's office of writing the life of Christ, but he does undertake to teach men Christ. A mystical theologian, a thinker, a prophet, he conceives and keeps in view an ideal life of the Saviour. In the picture which springs so spontaneously from the great soul of the believer divers elements are mingled; recollections of the Synoptic tradition, embellished indeed and transfigured, doctrines of a religious philosophy accommodated to the Christian view, intimate experiences and visions due to faith and to the apologetic and polemical preoccupations of his age. And it all manifests itself as an allegoric poem in historic form.—*Quatrième Evangile*, p. 136.

The author of the Fourth Gospel has conceived of the Christ as a temporal manifestation of the Divine Being, and his book itself is a proof of it; just as the Johannine Christ is the Incarnate Word, so the Johannine Gospel is an incarnation, the figurative representation of the mystery of salvation accomplished by Christ the Word. Discourses and narratives contribute to this revelation of the Saviour, the narratives as signs expressive of spiritual realities, the discourses as explaining those same signs and their profound significance. These very discourses express in figure invisible truth. They are made up of a series of metaphors or allegories which form a picture just as do the narratives and which, equally with them, have a profound significance hidden under the sensible images which clothe them.—*Autour d'un Petit Livre*, pp. 96-97.

No one can quarrel with these words. They read like a page from St. Augustine's incomparable tractatus in Joannem, where the saint writes:

The Evangelist John has amongst his companions and fellow-Evangelists received from the Lord (on whose breast he leaned at the Last Supper, as though to thereby signify that he drew deep and hidden draughts from His inmost Heart) this special and peculiar gift that he says things of the Son of God which have the power to excite the attention of little ones in Christ, but which those who are not yet strong in faith cannot fully grasp. To those, however, who are strong, whose minds have come to a manly maturity in spiritual things, his words afford what may exercise and feed their souls.—*Tract. in Joann.*, xviii., 1.

This appears to us to be the true critical standpoint. It begins with revelation, and realized that since the message therein contained is for all time and for all conditions of men, it must be pregnant with meaning. The Evangelists are like the steward bringing forth from his treasure old things and new for those who approach them with faith. This is the meaning of St. Augustine's "*fides quaereus intellectum*," which is the key to the only really progressive and illuminative criticism of the Sacred Scriptures. In such a sys-

tem literal signification and symbolic purport have each their due sphere, and neither is unduly developed at the expense of the other. For the symbolism of the Gospels is no new idea. The Alexandrian school developed the allegorical explanation to a degree which to us now seems absurd and which appeared to disregard the liberal sense. The school of St. Chrysostom insisted on the latter, and St. Augustine may be said to come between the two. Yet none of these schools denied the literal sense of the words. They dwelt on one of the significations which the Holy Spirit may have had in view and developed it according to their own peculiar cast of mind, but the literal signification lay at the root of all their expositions. Thus the symbolical aspect of this miracle did not escape St. Augustine, as the Abbé Loisy points out. But there is a great contrast between the latter's treatment of the Fourth Gospel and that of the great African Doctor. In his Seventeenth Tractate on St. John's Gospel he never doubts for a moment the absolute historicity of the case of the paralytic, though his application of it is symbolical:

Christ entered the place where lay a great multitude of the sick, the blind, the lame and the withered, and since He was the Physician both of soul and body, and had come to cure the souls of all believers, He chose one out of all those sick people and healed one that He might signify the oneness (of all believers). If the wings of our soul be pinioned, if from a merely human standpoint we consider who it was that acted and the power He had, He indeed did no great thing, and if we reflect upon the kindness of the act, He did but little. So many lay sick, and He cured but one, when He could with a word have cured all!

What, then, are we to gather from this but that His great power and goodness rather wrought something which men's souls might gather from His deeds for their eternal healing, than what men's bodies might deserve for their temporal healing. For the true healing of the body which we wait for from the Lord will take place in the resurrection of the dead. What then shall live shall not die; what then shall be healed shall not sicken; what then shall be sated shall never hunger nor thirst; what then shall be renovated shall never grow old. But now of all our Lord and Saviour's wondrous deeds what remains? The blind eyes that were then opened are now closed in death; the once withered limbs of the paralytic are now in death's dissolution; in fine, whatever temporal cure He wrought on men's mortal bodies has now come to an end; but the soul which believed has passed to eternal life. To the souls then that should believe in Him, and whose sins He had come to forgive, and for the healing of whose wounds He had humbled Himself, to such souls He offered a great sign in this sick man's healing.—S. Aug. in Joann. Tract. xvii., 1.

This is the great Doctor's introduction to his sermon. The literal exposition with its difficulties, and with their resolution by an appeal to the deeper spiritual significance of our Lord's act, come first. But then he proceeds at once to its symbolical character:

The pool and the water seem to me to signify the Jewish people. For the Apocalypse of St. John clearly shows how the people are signified under the type of water. For when the many waters had been shown him and he asked what they were, he was told that they were the nations. This water then, that is the Jewish people, was shut up in the five porches, that is in the five books of Moses. But those same books rather produced infirm men and did not heal them; for the law convinced sinners of sin, but did not cleanse them from their sin.—S. Aug. in Joann. Tract. xvii., 2.

The symbolism of the narrative is, then, perfectly apparent to

St. Augustine, as it is to the Abbé Loisy, but he carefully abstains from, nay, rather, he never dreams of denying the historical nature of the episode merely because he finds the symbol so apparent, and this for the very sufficient reason that there is not the remotest necessity for so doing.

For what are the grounds which have led the Abbé to reject the historicity of the Fourth Gospel? They practically resolve themselves into two main points: The difficulty of reconciling the Fourth Gospel with the preceding three, and the manifest symbolism of the former. This second point is, he maintains, the sole key to the preceding difficulty. According to him, St. John's historical data are difficult to accept just because we make the initial mistake of considering them historical, whereas they are purely symbolical. What proof has he of this assertion? Little more than what we may call the "atmosphere" of the Fourth Gospel. Thus after the picture given above of the Synoptic and the Johannine Christ, he concludes:

This Christ (St. John's) is doubtless no mere metaphysical abstraction, for He lives in the soul of the Evangelist. But it is the Christ of faith, purely spiritual and mystical; it is the immortal Christ who transcends the conditions of time and of earthly existence. The various personages whom the story gathers about Him have become merely figurative types and only as such hold their place in the author's theological and apologetic synthesis. The life which emerges from the whole series of pictures is the life of Christian faith such as belonged to the last portion of the century of the Christian era. John's narratives are not history, but a mystic contemplation of the Gospel-story; his are theological meditations on the mystery of salvation.—*Autour d'un Petit Livre*, p. 93.

Contrast this with the witness of the Muratorian Fragment:

Quartū Evangeliorum Joannes ex discipulis. Cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit, conjejunatē mihi hodie triduum et quid culque fuerit revelatum alteratum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte Andreae ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret. Et ideo licet varia singulis Evangeliorum libris principia doceantur, nihil tamen differt credentium fidel, cum uno ac principali spiritu declarata sint in omnia de nativitate, de passione, de Resurrectione, de conversatione cum discipulis suis ac de gemino ejus adventu, primum in humilitate despectus, quod fuit, secundum potestate regali praeclarum, quod futurum est. Quid ergo mirum si Johannes tam constanter singula etiam in epistolis suis proferat diceus in semetipsum, "Quae vidimus oculis nostris et auribus audivimus et manus nostrae palpaverunt, haec scripsimus." Sic enim non solem visorem, sed et auditorem, sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium domini per ordinem profitetur.

St. Jerome clearly knew this tradition when he described St. John as being urged by the Bishops of Asia to write upon our Saviour's Divinity and as replying that he would do so if they would all keep a fast and pray for his guidance: "Quo (jejuno) expleto," adds St. Jerome, "revelatione saturatus, in illud proemium coelo veniens eructavit. In principio erat Verbum."—*Prologus in Quaest. Evangel.*

Yet if this tradition be true, and we see no reason to doubt it, what other character could St. John's Gospel have had than that which the Abbé has so strongly painted?

It was written by an eye-witness "saturatus revelatione." It was written, too, with a definite purpose. In St. John's own words:

But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God: and that believing you may have life in his name (xx., 31).

It was, then, carefully planned and may therefore be said to be ideal. It was not to be a biography nor a "summa predicabilium." It was not to be a collection of miracles or of parables; it was not to present the Saviour as the rude Galilean crowd saw Him—"the wonder-worker." It was not to be complete as the story of His life:

Many other signs also did Jesus in the sight of his disciples, which are not written in this book (xx., 30).

It was not to dwell on the human side of His marvelous character. In a certain sense, too, it was not to be a life-like character, but it was to be a portrait of the Son of God, who

Was seen upon earth, and conversed with men (Baruch iii., 38)
and who showed Himself to be truly God:

Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as you also know. (Acts ii., 38.)

Again, tradition affirms that it was written in the Apostle's extreme old age. He had seen many of our Lord's prophecies come to pass, notably the fall of Jerusalem. He had, too, seen many fall away from the faith. He had passed through persecution; he had seen the springing up of more than one heresy. We might almost apply to him the words of his fiery predecessor, whose counterpart in some respects he was:

With zeal have I been zealous for the Lord God of hosts: for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant: they have thrown down thy altars, they have slain thy prophets with the sword, and I alone am left, and they seek my life to take it away. (III. Kings xix., 10.)

How, then, should not his Gospel be a theological meditation? How can he fail to be, as Loisy expresses it, "not the calculating dialectician, but the ardent mystic?"¹⁰

At the same time he is no dreamer; though "saturatus revelatione" he is not exempt from toil. He has to frame his story to the best of his power; he has to go back upon the past through fifty years of labor and persecution to the day when he was "called" by the bank of Jordan, when he asked: "Rabbi, where dwellest thou?" and received the gracious answer, "Come and see." It was no difficult task to recall those scenes, for they were his habitual meditation. The only difficulty lay in selecting from the crowding memories those most suited to his purpose. And how different those scenes of long ago must have looked viewed through the vista of fifty years replete with experiences! Then his faith had been forming, bit by bit the amazing truth was forcing itself upon him: "Truly this is the Son of God!" Then he handled Him and looked upon Him with his eyes; he leant upon His breast and his just-awakened faith per-

¹⁰ *Études Évangéliques.*

haps only half realized the awful truth. Then he was but a Galilean fisherman looking with doubt and yet with awe upon One who then seemed almost as one of themselves. And now he is a pillar of His glorious Church, and every day brings home to him more and more intensely what a privilege his has been. Day by day as he lives in that hallowed past the events of those all too short three years and a half take new shape and assume a deeper significance. Their meaning escaped him then; now he sees it clearly. Actions, words, gestures, then deemed trivial, are now realized to have been Divine, symbolic of the future and of what lay hidden in the bosom of time—those fifty years that have passed. Then he was fiery and eager and something of the spirit of Elias was in him and the Master had called him Boanerges. Now he is old and mellowed and the spirit of Another who had said: "Learn of Me, for I am meek and humble of heart" had passed into him. And His own countrymen, who had so longed for His coming, had not understood Him and had rejected Him! And now, too, heresies are springing up within His own sheepfold, for whose unity He had prayed, and some have already shown that they never really understood Him:

Little children, it is the last hour: and as you have heard that Antichrist cometh: even now there are become many Antichrists: whereby we know that it is the last hour:

They went out from us; but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they would no doubt have remained with us: but that they may be manifest, that they are not all of us. (I. John II., 18-19.)

His own Holy City had rejected Him, and yet how He had wrought and taught in its streets!

Jerusalem, Jerusalem, that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent to thee, how often would I have gathered thy children as the bird doth her brood under her wings, and thou wouldst not?

Behold your house shall be left to you desolate. And I say to you, that you shall not see me till the time come, when you shall say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. (St. Luke XIII., 34-35.)

The Holy City had been His goal; all else had been but preparatory to its evangelization. Elsewhere He had labored long, but in different fashion. His preaching had been to the poor and illiterate, to the publicans and sinners. He had gone about doing good. He made no claim for Himself; He only sought the welfare of the lost sheep of the house of Israel. He never declared His Divinity; He hid His Messianic character, for they would misunderstand it and would try to make Him a King according to their own mistaken ideas, and He had to win their hearts before He could show what kind of a King He really was. But in Jerusalem all was different. It was the stronghold of Rabbinical Judaism, with its legalism and its Pharisaic traditions. They were the "masters in Israel," and ought to understand these things. They had had John's preaching to prepare for His coming, hence He needs not to

feel His way with them, but straightway He reveals Himself to them in unmistakable terms:

But I said unto you, that you also have seen me, and you believe not (vi., 36).

And you will not come to me that you may have life (v., 40).

They said therefore to him, Who art thou? Jesus said to them: The beginning, who also speak unto you.

Many things I have to speak and to judge of you. But he that sent me is true: and the things I have heard of him, these same I speak in the world.

And they understood not that he called God his father (viii., 25).

That which my Father hath given me, is greater than all: and no one can snatch them out of the hand of my Father.

I and the Father are one.

The Jews then took up stones to stone him.

Jesus answered them: Many good works I have shewed you from my Father; for which of those works do you stone me?

The Jews answered him: For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God (x., 29-33)?

It was official Judaism which rejected Him; the people as a whole welcomed Him:

Of that multitude therefore, when they had heard these words of his, some said: This is the prophet indeed.

Others said: This is the Christ. But some said: Doth the Christ come out of Galilee?

Doth not the scripture say: That Christ cometh of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem the town where David was?

So there arose a dissension among the people because of him.

And some of them would have apprehended him: but no man laid hands upon him.

The ministers therefore came to the chief priests and the Pharisees. And they said to them: Why have you not brought him?

The ministers answered: Never did man speak like this man.

The Pharisees therefore answered them: Are you also seduced?

Hath any one of the rulers believed in him, or of the Pharisees?

But this multitude that knoweth not the law, are accursed.

Nicodemus said to them, he that came to him by night, who was one of them:

Doth our law judge any man, unless it first hear him, and know what he doth?

They answered, and said to him: Art thou also a Galilean? Search the scriptures, and see that out of Galilee a prophet riseth not (vii., 40-52).

But it was precisely to official Judaism, viz.: to the Holy City itself, that His most open and emphatic statements had been made, and the result by the time St. John wrote had become historic. This enables us to understand why the Fourth Gospel centres round Jerusalem; why, if the Evangelist gives us a Galilean episode, he brings back our Blessed Lord immediately to Jerusalem. His theme is His Divinity and His rejection by those to whom He made the claim and who ought to have recognized Him. To the Galileans He made no such claim, at least explicitly; to the priests and scribes of Jerusalem He reiterated His claim. Hence for St. John's purpose the scene of his Gospel must be laid in Judaea.

His pictures are symbolical by force of the symbolical nature of the actions they depict. His discourses are rather for his readers than such as the actors in them would have grasped, for the simple reason that they are viewed by him through the perspection of fifty

years of meditation on them, fifty years during which much of their innermost truth has been manifested.

But why should we say that they are, therefore, not historical? Even if the Evangelist had not shown a scrupulous anxiety to be historical by providing us with an historical framework such as we find in no other Gospel, not even in that of St. Luke, we should not be justified in doubting his historicity. It is, perhaps, impossible to deny that he knew the Synoptic narrative, but it is surely equally impossible to prove that he had it before him as he wrote. Is it not far more probable that he knew it rather in the form of an oral catechesis which was but vaguely present to his mind as he wrote? And do his statements go so diametrically contrary to those of the Synoptists as is often roundly asserted? Is it so impossible for the cleansing of the Temple to have taken place twice? Is it beyond all bounds of probability that, on the supposition that it did only occur once, the account now found in the Synoptists should be out of place? After all, the Synoptic framework is not a three-fold authority, but only one which therefore cannot outweigh the authority of the Fourth Gospel. And if his data with regard to the last Passover do conflict with those of the Synoptists—though it should not be forgotten that it is quite possible to harmonize them—why should we not see in this a correction on the part of one whose account is stamped with the evidence of minute care with regard to times and events as a cursory reading of only the first four chapters will show?

So much for the narratives in the Fourth Gospel. The question as to the nature of the discourses is a delicate one. "They are written for the sake of their readers, not for the supposed auditory," is the verdict of the Abbé Loisy. But surely there is nothing new in such a view. Indeed, it is necessitated by the above-given circumstances of the Gospel's composition. It was compiled as a Gospel to be read and meditated upon. In the Abbé's own words: "I use the first three Gospels for the story of our Saviour's life, and the fourth to explain it."¹¹ And we cordially welcome his remark that "the Fourth Gospel is essentially a book of faith. The faith of the Church which inspired it is to be recognized in it. I do not in any sense account it as an alteration, but as an interpretation of the history. It is the pearl of the New Testament, and the author has not deceived us in giving it to us as a work of the Holy Spirit, for it is truly in the spirit of Jesus Christ." But we cannot agree with him when he adds: "I will venture, however, to say that he represents that spirit for us by transfiguring the body."¹² He is

¹¹ *Autour d'un Petit Livre*, p. 106.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 107.

led to this conclusion by an examination of our Lord's discourses: "In His teaching the Johannine Christ is always represented as speaking in parables, and the Evangelist, who interpreted the Synoptic parables allegorically, probably did not perceive that his own parables belonged to a different category. For in his Gospel Christ propounds heavenly truths under earthly symbols. The whole economy of the discourses and the arrangement of the dialogues rests upon this idea of a parable with double signification. Each time the Johannine Christ sets Himself to teach, whether He addresses Nicodemus or the Samaritan woman or the Jews in general or His own disciples, He begins by setting forth a proposition which contains under some sensible and symbolic image a religious truth. His audience misunderstands the significance of the symbol, which they take literally, but Jesus instead of explaining the equivocation, His equivocal words follows up the development of His allegory so persistently that His questioners know no more, as a rule, at the end of the conversation than they did at the beginning. The reader, however, has received just the instruction which the Evangelist proposed to give him."

Even if we accept this rather too absolute statement it surely does not, as the Abbé would have us conclude, follow that such discourses are purely fictional.¹³ Whoever supposed that the Gospel accounts of our Lord's doings or sayings were complete? Is the sermon on the Mount—if it be one whole sermon—complete? Or that on the plain? Is St. Matthew's chapter on Christ's preaching of the kingdom by means of parables any more than a resumé?¹⁴

Besides the statement is too absolute. Nicodemus took our Lord's words about re-birth literally. Our Lord explains Himself at once. So also when the Jews cavilled at His saying that Abraham rejoiced to see His day He explained His words by the doctrine of His preëxistence, and they clearly understood what He meant, for they took up stones to stone Him.¹⁵ Why? Because, as on another occasion, His words implied His Divinity.¹⁶

The more acceptable view of the Fourth Gospel seems to be that the discourses and the narratives stand on very different planes. The object of the Gospel is the Divinity of Christ, as shown by Christ's own teaching on the subject. His discourses, then, are the main feature, but they were not chance discourses, but arose out of some incident, either some question addressed Him by one of the crowd, as is so often the case in the Synoptists, or some visible object before their eyes as they conversed suggested a train of

¹³ *Autour d'un Petit Livre*, p. 105.

¹⁴ St. Matthew xiii.

¹⁵ St. John viii., 56-59.

¹⁶ X., 30-33.

thought as, for instance, the discourse on the judgment which arose out of a chance remark of His disciples about the huge stones and precious ex-votos of the Temple. (St. Luke xxi., 5 ff.)

In the Fourth Gospel it is more often a miracle worked by our Lord which furnishes the theme for His discourse and a similar usage is to be found in the Synoptists. (St. Luke xiii.) The events, however, which thus served as the starting point for the discourses were unchangeable. They were facts of which many had been witnesses, but the discourses themselves had necessarily to be presented by the Evangelist in such a way as should best convey their teaching to his readers. But he is writing in Asia in the midst of Greek culture and Greek philosophy. He is writing, too, for men who, like St. Paul's Athenians, needed carefully worded teaching. Hence the Greek dress of so many discourses in the Fourth Gospel. Hence their dialectical and suggestive form, more apparent, perhaps, in the discourses at the Last Supper than in the earlier ones. A very good instance of this is furnished us in the sixteenth chapter:

But I tell you the truth: it is expedient to you that I go: for if I go not, the Paraclete will not come to you: but if I go, I will send him to you.

And when he is come, he will convince the world of sin, and of justice, and of judgment.

Of sin: because they believed not in me.

And of justice: because I go to the Father; and you shall see me no longer.

And of judgment: because the prince of this world is already judged.

But can we therefore suppose that a similar transformation has taken place in the narrative portion of the Gospel? Has St. John metamorphosed or transposed or even invented events and miracles in our Lord's life, and this for the sake of conveying to us his doctrine more easily? This is precisely the point of the Abbé Loisy's criticisms. In words quoted above, he lays down very clearly that "the narratives of the Fourth Gospel are purely symbolic and the historical data found therein are not there because of the primitive character of these accounts, but for the sake of the significance attached to them."¹⁷

And this presumably is the cause of his books being put upon the Index. To deny the historicity of the Gospel narrative is to shake the foundations of the Gospel teaching, however much the Abbé may deny this. Perhaps we hardly realize the extent to which we are indebted to St. John's Gospel for the chronology of our Lord's life; but certainly if we had only the Synoptic narrative we should find it hard to extend His public mission beyond one year. Much has been written upon the character of ocular testimony stamped upon St. John's narratives. It would take us beyond our space to enlarge upon these proofs now, but a

¹⁷ *Autour d'un Petit Livre*, p. 104.

careful reading of chapters ii., vi. and xix., to omit many others, will bring conviction to the minds of most readers. Indeed, have we not his own explicit testimony that he was an eye-witness to the events he narrates?

But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side, and immediately there came out blood and water.

And he that saw it hath given testimony: and his testimony is true. And he knoweth that he saith true; that you also may believe (xix., 34-35).

And a little later:

This saying therefore went abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die. And Jesus did not say to him: He should not die; but, So I will have him to remain till I come, what is it to thee?

This is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things, and hath written these things: and we know that his testimony is true.

But there are also many other things which Jesus did: which if they were written every one, the world itself, I think, would not be able to contain the books that should be written (xxi., 23-25).

It is worth noticing that the former passage refers to the breaking of our Lord's legs—an episode which the Abbé rejects!

To sum up, then, we may say that the Evangelist aims at presenting our Lord's Divinity to the world of his age, *i. e.*, the end of the first century A. D. He takes our Lord's discourses as the main medium for conveying his teaching, and those discourses he gives as sequels to various events in our Saviour's life. Those events are indelibly imprinted on his memory, for they formed the background of all his thoughts and had constituted a crisis in his life. He narrates them with the simplicity and minuteness of detail, and, let us add, with the independence of an eye-witness. Yet they are not told for their own value, and the characters who are thus brought upon the scene merely flit across the stage and we are left in ignorance of their subsequent future proceedings. The events are given for the sake of the annexed discourses, all of which turn upon the theme of the Divine mission and Divine character of the speaker. They are cast in a mould suited to the time at which the Apostle wrote, for they constitute, not a record of the contemporaries of the actors in those wondrous scenes, but a series of tableaux putting before an attentive and meditative reader the Lord's own teaching about Himself. To repeat once more the author's own words:

Many other signs also did Jesus in the sight of his disciples, which are not written in this book.

But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God: and that believing you may have life in his name (xx., 30-31).

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THE PICTORIAL ART OF THE CATACOMBS.

WHEN the great master of Christian archæology, Giovanni Battista de Rossi, passed to his eternal rest ten years ago in the Papal Villa of Castel Gandolfo, it was feared that the science to which his life had been devoted died with him. Happily such was not the case; he himself had provided for the continuance of his work. As the Rev. Dr. Shahan, the illustrious professor of ecclesiastical history in the Catholic University, of Washington, has written in this REVIEW: though de Rossi was never a professor, "one will look in vain for a nearer approach in our day to the old Hellenic teachers or the great scholastics of the Middle Ages, who lived in the tenderest intimacy with their pupils. His real chair was in the depth of the Catacombs or in the Lateran galleries." And as a consequence he had numerous disciples and followers. Some, like Marucchi, Stevenson, Armellini, De Waal, Father Germano, Kirsch and Wilpert, gave themselves up seriously and devotedly under his immediate direction to the study of Christian antiquities or to a kindred subject; and a much more numerous class, in which was the present writer, was quite content to listen and to learn from the lips of the master the wondrous and fascinating story of early Christian Rome as illustrated by its monuments. This was conveyed at times in viva-voce "demonstrations" in the Catacombs that surround the Eternal City on the feast days of saints originally buried in them; and again in conferences on Christian archæology in the library of the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics at the Minerva, or recorded for the benefit of all in the pages of the "*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*," published by De Rossi. Though no one individual is provided with sufficient knowledge and experience to fill the place left vacant by the death of De Rossi, yet the pupils who have studied under him, and who by long acquaintance with him have acquired his methods, continue to contribute to the advancement of the science which he developed.

Amongst those who have followed most closely in the footsteps of the master, Monsignor Joseph Wilpert is distinguished for the exactness and thoroughness of his labors and for the admirable quality of concentration he has employed in his work. The field of his study embraces the art of the Catacombs. The book which he has recently produced and which is dedicated to the new Pontiff, Pope Pius X., is an exhaustive study of the pictorial art of the subterranean Christian cemeteries which surround the Eternal City, "*The Paintings of the Roman Catacombs*." It may be described as a complete and scientific account of the immense underground pic-

ture gallery which was formed between the latter half of the first century and the early part of the fifth century of the Christian era, with a few additions of later dates. The work of Wilpert is the admirable outcome of close and persistent study and observation carried on during fifteen years in the depths of the galleries and chambers of the Catacombs by the faint flickering of the tapers' light or by the more brilliant but briefer illumination of incandescent magnesium wire. The laborious investigations, the results of which are chronicled in this great book, have been carried on by the author in person, and every author whose writings might contribute to the elucidation of the pictures and the stories they reveal has been carefully consulted. In the preface to his work the author declares that the first idea of it came to him from the lamented Giovanni Battista de Rossi, "whom," he says, "I cannot sufficiently thank for the encouragement and counsel given to me. I accepted the more willingly the suggestion of the ever-to-be-remembered master, the more so as from the beginning of my archæological studies I was deeply persuaded that the copies of the cemeterial [or Catacombs] frescoes previously published had need of a radical revision on account of their lack of fidelity."

The Italian edition of Wilpert's work—there is another edition in German—bears on the title page, "*Roma Sotterranea. Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane, illustrate da Giuseppe Wilpert. Con 54 incisioni nel testo e 267 tavole. Roma, Desclée, Lefebvre & Co. (Librai-editori), 1903.*" This epoch-making work consists of two folio volumes, the first containing the text, the second the 267 illustrative plates, half of this number being reproduced in colors. Taken all in all, the whole production, text and plates, constitutes a noble example of Roman learning and Roman art. The researches of students who trace the history of the arts that are in a special way the growth and the flower of Christianity lead them back to the Catacombs as the cradle and source of Christian art. Here the simple direct symbolism of that art begins, and from here it may be followed onward through the centuries until our own times, when we see several attempts made to return to the spirit and methods of the antique period as the most sincere and expressive.

The character of early Christian art, and especially that of the Catacombs, has been regarded by English historians of art as of little esthetic account. "The gradual decay of pictorial skill during the centuries which preceded the fall of the Western Empire," says the newest edition (1903) of Crowe & Cavalcaselle's "*History of Painting in Italy*," "has been variously attributed to the degeneracy of the Romans and the spread of Christian doctrines." Less prejudiced writers treat the question with more consideration. Who

is it, asks Father Vincenzo Marchese, the learned author of "*Memoirs of the Most Illustrious Painters of the Dominican Order*," "that does not admire the sublime origin of Christian art, beholding it making its first step forward amidst the gloom of the sepulchres; scattering flowers on the tombs of the martyrs; following religion in the midst of weapons and executioners, and handing down their names and their deeds to the remotest posterity?" One of De Rossi's pupils, the late Mariano Armellini, has noted that the origin of cemeterial painting coincides with the origin of the Christian cemeteries; therefore it goes back to the period in which classic art was in full flower. Thus it is that the most ancient Christian cemeteries, or Catacombs, feel all the influence of classicism, in beauty of style, in simplicity of conception, in elegance of decoration and in delicacy of ornament. Thus it happens that the sight of many of these earlier works brings to the mind of the traveler recollections of the paintings he may have seen at Pompeii or the adornments that are still faintly visible on the walls of the Baths of Titus at Rome.

It was the custom amongst the peoples of antiquity to decorate with a certain elaboration of sculpture and painting the tombs of those that were dear to them. The traveler in Italy will find abundant examples of this practice in the necropolis of well-nigh every city of ancient Etruria, and the immediate vicinity of Rome supplies examples of stuccoed or painted tombs. Such method of honoring their dead was in the ordinary practice of the people. There was, therefore, no special reason why the Romans in becoming Christians should forsake this custom of their ancestors, so far as the adornment was innocent in itself and devoid of indications of honor rendered to the gods of paganism then worshiped in Rome. Indeed, some recent writers consider that this practice of art by the Christians in the Catacombs tended to delay the inevitable decline that came upon it later. That scholarly critic and historian of art, M. Georges Lafenestre, notes that it was far from the bright sunshine, in the subterranean cemeteries, where the early Christians interred their first martyrs, that at this same period a proximate renovation of painting, then in its decline, was prepared. Christian art appears in Rome almost at the same time as the Christian faith. The Catacombs—these cemeteries authorized by law, as De Rossi makes evident—have preserved upon the walls of their subterranean corridors and chambers paintings, some of which go back as far as the first century of the Christian era.

The old idea that the Christians were hostile to art has passed away. Not only was that idea a false one, but the older the sepulchral chambers are the more adorned are they. Wilpert de-

clares that Christianity, at the beginning of its propagation in Rome, found art at a relatively high grade. "As it was not within its mission nor its force to find a new language, so it was likewise absolutely impossible for it to create, by a single effort, a thoroughly new art." And there was no reason why it should not make use instead of the old language and the prevailing art, so far as these were not in contradiction with its doctrine and its morals. During the early period Christian art differs in little from pagan art: the same style, the same methods and sometimes even the same subjects are common to both. The *cubacula* of the Catacomb of Saint Domitilla, says Lafenestre, are almost contemporary with the tombs of the Via Latina and the sepulchre of the Nasones on the Flaminian Way. They present almost the same decoration. How can we be surprised at this resemblance when we remember that certain artists, newly converted, continued to work for pagans at the same time that they were working for Christians? Besides, this style of decoration, on account of the scruples and hesitancy which the horror of idolatry would inspire, continued for a considerable time to be simply ornamental or decorative. Wreaths of flowers, amidst which little genii are dancing, architectural fantasies and imaginary landscapes such as are frequent in Pompeian pictures, are the prevailing motives. Sometimes real figures appear, but these generally are allegorical, such as gardeners, reapers, vine-gatherers and olive-gatherers, as representatives of the four seasons. Then there are other designs which fill up what would otherwise be vacant spaces in vaults: gazelles, panthers, dolphins, hippocampi, painted on a red or white ground between colonettes, festoons and symmetrically placed vases. Bearded tritons and winged cupids are also introduced. These were the ordinary adornments of the time, and they continued in use down to the fourth century, as may be seen on the walls of the house of SS. John and Paul on the Coelian Hill, excavated a few years ago by the Rev. Father Germano di S. Stanislao, Passionist, where pagan and Christian subjects adorned the rooms inhabited by these noble Christian martyrs.*

The time is past, as Wilpert points out, when these Catacomb paintings were described as "wretched creations, in which the poverty of invention was equaled only by the defect of execution." And he insists that, as artistic creations they have a right to special consideration, not only because they constitute an important link in the chain of the universal history of art, but also because they enter into the field when the wall paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeii cease, and they mark, in uninterrupted succession during four centuries the progress, or rather the decline, of Roman paint-

* La Casa Cellmontana del SS. Martiri Giovanni e Paolo, etc. Roma 1894.

ing. Mr. Dalton, in his learned Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities in the British Museum, points out that the style of art in the Catacombs is that of contemporary pagan Rome adapted to new conditions and modified in accordance with Christian ideas. It participated in the gradual decay of Roman art.

The art of the Catacombs is almost solely that of painting. Painting has had the honor of expressing the first Christian inspirations, and in spite of ruin and decay and irreparable losses, it has handed down to our days numerous suggestions of the pious fervor prevailing in the age of the martyrs. These paintings, which are entirely in fresco, a process of painting on freshly-laid plaster lime whilst it remains damp with colors that resist the caustic action of the lime, may be regarded as written hieroglyphs by which, as Wilpert puts it, "the Christian manifested by preference his religious ideas relative to the future life, his faith and his hopes." These constitute the scope and limit of this art of the cemeteries. Symbolism, the characteristic of all ancient religious teaching, was the bond which held the artists of the Catacombs in the unity of composition and treatment of the subjects they painted in these subterranean corridors and chambers. It constituted a language for them and for those for whom they wrought. The ordinary visitor to Rome nowadays, who descends for half an hour or so into the depths of these subterranean cemeteries, his path lighted by a few feeble tapers, and led along these strange galleries by a monk, is probably possessed by fear mingled with awe. The faint frescoes on the walls of chambers here and there are not striking works of art; their symbolism may not be clear to him by his lack of familiarity with its mode of expression; and thus the impression left upon his mind is that an unpleasant duty, with strange memories associated with it, has been duly fulfilled. It is only by repeated visits and by a study of the symbols made use of by the early Christians in these frescoes that the full joy of a visit to the Catacombs is reached, when the visitor reads with readiness the meanings of the symbols, recognizes at a glance the subjects of the pictures and then feels the religious sentiments that underlie them and make them so memorable.

In a previous work ("Ein Cyclus Christologischer Gemälde") Wilpert presents us with the account of what feelings might animate a visitor to the Catacombs in the early ages and the meanings he would read in what he beheld there. "Let us suppose," he wrote, "that a son should visit the sepulchre of his mother which is found in *cubiculum* 54 of the Catacombs of SS. Peter and Marcellinus. His eyes look upon the paintings; in the midst of the vault he sees Christ the Judge dominant, surrounded by saints; and around he

sees the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, the Baptism of Christ, the Magi led by the star and the offering of their gifts, the Good Shepherd and the Orante or figure standing in prayer with the arms spread out; he beholds the three miraculous healings: of the blind man, of the woman with the issue of blood and of the paralytic, and together with that the scene at the well of Jacob. The individual pictures raise in his mind ideas of what they relate to; the thoughts are translated into words, and the words assume the form of prayer. This prayer might closely resemble one of the following tenor: O Lord Jesus, light of the departed, remember my dear mother! Permit not that darkness may ever encompass her soul. She has believed in Thee; all her hope is in Thee, since Thou art the promised Messiah. Thou art the Light of the World, the true God, to whom alone belongs honor and adoration. In order that we might be illuminated and redeemed—we who were faithless—Thou didst assume a human body of the Holy Virgin Mary, and wast baptized in the Jordan. Thou hast heaped upon humanity abundance of benefits, Thou hast given health to the lame and the paralytic; refresh likewise the soul of my dear mother! Be not a severe Judge to her, but benignantly regard the glorious merits of the saints, who at Thy tribunal intercede for her. As Thou hast carried the lost sheep on Thy shoulders to the sheepfold, so receive her soul also in the company of the elect and lead her into the fields of eternal light. Dear mother, live in God and pray for me.”

It must be borne in mind that the aim or scope of the sacred representations of the Catacombs is not didactic; “they contain an exhortation and a guide to pray for the dead reposing in the sepulchres whose names are recorded in the inscriptions.” They express also the *credo* of those who had them painted. To interpret their meaning truly it should always be borne in mind that these paintings adorn graves, and that funeral symbolism is wholly dominated and penetrated by the idea of eternal salvation. “Everything, mediately or immediately,” says our author, “is referred to the person dead, for whom the frescoes were painted. . . . This person is the centre around which all moves; from him should depart the interpretation and ever return again to him. . . . That which the painters of the Catacombs figure forth is naturally almost always easily and commonly understood; the contents of the work should correspond to the simple form of the composition. Hence, so much the more does an interpretation abandon simplicity and so much the more intricate is it, the less probability it has for itself.”

The subjects of the paintings are derived from the Sacred Scriptures. They deal principally with death and eternal life. The very

simple symbol of the anchor, painted in so many varieties, suggested hope to the Christian eyes that looked upon it. The sheep or lamb, also frequent, is a figure either of our Blessed Lord, "the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world," as Northcote describes it in his enumeration of symbols; or of ourselves, who are God's sheep; and the dove, as representing the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, and also the holy souls sanctified by His indwelling presence. The dove is frequently painted with a branch of olive in his mouth, and this suggests the everlasting peace of heaven which the just man has reached. These symbols have been adopted far beyond the limits of the Catacombs, and are readily recognized wherever they are employed. It is not so with others, for example, with that of the fish, which as a sacred symbol is common in the Catacombs, and is of supreme importance. The fish, as Northcote, interpreting De Rossi, puts it, entered into the cycle of Christian thought and art in primitive times, partly because Christians owed their new and spiritual birth to the element of water; partly because Christ Himself was commonly spoken of under the mysterious name of the fish. It is believed that this symbol was in use even in Apostolic times, and that it suggested that famous acrostic quoted by Eusebius and St. Augustine from the so-called Sibylline verses—now recognized as the work of an Egyptian Jew of the epoch of Marcus Aurelius—which gives us, by taking the initial letters of so many successive lines, the Greek words: *ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΟΤΗΡ*, "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour;" and then the initials of these several words taken together make up the *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, or "fish." It is constantly presented in the symbolical representations of the Eucharist, and is perhaps the most important amongst the various Catacomb pictures.

The most ancient representation of the Eucharist, as Wilpert makes known, is that of the "Fractio Panis," or "Breaking of Bread," which he brought to light after three weeks' labor in washing off with acids the calcareous incrustations covering the wall on which it had been painted, and which were the slow growth of centuries. It dates from the beginning of the second century, and is above the sepulchre altar in the "Greek Chapel" of the Catacomb of Saint Priscilla on the Salarian Way—that altar on which the holy sacrifice was offered. "A benign disposition of Providence," writes the learned discoverer of this most interesting fresco, "had spared it from the fate of the greater part of the well-preserved frescoes, which were victims of the avidity of seekers of antiquities and so perished; it was hidden beneath a thick crust of stalactites, from which I delivered it. The picture places before our eyes the very moment in which the Bishop *breaks the consecrated bread* to give it,

together with the wine, likewise consecrated, in communion to the faithful present at the ceremony." Here, the author tells us, we are in presence of a liturgical painting which goes back to the time in which the Apostolic term "the breaking of bread"—*fractio panis*—was still in use. The scene, however, is not exclusively realistic; the painter, with great ability, has made use of the Eucharistic symbol of the miraculous feeding of the multitude, to explain with determined clearness the actual subject, painting together with the liturgical chalice *two plates*, one with *two fishes* and the other with *five loaves*, and at the left extremity *four* and at the right *three* baskets of bread filled even to the brim. He represents the *faithful* with the multitude (five men and one woman) reclining at table; therefore the woman appears with her *head covered*, whilst the women who participate in the heavenly banquet have always their heads *uncovered*. Finally, the "president" who breaks the bread is not reclining as the others are; but, separated from the others, *he sits more forward* in presence of the Eucharistic chalice. In such a way the picture was characterized as liturgical—Eucharistic with a precision which excludes all doubt. This interesting account of the earliest representation existing in the Catacombs of the Eucharistic Sacrifice presents the picture to the eyes of the mind, and those who may not see the actual picture can form an image of it to themselves. The fish and the loaves in the miracle by which our Lord fed those who came out to listen to His words form the themes of many pictures. In the Crypt of Lucina, an early section of the great Catacomb of St. Callixtus, are seen the two fish with the Eucharistic species. In the ancient Chapels of the Sacraments in the Callixtian Catacomb the multiplication of the loaves and fishes, and the feeding of the multitude, are repeated several times. Then again there is the banquet of the seven Disciples at the altar table. The account of this banquet is given by St. John, who precedes it with that of the miraculous draught of fishes. And so the theme is told over and over again.

The frequent repetition of the same subjects indicates how deeply these had entered into the thoughts of the people as suitable symbols for sepulchral adornment. They had created a new cycle of subjects, taken from Biblical incidents, which had never previously been represented in art. Nor did they think of representing the Biblical fact as such—as a historical painting—but only in its relation to those who slept in the tombs which were adorned with these paintings. These themes over and over again are represented by: Moses striking the rock whence the spring of water flows—he is one of the few personages of the Old Testament represented in the costume reserved in Christian art to sacred figures; Noah in the Ark; Daniel

in the den of lions; the three Hebrew children in the fiery furnace, to whom the Angel of the Lord descended to save them from the flames; the paralytic, who, when healed by our Lord, took up his bed and walked; the resurrection of Lazarus, indicating that the Christian who has passed away and is laid in the tomb awaits the resurrection through Christ victorious over death; and the sacrifice of Abraham, in which the patriarch is represented holding the knife in his right hand and with his left laid upon the shoulder of Isaac.

Amongst other frequent subjects are those in which Christ is the chief figure, what Wilpert terms "Christological Pictures." In the representations of Jesus Christ together with the Blessed Virgin, the series opens with that very celebrated picture, "The Prophecy of Isaiah." Wilpert considers that its "principal mission is to make luminously evident the Incarnation of the Son of God." Isaiah predicted the birth from a virgin. "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel." The same prophet glorifies the *light* which will arise upon Jerusalem at the birth of Emmanuel and Kings will walk in its brightness. "These prophecies inspired the celebrated picture of the Catacombs of Saint Priscilla," says Wilpert. De Rossi, in a special publication issued in 1863 described and illustrated this notable work, and the Rev. Dr. Shahan, of the Catholic University, has summarized in a charming little volume, "The Blessed Virgin in the Catacombs," the leading features of this "earliest and most important" of the frescoes of the Blessed Virgin in these cemeterial recesses. The picture, as Dr. Shahan describes it, "represents a female figure seated and nursing a little child. She is dressed as a matron, with pallium and veil. Before her stands a youthful figure holding in his left hand a scroll and pointing with the right to a star." The star is above the head of the female figure, and has eight rays, which signify the *light* predicted by Isaiah; and as Wilpert describes it, "it is the symbol of Christ, the true light, who came into the world to enlighten the human race." In two other frescoes the star has the form of the monogram of Christ. This picture is, as Dr. Shahan described it, "of the highest antiquity," and by common consent deemed no later than the age of the Antonines (A. D. 150-180), while, he adds, "there is every reason to believe that it belongs to the latter half of the first century (A. D. 50-100). Its artistic conception, the bold and free execution, the accurate drawing, the anatomical skill, the large and ample treatment of the details, strike the transient observer." De Rossi in his very rare "Images de la T. S. Vierge choisies dans les Catacombes de Rome," 1863, relates that the picture was much clearer when he saw it for the first time in 1851. And he also tells here that "the fall of the plaster has almost

destroyed the lower part of the picture; the rest of it is not so much effaced as blackened by the smoke of the tapers necessary to visitors to the Catacombs." The present writer may add to this story of destruction that De Rossi told him years ago that visitors to this Catacomb of Saint Priscilla took a particular delight in knocking off from the wall fragments of the plaster on which the picture was painted.

Until a short time ago this picture of the Prophecy of Isaiah was the only one of its kind known. In the April of 1902 Monsignor Wilpert, as he tells us in his great work, had the good fortune to discover some fragments of a replica of the same subject in the ruins of an *arcosolium* of the Catacomb of Domitilla. However fragmentary they may be, he says, yet from these patches of painted plaster one may reconstruct with all certainty the entire group.

Amongst other examples of Christological pictures are the Adoration of the Magi—the first homage paid by the Gentile world to the Son of God, and one of the most touching and tender subjects in the whole range of Christian art. Then follows the Magi seeing the star, and the star in three scenes of the Adoration of the Magi. In this same class come Balaam's Prophecy, discovered by Wilpert under the stalactites which partially concealed what was supposed by Bosio to be the giving of the Law to Moses; the Prophecy of Micheas; the Magi with the Shepherds in one picture, and then the Presepio, or Manger. "The Catacomb of St. Sebastian, so poor in pictures, preserves for us one characteristic fresco," writes Wilpert. It is that of the manger, first announced by De Rossi, in which the Child Jesus, wrapped in swaddling clothes, is laid in a simple manger supported on four posts, and the heads of the ox and the ass so generally introduced into this scene overlook the rude receptacle in which the Infant reposes. A head of a full-grown Christ, with nimbus around it, dominates the scene and gives it character and explanation. The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin is comparatively rare in the Catacombs. M. André Peraté, in "*L'Archéologie Chrétienne*," relates that this gracious scene, which the artists of the Middle Ages treated with such affection, is represented only once in the Catacombs on a ceiling of the Cemetery of Priscilla; it dates from the second century, and should be beautiful, but to-day it is almost unrecognizable. This was the only Annunciation known in the Catacombs until Wilpert in his "*Cyclus*," already mentioned, published in 1891, gave to the world the other similar Annunciation, of the third century, discovered by him in *cubiculum* 54 in the Cemetery of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, and which has, as he says, rendered impossible every objection put forward against the attribution of the similar picture—the Annunciation in the Catacomb of Pris-

cilla—by certain erudite Germans. The only thing which distinguishes the one from the other of the two frescoes is the form of the back of the chair on which the Blessed Virgin sits, which in the Priscilla picture terminates in a straight line, whilst in the other it is rounded.

The Blessed Mother with the Child Jesus in her lap is seen at the imposition of the veil on a virgin consecrated to God, a very important picture in the Catacomb of Saint Priscilla. Mary represented as an *Orante* holding the Child Jesus in her arms is one of the most notable frescoes in the Cemeterium Majus, known until recently as that of Ostrianus. The attribution here also was questioned, but further investigation has confirmed the accuracy of the first title. Again, as one studies the evidences of these subterranean galleries, other indications of the belief and faith of their framers and of those who were laid to rest in them come to light. Here is a series of frescoes showing Christ as the worker of miracles, healing the woman with an issue of blood, the paralytic, the man blind from birth, the leper and the demoniac; in other pictures Christ is manifested as the Messiah in conversation with the Samaritan woman, and again in scenes taken from the Passion, such as that of the Crowning with Thorns—a simple composition, but conceived in a style thoroughly classic, dating from the second century, and hence very different from later representations. Christ is seen also as the Shepherd, Master and Legislator: in the first office with His flock, a favorite theme, full of many artistic possibilities which have been used with picturesque variety, and as the Good Shepherd who carries the lost sheep home on His shoulders. Christ under the figure of Orpheus is also met with several times. The Christian people of Rome in the first age of the Church accepted this representation, taken from the old mythology, as innocent of tendencies towards idolatry and as befitting Him who subdued the stubborn hearts of sinners and brought peace into the world. This is the myth which Shakespeare embodies in the exquisite verses:

Orpheus with his lute made trees,
And the mountain tops that freeze,
Bow themselves when he did sing;
To his music, plants and flowers
Ever sprung; as sun, and showers,
There had been a lasting spring.

The Sacred Scriptures seemed to suggest a likeness between the work of Orpheus and of Christ, says Wilpert, the Prophet Isaiah describing the kingdom of the Messiah in terms which involuntarily recall to mind the fabulous achievements of Orpheus. Then, says the Prophet: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb; and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; the calf and the lion and the sheep shall abide together, and a little child shall lead them."

Christ as Master of the Apostles, showing the Saviour in the midst of them, belongs to the fourth century, when more figures were used in the compositions. Christ teaching the Evangelists, in the Catacomb of SS. Marcus and Marcellianus, is a fresco in which Christ, according to the general acceptance of archæologists, is seen with four personages, recognized as the Four Evangelists. Christ consigning the law to Peter is of singular importance. "The grand plenitude of powers," says Wilpert, "with which the Saviour, when He founded the Church, distinguished the Prince of the Apostles above the other Apostles furnished a motive to the composition which represents the *consigning of the Law to Peter*, a subject which though relatively frequent in the sculpture of the sarcophagi, appears once only in the paintings of the Catacombs, in the ceiling of a *cubiculum* excavated in Saint Priscilla about the middle of the fourth century. "But two-thirds of this fresco are destroyed; and it is only recorded in a drawing which De Rossi had directed to be made of it and which is to be seen in his "Bullettino" for 1877. The loss of this picture is compensated for by the discovery made by Wilpert of a fresco in a *cubiculum* brought to light by himself, and dating from the second half of the third century, in the Catacomb known as "*ad duas lauros*," or SS. Peter and Marcellinus, on the Labican Way. "It represents S. Peter seated upon a low chair (*cathedra*), who is reading from a scroll. In this scene we have the first picture in which the Prince of the Apostles appears not as part of a group, but *alone*, as an independent figure. The artist, in painting him thus, wished to characterize him as the special mediator of the Lex Christi, as 'the legislator of the new alliance.'"

It would be a long task to follow the author of this great work through the many sections into which his most interesting text is divided. The isolated representations of Christ, which were created separately by the artists who wrought in these subterranean galleries, are mentioned in detail, from that in the Catacomb of Preteystatus—the most ancient of all—where He is seen reading from a scroll, to the latest in the fourth century. Then follows a full account of the Representations of Baptism, showing: The Act of Baptism; the Baptism of Christ; the Baptism of the Catechumen; the Symbols of Baptism, and the subjects so closely and intimately connected with it, such as the Evangelical Fisherman; the Healing of the Paralytic at the "*piscina probatica*," and the miraculous source of water flowing from the rock when struck by Moses. The scenes that express faith in the resurrection of the dead have an all-absorbing interest for Christians and therefore a prominent place in the series of Catacomb pictures. The resurrection of the dead is the first postulate for the future life. "But if there be no resurrection of

the dead," writes St. Paul, "then Christ is not risen again. And if Christ be not risen again, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." Hence the resurrection of Lazarus, in the number of its repetitions—being found over fifty times—is one of the most important themes met with and one of the most ancient. Monsignor Wilpert furnishes a complete guide to the *fifty-three* existing representations of the resurrection of Lazarus in the Roman Catacombs. The seasons of the year, which are occasionally met with, are considered an ancient symbol of the resurrection of the flesh. The resurrection of Jairus' daughter, of which only one representation exists in the Catacombs, is also of this series. Scenes relating to sin and death are afterwards described, and amongst these is the not infrequent picture of the sin of our first parents in the earthly paradise, and the denial of our Lord by St. Peter. Of the first subject sixteen specimens are recorded. The latter picture is in the Catacomb of St. Cyriacus on the tomb of a virgin dedicated to God. Christ, on the right of the spectator, is seen holding up His right hand, of which the three first fingers are extended, indicative of the number of denials; on the left is Peter, a smaller figure, with his right hand elevated as though in protest of fidelity; between the two, on a high column, the cock is seen crowing. The meaning of the picture is fully expressed, and with the most limited means.

The many themes that Christian art has treated in these simple, direct and fully intelligible compositions—intelligible to those for whom they were painted and by the light shed upon the story of Christianity in its beginnings, intelligible to students to-day—constitute a marvelous illustration of the beliefs and the hopes, one may say, of our ancestors in the faith. Representations of the judgment after death are also to be seen: the soul recommended by the saints at the tribunal of Christ, "the Communion of Saints;" the soul alone before the judgment seat; prayer for the admission of the dead to eternal bliss; Elias borne up into heaven, and the dead received into eternal rest from the Bark of the Church, which is sorely tossed by tempest. These and other pictures of ideas and subjects too numerous to be dwelt upon here furnish indications and even unmistakable evidences of the beliefs that animated the minds and the hopes that filled the hearts of the Christian people of Rome during the first four centuries of our era. Their identity with those which are the sustenance and inspiration of the Catholics of this twentieth century is so luminously evident that it could be mistaken only by one who is ignorant of the history of Christianity. The resemblances and similarities between the past and the present, which are made so clear to every one who thinks while reading Wilpert's great work, some home more pertinently to the reader at

a time when strange claims of continuity of doctrine and practice are made by many who reject the Catholic Church.

The actual condition of the paintings in the Catacombs, which are so admirably reproduced and so lucidly described in this great work, is characterized as "very deplorable." It is a question of secondary importance whether the fault of this lamentable state of things lies in the fresco or in the plaster in which the fresco is painted. Even De Rossi foresaw a not distant period when these valuable remains of ancient art would, "like the baseless fabric of this vision," dissolve and "leave not a wrack behind." He lamented this inevitable loss, declaring that in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus, the paintings when first discovered were dear in outline and brilliant in color, became, through the influences of alternate heat and cold, united with dampness, less and less distinct as the years passed. Within three years the frescoes on the walls of the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua in the Roman Forum, though every possible care has been taken to preserve them, have been reduced from their original brilliancy to a state bordering on color chaos. With Monsignor Wilpert's work the destructive march of time, so far as the fading of the Catacomb frescoes is concerned, may be said to be brought to a standstill. As the pictures have been during these last years they appear in the plates that adorn his book. Their actual likeness, no less than their memory, is preserved within these pages; and many eager inquirers into the life of early Christianity in Rome or into the origins of Christian art, who may never visit the Eternal City, will find in this splendid work much valuable material for their studies so as almost to supersede a visit to the actual localities in which the pictures of the Catacombs were painted.

P. L. CONNELLAN.

Rome, Italy.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

TO THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS AND
OTHER ORDINARIES IN PEACE AND COMMUNION
WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE.

PIUS X., POPE.

Venerable Brothers, Health and the Apostolic Blessing:

THE memory of that great and incomparable man, Gregory the First, the thirteenth centennial of whose death we are on the eve of celebrating with all due solemnity, brings to us, Venerable Brothers, great joy. Amid the almost innumerable

cares of our Apostolic ministry, amid all the anxieties the government of the Universal Church imposes upon us, amid the pressing solitudes of satisfying as best we may your claims, Venerable Brothers, who have been called to share in our Apostolate and the claims of all the faithful entrusted to our care, it was ordained, in our opinion not without a special providence, by that God "who killeth and maketh alive, who humbleth and exalteth;" it was ordained, we say, that at the beginning of our Pontificate our gaze should be turned towards that most holy and illustrious predecessor of ours who is the pride and the glory of the Church. We feel great confidence in his intercession with God and we are strengthened by the memory of the sublime maxims he inculcated in his lofty office as well as by the remembrance of the virtues he devoutly practised. Through the efficacy of the former and the fruitfulness of the latter he left on God's Church an impress so great, so deep, so lasting that his contemporaries, as well as posterity, justly bestowed upon him the title of Great. After the lapse of centuries the eulogy engraven on his tomb is still true: "By his countless good works he lives eternal in all places."¹ With the assistance of divine grace all imitators of his glorious example will be able to discharge their duties so far as the weakness of human nature will permit.

There is but little need to repeat here what public documents have made known to all. When Gregory assumed the Supreme Pontificate the disorder in public affairs had reached its climax; ancient civilization had all but disappeared, and barbarism was spreading throughout all the dominions of the crumbling Roman Empire. Italy, abandoned by the Emperors of Byzantium, had become as it were the prey of the Lombards, who were still unsettled, and roamed up and down the whole country, laying waste everywhere with fire and sword, and bringing with them desolation and death. This very city, threatened from without by its enemies, tried from within by the scourges of pestilences, floods and famine, was reduced to such a miserable plight that it had become a problem how to keep the breath of life in the citizens and in the immense multitudes who flocked to it for refuge. Here were to be found men and women of all conditions, Bishops and priests carrying the sacred vessels saved from plunder, monks and innocent spouses of Christ who had sought safety in flight from the swords of the enemy or from the brutal insults of abandoned men. Gregory himself calls the Church of Rome "An old ship woefully shattered; for the waters are entering on all sides, and the joints, beaten by the daily stress of the storm, are growing rotten and heralding shipwreck."² But the

¹ *Apud. Joann. Mae. Veta Greg., iv., 68.*

² *Registrum l., 4, ad Joannem episcop. Constantinop.*

pilot raised up by God had a strong hand, and when placed at the helm was able not only to reach port despite the raging seas, but save the vessel from future storms.

Truly wonderful is the work he succeeded in doing during his reign of little more than thirteen years. He was the restorer of Christian life in its entirety, stimulating the devotion of the faithful, the observance of the monks, the discipline of the clergy, the pastoral solicitude of the Bishops. "Most prudent father of the family of Christ"³ that he was, he preserved and increased the patrimony of the Church and liberally succored the impoverished people, Christian society and individual churches, according to the necessities of each. "Becoming truly God's Consul,"⁴ he pushed his fruitful activity far beyond the walls of Rome wholly for the advantage of civilized society. He opposed energetically the unjust claims of the Byzantine Emperors; he checked the audacity and curbed the shameless extortions of the exarchs and imperial administrators, and stood up as a public defender of social justice. He tamed the ferocity of the Lombards, and did not hesitate to go to meet Agulfus at the gates of Rome in order to prevail upon him to raise the siege of the city, just as the Pontiff Leo the Great did in the case of Attila; nor did he desist in his prayers, in his gentle persuasion, in his skillful negotiation until he saw that dreaded people settle down and adopt a more regular government—until he knew that they were won to the Catholic faith, mainly through the influence of the pious Queen Theodolinda, his daughter in Christ. Hence Gregory may justly be called the savior and liberator of Italy—his own land, as he tenderly calls her.

Through his incessant pastoral care the embers of heresy in Italy and Africa die out, ecclesiastical life in the Gauls is reorganized, the Visigoths of the Spains are welded together in the conversion which has already been begun among them, and the renowned English nation, which, situated in a corner of the world, had hitherto remained obstinate in the worship of wood and stones,⁵ now also receives the true faith of Christ. Gregory's heart overflowed with joy at the news of this precious conquest, for it is the heart of a father going out to his most beloved son. He attributes all the merit of it to Jesus the Redeemer, for whose love, as he himself writes, we are seeking our unknown brothers in Britain, and through whose grace we find the unknown ones we were seeking.⁶ And so grateful to the holy Pontiff was the English nation that it called him always: Our Master, our Doctor, our Apostle, our Pope, our Gregory, and considered itself as the seal of his apostolate. In fine,

³ Jeann. Diac., *Vita Greg.* I., 51.

⁴ Epitaph.

⁵ Reg. viii., 29, 30, ad Eulog. Episcop. Alexandr.

⁶ Reg. xi., 36 (28), ad Augustin. Anglorum Episcopum.

his action was so salutary and so efficacious that the memory of the works wrought by him became deeply impressed on the minds of posterity, especially during the middle ages, which breathed, so to say, the atmosphere infused by him, fed on his words, conformed its life and manners according to the example inculcated by him, with the result that Christian social civilization was happily introduced into the world in opposition to the Roman civilization of the preceding centuries, which now passed away forever.

This change was by the right hand of the Most High! Adopting Gregory's view, we are justified in declaring that it was only God who could have brought about these great events. What he wrote to the most holy monk Augustine about this same conversion of the English is applicable to all the rest of his apostolic labor: "Whose work is this but His, who said: 'My Father worketh until now, and I work?' (John v., 17.) To show the world that He wished to convert it not by the wisdom of men, but by His own power, He chose unlettered men to be preachers to the world; and the same He has now done, vouchsafing to accomplish great things in the English nation by means of weak men."⁷ We do, indeed, discern much that the Holy Pontiff's profound humility hid from his own sight—his knowledge of affairs, his talent for bringing his undertaking to a successful issue, the wonderful prudence shown in all his provisions, his assiduous vigilance, his persevering solicitude. He never put himself forward as one invested with the might and power of the great ones of the earth. Instead of using the lofty degree of Pontifical dignity, he preferred to call himself the "servant of the servants of God," a title which he was the first to adopt. He did not make his way merely by profane science or the "persuasive words of human wisdom" (I. Cor. ii., 4), or by the devices of civil politics, or by systems of social renovation, skillfully studied, prepared and put in execution; nor yet, and this is very striking, by setting before himself a vast programme of apostolic action to be gradually realized. We know that his mind was full of the idea of the approaching end of the world, which was to have left him but little time for great exploits. Though very delicate and fragile of body and constantly afflicted by infirmities which several times brought him to the point of death, he yet possessed an incredible intellectual energy which was forever receiving fresh vigor from his lively faith in the infallible words of Christ and in His divine promises. He moreover counted with unlimited confidence on the supernatural force given by God to the Church for the successful accomplishment of her divine mission in the world. The constant aim of his life, as shown in all his words and works, was this: To

⁷ Reg. xi., 36 (28).

preserve in himself and to stimulate in others this same lively faith and confidence, doing all the good possible in expectation of the divine judgment.

And this produced in him the fixed resolve to adopt for the salvation of all the abundant wealth of supernatural means given by God to His Church, such as the infallible teaching of revealed truth, the preaching of this teaching in the whole world, the sacraments which have the power of infusing or increasing the life of the soul, and the grace of prayer in the name of Christ which assures heavenly protection.

These memories, Venerable Brothers, are a source of unspeakable comfort to us. When we look forth from the Vatican we, like Gregory and perhaps even more so than he, have grounds for fear. So many are the storms gathering on every side, so many are the hostile forces massed and advancing against us, and at the same time so utterly deprived are we of all human aid to ward off the former and to help us to meet the shock of the latter. But when we remember the place on which our feet rest and where this Pontifical See is placed, we feel ourself perfectly safe on the rock of Holy Church. "For who does not know," wrote St. Gregory to the patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria, "that Holy Church stands on the solidity of the Prince of the Apostles, who got his name from his firmness, for he was called Peter from the word rock?"⁸ Supernatural force has never during the flight of ages been found wanting in the Church, nor have Christ's promises failed; these remain to-day what they were when they brought consolation to Gregory's heart—nay, for us they possess greater authority after having stood the test of centuries and of so many changes of circumstances and events.

Kingdoms and empires have passed away, time and again the nations, as though overwhelmed by the weight of years, have fallen asunder; while the Church, indefectible in her essence, united by a tie indissoluble with her heavenly spouse, is here to-day, radiant with eternal youth, strong with the same primitive vigor with which she left the Heart of Christ dead upon the cross. Men powerful in the world have risen up against her. They have disappeared and she remains. Philosophical systems without number, of every form and every kind, rose up against her, arrogantly vaunting themselves her masters, as though they had at last destroyed the teaching of the Church, refuted the dogmas of faith and proved the absurdity of her teachings. But those systems, one after another, have passed into books of history, forgotten, bankrupt; while from the Rock of Peter the light of truth shines forth as brilliantly as on the day when Jesus first kindled it on His appearance in the world and fed it with

⁸ *Registr.* vii., 37 (40).

His divine words: "Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass." (Matt. xxiv., 35.)

We, strengthened by this faith, firmly established on this rock, realizing to the full all the heavy duties that the Primacy imposes on us, but yet realizing all the vigor that comes to us from the divine will, calmly wait until all the voices be scattered to the winds that shout around us proclaiming that the Church is doomed, that her doctrines have become obsolete and that the time is at hand when she will be forced either to accept the tenets of a godless science and a godless civilization or disappear from human society. But in the midst of all this clamor we, like Pope St. Gregory, have to remind all, great and small, of the absolute necessity of having recourse to this Church in order to have eternal salvation, to follow the right road of reason, to feed on the truth, to obtain peace and even happiness in this life. Wherefore, to use the words of the holy Pontiff: "Turn your steps toward this unshaken rock upon which our Saviour founded the Universal Church, so that the path of him who is sincere of heart may not be lost in devious windings."⁹ "Only the charity of the Church and union with her unite what is divided, restore order where there is confusion, temper inequalities, fill up imperfections."¹⁰ It must be ever remembered that "nobody can rightly govern in earthly things unless he knows how to treat divine things, and that the peace of States depends upon the universal peace of the Church."¹¹ Hence the absolute necessity of a perfect harmony between the two powers, ecclesiastical and civil, each being by the will of God called to sustain the other. For "power over all men was given from heaven that those who aspire to do well may be aided, that the path to heaven may be made broader and that earthly sovereignty may be a handmaid to heavenly sovereignty."¹²

From these principles Gregory derived his unconquerable firmness, which we will, with the help of God, study to imitate. We are resolved to defend at all costs the rights and prerogatives of which the Roman Pontificate is the guardian and the defender before God and man. It was the same Gregory who wrote to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch: When the rights of the Church are in question "we must show even by our death that we do not, through love of some private interest of our own, want anything contrary to the common weal."¹³ To the Emperor Maurice he wrote: "He who through vainglory raises his neck against God Almighty and against the statutes of the Fathers shall not bend my neck to him,

⁹ Reg. viii., 24, ad Sabin. episcop.

¹⁰ Registr. v., 58 (63) ad Virgil epis.

¹¹ Registr. v., 37 (20) ad Mauric. Aug.

¹² Registr. iii., 61 (65) ad Mauric. Aug.

¹³ Registr. v., 41.

not even with the cutting of swords, as I trust in the same God Almighty."¹⁴ And to the Deacon Sabinian: "I am ready to die rather than permit that the Church degenerate in my days. And you well know my ways, that I am long-suffering; but when I decide not to bear any longer, I face danger with a joyful mind."¹⁵

Such were the fundamental maxims which the Pontiff Gregory constantly proclaimed. Men listened to him. With princes and people docile to his words, the world regained true salvation and put itself on the path of a civilization which was noble and fruitful in blessings in proportion as it was founded on the incontrovertible dictates of reason and moral discipline, and derived its force from truth divinely revealed and from the maxims of the Gospel.

But in those days the people, albeit rude, ignorant and still destitute of all civilization, were eager for life, which no one could give them except Christ through the Church. "I come that they may have life and have it more abundantly." (John x., 10.) And truly they had life and had it abundantly, for the reason that no other life but the supernatural life of souls could come from the Church. This includes in itself and gives additional vigor to all the energies of life, even in the natural order. "If the root be holy so are the branches, said St. Paul to the Gentiles, and thou being a wild olive art ingrafted in them and art made a partaker of the root and of the fatness of the olive tree." (Ad Rom. xi., 16, 17.)

To-day the world, although it enjoys a light so full of Christian civilization and in this respect cannot for a moment be compared with the times of Gregory, seems as though it were tired of that life, which has been and still is the chief and often the sole fount of so many blessings—not only past but present blessings. Not only does this useless branch cut itself off from the trunk, as happened in other times when heresies and schisms arose, but it first lays the axe to the root of the tree, which is the Church, and strives to dry up its vital sap that its ruin may be the surer and that it may never blossom again.

In this error, which is the chief one of our time and the source whence all the others spring, lies the origin of so much loss of eternal salvation among men and of all the ruins affecting religion which we continue to lament, and of the many others which we still fear will happen if the evil be not remedied. For all supernatural order is denied which implies a denial of divine intervention in the order of creation and in the government of the world and in the possibility of miracles. In this way the foundations of the Christian religion are necessarily shaken. Men even go so far as

¹⁴ Registr. v., 37.

¹⁵ Registr. v., 6; iv., 47.

to impugn the arguments for the existence of God, denying with unparalleled audacity and against the first principles of reason the invincible force of the proof which from effects ascends to their cause, that is, God, and to the notion of His infinite attributes. "For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made; His eternal power also and divinity." (Rom. i., 20.) The way is thus opened to other most grievous errors, equally repugnant to right reason and pernicious to good morals.

The gratuitous negation of the supernatural principle, a characteristic "knowledge falsely so called," has actually become the postulate of a historical criticism equally false. Everything that relates in any way to the supernatural order, either as belonging to it, constituting it, presupposing it, or merely finding its explanation in it, is erased without further investigation from the pages of history. Such is the treatment accorded the divinity of Jesus Christ, His incarnation through the operation of the Holy Ghost, His resurrection by His own power and in general all the dogmas of our faith. Science once placed on this false road, there is no law of criticism to hold it back and it cancels its own caprice from the holy books everything that does not suit it or that it believes to be opposed to the preëstablished theses it wishes to demonstrate. For, take away the supernatural order and the story of the origin of the Church must be built on quite another foundation. The innovators, therefore, handle as they list historical documents forcing them to say what they wish them to say, and not what the authors of those documents meant.

Many are captivated by the great show of erudition which is paraded before them and by the apparently convincing force of the proofs adduced, so that they either lose the faith or feel that it is greatly shaken in them. Many who are firm in the faith accuse critical science of being destructive. Such science in itself is not blamable, as it is a sure element of investigation when rightly applied. Those who are shaken in their faith by critical science as well as those who condemn that science fail to see that they start from a false hypothesis, that is to say, from science falsely so called, which logically forces them to conclusions equally false. For given a false philosophical principle everything deduced from it is vitiated. But these errors will never be effectually refuted unless by bringing about a change of front, that is to say, unless those in error be forced to leave the field of criticism in which they consider themselves firmly entrenched for the legitimate field of philosophy through the abandonment of which they have fallen into their errors.

Meanwhile it is painful to have to apply to men not lacking in

acumen and application the rebuke addressed by St. Paul to those who fail to rise from earthly things to the things that are invisible. "They became vain in their thoughts and their foolish heart was darkened; for professing themselves to be wise they became fools." (Rom. i., 21, 22.) And surely foolish is the proper word to apply to him who consumes all his intellectual forces in building upon sand.

Not less deplorable are the injuries which accrue from this negation to the moral life of individuals and of civil society. Take away the principle that there is anything divine outside this visible world, and you remove all check upon unbridled passion, even those of the lowest and most shameful kind. The minds that become slaves to them riot in disorders of every sort. "God gave them up to the desire of their heart, unto uncleanness, to dishonor their own bodies among themselves." (Rom. i., 24.) You are well aware, Venerable Brothers, how truly the plague of depravity rages on all sides, and how the civil authority, wherever it fails to have recourse to the means of help offered by the supernatural order, finds itself quite unequal to the task of checking it. Civil authority will never be able to heal other evils so long as it forgets or denies that all power comes from God. The only check a government can employ in this case is that of force. But force cannot be constantly employed, nor is it always available. The people suffering by a secret disease become discontented with everything. They proclaim the right to act as they please, stir up rebellions and provoke revolutions in the State, trampling on all rights, human and divine. Take away God, and all respect for civil laws, all regard for even the most necessary institutions disappear; justice is scouted; the very liberty that belongs to the law of nature is trodden under foot, and men go so far as to destroy the very structure of the family, which is the first and firmest foundation of the social structure. The result is that in these days so hostile to Christ, it has become more difficult to apply the powerful remedies which the Redeemer has put into the hands of the Church in order to keep the people within the lines of duty.

Yet there is no salvation for the world but in Christ: "For there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we may be saved." (Acts iv., 12.) To Christ then we must return. At His feet we must prostrate ourselves to hear from His divine mouth the words of eternal life, for He alone can show us the way of regeneration. He alone can teach us the truth. He alone can restore life to us. It is He who has said: "I am the way, the truth and the life." (John xiv., 16.) Men have once more attempted to get along here below without Him, they have begun to build up the edifice after

rejecting the corner-stone, as the Apostle Peter rebuked the executioners of Jesus with doing. And lo! the pile that has been raised again crumbles and falls upon the heads of the builders, crushing them. But Jesus remains forever the corner-stone of human society, and again the truth becomes apparent that without Him there is no salvation. "This is the stone which has been rejected by you, the builders, and which has become the head of the corner, neither is there salvation in any other." (Acts iv., 11, 12.)

From all this you will easily see, Venerable Brothers, the absolute necessity imposed upon every one of us to revive with all the energy of our souls and with all the means at our disposal this supernatural life in every branch of society—in the poor workingman who earns his morsel of bread by the sweat of his brow from morning to night and in the great ones of the earth who preside over the destiny of nations. We must, above all else, have recourse to prayer, both public and private, to implore the mercies of the Lord and His powerful assistance. "Lord, save us—we perish" (Matthew viii., 25) we must repeat, like the Apostles when buffeted by the storm.

But this is not enough. Gregory rebukes a Bishop who, through love of spiritual solitude and prayer, fails to go out into the battle-field to combat strenuously for the cause of the Lord: "The name of Bishop which he bears is an empty one." And rightly so, for men's intellects are to be enlightened by continual preaching of the truth, and errors are to be efficaciously refuted by the principles of true and solid philosophy and theology and by all the means provided by the genuine progress of historical investigation. It is still more necessary to inculcate properly on the minds of all the moral maxims taught by Jesus Christ, so that everybody may learn to conquer himself, to curb the passions of the mind, to stifle pride, to live in obedience to authority, to love justice, to show charity toward all, to temper with Christian love the bitternesses of social inequalities, to detach the heart from the goods of the world, to live contented with the state in which Providence has placed us while striving to better it by the fulfilment of our duties, to thirst after the future life in the hope of eternal reward. But above all is it necessary that these principles be instilled and made to penetrate into the heart, so that true and solid piety may strike root there, and all, both as men and as Christians, may recognize by their acts as well as by their words the duties of their state and have recourse with filial confidence to the Church and her ministers to obtain from them pardon for their sins, to receive the strengthening grace of the sacraments and to regulate their lives according to the laws of Christianity.

With these chief duties of the spiritual ministry it is necessary to unite the charity of Christ. When this moves us there will be

nobody in affliction who will not be consoled by us, no tears that will not be dried by our hands, no need that will not be relieved by us. To the exercise of this charity let us dedicate ourselves wholly; let our own affairs give way before it, let our personal interests and convenience be set aside for it, making ourselves "all things to all men" (I. Cor. ix., 22), to gain all men to the truth, giving up our very life itself, after the example of Christ, who imposes this as a duty on the pastors of the Church: "The good shepherd gives his life for his sheep." (John x., 11.)

These precious admonitions abound in the pages which the Pontiff St. Gregory has left written, and they are expressed with far greater force in the manifold examples of his admirable life.

Now since all this springs necessarily both from the nature of the principles of Christian revelation and from the intrinsic properties which our Apostolate should have, you see clearly, Venerable Brothers, how mistaken are those who think they are doing service to the Church and producing fruit for the salvation of souls, when by a kind of prudence of the flesh they show themselves liberal in concessions to science falsely so called, under the fatal illusion that they are thus able more easily to win over those in error. In reality they are in continual danger of being themselves lost. The truth is one and it cannot be halved; it lasts forever and is not subject to the vicissitudes of the times, "Jesus Christ, to-day and yesterday, and the same forever." (Hebr. xiii., 8.)

They, too, are all seriously mistaken who, occupying themselves with the welfare of the people, and especially with upholding the cause of the poorer classes, seek to promote above all else the material well-being of the body and of life, but are utterly silent about their spiritual welfare and the very serious duties which their profession as Christians enjoins upon them. They are not ashamed to conceal, sometimes as though with a veil, certain fundamental maxims of the Gospel, for fear lest otherwise the people refuse to hear and follow them. It will certainly be the part of prudence to proceed gradually in laying down the truth, when one has to do with men complete strangers to us and completely separated from God. "Before using the steel, let the wounds be felt with a light hand," as Gregory said.¹⁶ But even this carefulness would sink to mere prudence of the flesh were it proposed as the rule of constant and everyday action—all the more since such a method would seem not to hold in due account that divine grace which sustains the sacerdotal ministry and which is given not only to those who exercise this ministry, but to all the faithful of Christ in order that our words and our actions may find an entrance into hearts of men.

¹⁶ Registr. v., 44 (18) ad Joannem episcop.

Gregory did not at all understand this prudence, either in the preaching of the Gospel or in the many wonderful works undertaken by him to relieve misery. He did constantly what the Apostles had done, for they, when they went out for the first time into the world to bring into it the name of Christ, repeated the saying: "We preach Christ crucified, a scandal for the Jews, a folly for the Gentiles." (I. Cor. i., 23.) If ever there was a time in which human prudence seemed to offer the only expedient for obtaining something in a world altogether unprepared to receive doctrines so new, so repugnant to human passions, so opposed to the civilization, then at its most flourishing period, of the Greeks and the Romans, that time was certainly the epoch of the preaching of the faith. But the Apostles disdained such prudence, because they understood well the precept of God: "It pleased God, by the foolishness of our preaching, to save them that believe." (I. Cor. i., 21.) And as it ever was, so it is to-day, this foolishness "to them that are saved, that is, to us, it is the power of God." (I. Cor. i., 18.) The scandal of the Crucified will ever furnish us in the future, as it has done in the past, with the most potent of all weapons; now, as of yore, in that sign we shall find victory.

But, Venerable Brothers, this weapon will lose much of its efficacy or be altogether useless in the hands of men not accustomed to the interior life with Christ, not educated in the school of true and solid piety, not thoroughly inflamed with zeal for the glory of God and for the propagation of His kingdom. So keenly did Gregory feel this necessity that he used the greatest care in creating Bishops and priests, animated by a great desire for the divine glory and for the true welfare of souls. This is what he aimed at in his book on the Pastoral Rule, wherein are gathered together the laws regulating the formation of the clergy and the government of Bishops—laws most suitable not for his times only, but for our own. Like an "argus full of light," says his biographer, "he moved all round the eyes of his pastoral solicitude through all the extent of the world,"¹⁷ to discover and correct the failings and the negligence of the clergy. Nay, he trembled at the very thought that barbarism and immorality might obtain a footing in the life of the clergy. He was deeply moved and gave himself no peace whenever he learned of some infraction of the disciplinary laws of the Church and immediately administered admonition and correction, threatening with canonical penalties transgressors, sometimes immediately applying these penalties himself, and again removing the unworthy from their offices without delay and without human respect.

Moreover, he inculcated many maxims which we frequently find

¹⁷ Joann. Diac., lib. ii., c. 55.

in his writings in such form as this: "In what frame of mind does one enter upon the office of mediator between God and man who is not conscious of being familiar with grace through a meritorious life?"¹⁸ "If passion lives in his actions, with what presumption does he hasten to cure the wound when he wears a scar on his very face?"¹⁹ What fruit can be expected for the salvation of souls if the apostles "combat in their lives what they preach in their words?"²⁰ "Truly he cannot remove the delinquencies of others who is himself ravaged by the same."²¹

The picture of the true priest, as Gregory understands and describes him, is the man who, dying to all passions of the flesh already lives spiritually; who has no thought for worldly prosperity; who has no fear of adversity; who desires only internal things; who does not permit himself to desire what belongs to others, but is liberal of his own; who is all bowels of compassion and inclines to forgiveness, but in forgiveness never swerves more than is fitting from the perfection of righteousness; who never commits unlawful actions, but deplores as though they were his own the unlawful actions of others; who with all affection of the heart compassionates the weakness of others, and rejoices in the prosperity of his neighbor as in his own profit; who in all his doings so renders himself a model for others as to have nothing whereof to be ashamed, at least as regards his external actions; who studies so to live that he may be able to water the parched hearts of his neighbors with the waters of doctrine; who knows through the use of prayer and through his own experiences that he can obtain from the Lord what he asks.²²

How much thought, therefore, Venerable Brothers, must the Bishop seriously take with himself and in the presence of God before laying hands on young levites? Let him never dare, either as an act of favor to anybody or in response to petitions made to him, to promote any one to sacred orders whose life and actions do not afford a guarantee of worthiness.²³ With what deliberation should he reflect before intrusting the works of the Apostolate to newly-ordained priests. If they be not duly tried under the vigilant guardianship of more prudent priests, if there be not abundant evidence of their morality, of their inclination for spiritual exercises, of their prompt obedience to all the regulations which are suggested by ecclesiastical custom or proved by long experience, or imposed by those whom "the Holy Ghost has placed as Bishops to rule the

¹⁸ Reg. Past. 1., 10.

¹⁹ Reg. Past. 1., 9.

²⁰ Reg. Past. 1., 2.

²¹ Reg. Past. 1., 11.

²² Reg. Past. 1., 10.

²³ Registr. v., 63 (58) ad universos episcopos per Hellad.

Church of God" (Acts xx., 28), they will exercise the sacerdotal ministry not for the salvation but for the ruin of the Christian people. For they will provoke discord and excite rebellion, more or less tacit, thus offering to the world the sad spectacle of something like division amongst us, whereas in truth these deplorable incidents are but the pride and the unruliness of a few. Let those who stir up discord be removed from every office. Of such apostles the Church has no need; they are not apostles of Jesus Christ Crucified, but of themselves.

We seem to see still present before our eyes the Holy Pontiff Gregory at the Lateran Council, surrounded by a great number of Bishops from all parts of the world. Oh, how truthful is the exhortation that pours from his lips on the duties of the clergy! How his heart is consumed with zeal! His words are as lightnings rending the perverse, as scourges striking the indolent, as flames of divine love gently enfolding the most fervent. Read that wonderful homily of Gregory, Venerable Brothers, and have it read and meditated by your clergy, especially during the annual retreat.²⁴

Among other things, with unspeakable sorrow he exclaims: "Lo, the world is full of priests, but rare indeed is it to find a worker in the hands of God; we do indeed assume the priestly office, but the obligation of the office we do not fulfill."²⁵ What force the Church would have to-day could she count a worker in every priest? What abundant fruit would the supernatural life of the Church produce in souls were it efficaciously promoted by all. Gregory succeeded in his own times in strenuously stimulating this spirit of energetic action, and such was the force of the impulse given by him that the same spirit was kept alive during the succeeding ages. The whole mediæval period bears what may be called the Gregorian imprint; almost everything it had indeed came to it from that Pontiff—the rules of ecclesiastical government, the manifold phases of charity and philanthropy in its social institutions, the principles of the most perfect Christian asceticism and of monastic life, the arrangement of the liturgy and the art of sacred music.

The times are indeed greatly changed. But, as we have more than once repeated, nothing is changed in the life of the Church. From her Divine Founder she has inherited the virtue of being able to supply at all times, however much they may differ, all that is required not only for the spiritual welfare of souls, which is the direct object of her mission, but also everything that aids progress in true civilization, for this flows as a natural consequence of that same mission.

²⁴ Hom. in Evang. i., 17.

²⁵ Hom. in Evang., n. 3.

Truths of the supernatural order, of which the Church is the depository, necessarily promote everything that is true, good and beautiful in the order of nature, and this is accomplished more efficaciously in proportion as these truths are traced to the supreme principle of truth, goodness and beauty, which is God.

Human science gains greatly from revelation, for the latter opens out new horizons and makes known sooner other truths of the natural order. It opens the true road to investigation and keeps it safe from errors of application and of method. Thus does the lighthouse show many things which otherwise would not be seen while it points out the rocks on which the vessel would suffer shipwreck.

And since, for our moral discipline, the Divine Redeemer proposes as our supreme model of perfection His heavenly Father (Matthew v., 48), in other words, the Divine goodness itself, who can fail to see the mighty impulse thereby given to the more perfect observance of the natural law inscribed in our hearts, and consequently to the greater welfare of the individual, the family and universal society. The ferocity of the barbarians was thus transformed to gentleness, woman was freed from subjection, slavery was repressed, order was restored in the due and reciprocal dependence upon one another of the various classes of society, justice was recognized, the true liberty of souls was proclaimed and social and domestic peace assured.

Finally, the arts, modeled on the supreme exemplar of all beauty which is God Himself, from whom is derived all the beauty to be found in nature, are more securely withdrawn from vulgar concepts and more efficaciously uplifted towards the ideal, which is the life of all art. And how fruitful of good has been the principle of employing them in the service of divine worship and of offering to the Lord everything that is deemed to be worthy of Him, by reason of its richness, its goodness, its elegance of form. This principle has created sacred art, which became and still continues to be the foundation of all profane art. We recently touched upon this in a special *Motu Proprio*, when we spoke of the restoration of the Roman chant according to the ancient tradition and of sacred music. And so with the other arts, each in its own sphere, so that what has been said of the chant may also be said of painting, sculpture, architecture. Towards all these great creations of genius the Church has been lavish of inspiration and encouragement. The whole human race, fed on this sublime ideal, raises magnificent temples, and here in the House of God, as in its own house, lifts up its heart to heavenly things in the midst of the treasures of every beautiful art, with the majesty of liturgical ceremony, and to the accompaniment of the sweetest of song.

All these benefits, we repeat, the efforts of the Pontiff, St. Gregory, succeeded in securing for his own time and for the centuries that followed. They also are attainable to-day, by virtue of the intrinsic efficacy of the principles which should guide us and of the means we have at our disposal. At the same time with all zeal the good which by the grace of God is still left us whilst "restoring in Christ" (Ephes. i., 10) let us restore all that has unfortunately lapsed from the right rule.

We are glad to be able to close these, our Letters, with the very words with which St. Gregory concluded his memorable exhortation in the Lateran Council: These things, Brothers, you should meditate with all solicitude and at the same time propose for the meditation of your neighbor. Prepare to restore to God the fruit of the ministry you have received. But everything we have called your attention to we shall obtain much better by prayer than by our discourse. Let us pray: O God, by whose will we have been called as pastors among the people, grant, we beseech Thee, that we may be enabled to be in Thy sight what we are said to be by the mouths of men.²⁶

And while we trust that through the intercession of the holy Pontiff Gregory God may graciously hear our prayer, we impart to all of you, Venerable Brothers, and to your clergy and people, the apostolic benediction with all the affection of our heart, as a pledge of heavenly favors and in token of our paternal good will.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on March 12 of the year 1904, on the feast of St. Gregory I., Pope and Doctor of the Church, in the first year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

²⁶ Hom. cit. II., 18.

Scientific Chronicle.

STEAM TURBINES AND RECIPROCATING ENGINES.

It is now almost a century and a half since the issue of the first Watt patent for the reciprocating engine, while the practical turbine is only a quarter of a century old and its possibilities have been recognized only within the last decade. For one hundred and fifty years the development of the reciprocating engine was the result of the concerted efforts of the best engineers of the whole world, and yet we find that the place which the highest type resulting from this development occupies in the engineering world is disputed by the more recent type, the steam turbine.

Until recently the development of the steam turbine has been in stationary service. This was undoubtedly due to its adaptability for direct connection with dynamos run at high rotatory speeds. Now that the development of the marine turbine is rapid, and from all accounts successful, the engineering press furnishes many interesting papers in which the relative merits of the two types of steam engine are ably discussed.

Professor Rateau, of Paris, in a paper presented at a recent meeting of the Institution of Naval Architects discusses the performance of turbines on a vessel identical in all other respects to vessels equipped with reciprocating engines. The boat in question was a torpedo boat built by Messrs. Yarrow and was similar in all respects to thirty other boats built by the same firm. The Yarrow boat was peculiar in the fact that it had besides the two lateral shafts which were run by Rateau turbines a central shaft worked by a reciprocating engine and used for reversing and cruising at reduced speeds.

Trials made upon this boat show that for the development of 2,000 horse-power the amount of steam consumed was 13.4 for each effective horse-power hour. This would correspond to 11.7 pounds per indicated horse-power for a reciprocating engine in which there would be 12 per cent. loss from internal friction. This is considered good economy, especially since the total weight of 2,000 horse-power of turbines averages only 8.6 pounds per horse-power. The combination of the two kinds of engines on the same vessel is considered an advantage when most of the cruising is at low speed. This would not be considered necessary in the case of transatlantic liners, where full speed is kept up almost all the time.

Professor Rateau admits and points out the difficulties to be

encountered in the application of the turbine to marine navigation. The difficulties are three. These are the proper design and arrangement of the propellers for high rotative speeds, the low efficiency of the turbine at low speeds, and the provisions for reversing and manœuvring. The first two difficulties come from the fact that the turbines are most efficient at high speeds and the propellers at low speeds. The practical solution of this difficulty up to the present seems to be to use several propellers of small diameter on the same shaft, for to run large single propellers would involve the use of larger turbines and thus increase the weight, destroying one of the chief advantages of the turbine. Professor Rateau places the minimum limit of efficiency for the turbine at 20 knots. As there is a determination to apply the turbine to transatlantic liners with a speed of 17 knots, this limit may be reduced.

A commission appointed by the Cunard Company to determine the question of motive power for the two vessels to be built to carry the American mails and to act as mercantile cruisers in time of war has made an exhaustive report, of which *Engineering* says editorially: "The report, it is said, reviews the turbine from every standpoint, and is probably the most carefully prepared judicial pronouncement on the subject yet made. When the turbine was first proposed it was naturally anticipated that there would be a saving in weight per unit of power, and this became a most important matter in the case of a vessel that must develop something like 70,000 indicated horse-power to get a speed of 25 knots. But it is now understood that the commission place the economy in weight at nearer three per cent. than the ten per cent. at one time thought possible. On the question of fuel economy there has always been difficulty in arriving at definite data; but here the trials of the Midland Railway Company's new boats, which differ only in their propelling machinery, will yield valuable information. It has been stated that the trials of the Channel steamers showed an economy of two per cent. as compared with reciprocating machinery; but there is an accumulation of reliable data to show that in electric light stations a much greater saving is realized. In such marine installations as have been the subject of comparative trials there were other variants influencing the issue. At low power there is now no question that the turbine is not so economical. But this disadvantage operates more in the case of naval ships, where the greater part of the steaming is at low power; it does not affect the merchant ship, especially the Atlantic liner, which runs for 99 per cent. of her time at full power. The turbine machinery can therefore be easily designed to give the highest efficiency at full power, and good results will thus be insured."

It seems that the commission has advised the abandoning of the use of several propellers on the same shaft, and that the new ships will be fitted with four shafts with one propeller and one go-ahead turbine on each. This is the plan followed on the turbine-driven German war vessel, the Lubeck, recently launched at Stettin. The two inside shafts will likely carry low-pressure turbines as well as the reversing turbines, while the high-pressure turbines will be on the outside shafts. The object aimed at in this distribution is to reduce the revolutions of the propellers, for experience teaches that slow-running, large-surfaced, coarse-pitched propellers give the best results.

In favor of the reciprocating engine we have the article of Mr. J. A. Seymour in a recent number of the *Electrical World and Engineer*. The comparison from which the data are taken was between high class reciprocating engines built by Mr. Seymour's firm and a Westinghouse-Parsons steam turbine made by Mr. Mat-tice. The results of these tests are given in the form of curves, from which it is clear that the best performance of the turbine is reached at or near the full load. The reciprocating engine, on the contrary, shows its maximum economy at 0.8 of the full load. In fact, the curve shows that there is little variation from maximum efficiency between 0.7 and 0.9 of the full load. In the particular tests to which we refer the steam consumption per electrical horsepower hour at 0.8 of full load was twelve and one-half pounds for the reciprocating engine and fourteen for the turbine. At full load the consumption for the turbine fell to thirteen and one-half pounds, while for the reciprocating engine rose to twelve and three-quarter pounds.

Mr. Seymour contends that for electric station work the comparison between the two kinds of engine must take into account the average light load. This is but fair when we consider the ever fluctuating character of the load under such circumstances, and here the question of economy in steam consumption is in favor of the reciprocating engine. Mr. Seymour points out what he considers another difficulty. To maintain the capacity and the economy of the turbine a very high vacuum is required, and he thinks that this is a more difficult problem than is generally admitted, especially if it is to be done with condensing apparatus of commercially practicable size and in warm weather.

While economy in steam consumption is at present in favor of the reciprocating engine, yet this may not be the final criterion determining the rejection or adoption of the turbine. Other elements have a controlling effect upon the economy in expense. If the turbine is cheaper in first cost, in foundations, in space, and if

it secures greater smoothness in running, it may prove the cheaper engine.

The object in view in adopting the turbine for the transatlantic liners of the Cunard Line seems to be to secure an average high speed of twenty-five knots. Still it must be remembered that a speed of twenty-four knots has been attained by the Kaiser Wilhelm II. with reciprocating engines. The question seems still to remain an open one.

MEASURING HIGH TEMPERATURES.

Most people are now familiar with the instruments for measuring ordinary variations in temperature; there exists, however, in modern industrial life the necessity of determining still higher temperatures and the methods for so doing are both instructive and ingenious.

Although the ordinary mercury thermometer cannot be employed for temperatures beyond its boiling point, which is 357 degrees C., still an improved form enables it to indicate temperatures up to 550 degrees C. The range of the thermometer is increased by the introduction of compressed nitrogen or carbonic acid gas in the upper part of the tube. The increased pressure prevents the mercury boiling at the temperature at which it would boil at ordinary atmospheric pressure.

The metallic thermometer is another way in which high temperatures may be registered. It consists of a spiral metallic ribbon. This ribbon is made of two different metals, each of the constituent metals forming one of the flat faces of the ribbon. These metals expand at different rates for the same increase of temperature. Hence the spiral winds and unwinds according to the variations in temperature. An index attached to the spiral moves over a dial and indicates the torsion and an imperial scale the temperature.

The thalpotasimeter is based on the principle that a confined volume of a gas or a vapor expands under an increase of temperature and that the pressure of this expanding vapor is a measure of the increase of temperature. In some forms of this instrument they employ vapor of ether and in others they use vapor of mercury. The pressure is indicated either by a dial or by a stylus that leaves a permanent record on a moving strip of paper.

For still higher temperatures the water pyrometer has been frequently employed. This is based on what is known as the "method of mixtures." That is, the temperature is calculated from the relative specific heats of different substances. By the specific heat of a substance is meant the quantity of heat necessary to raise the unit

of mass of the substance one degree in temperature, that is from 4 degrees to 5 degrees C. The quantity needed to produce this increase in temperature for the unit of mass of water is taken as the standard unit of specific heat. This same quantity of heat would raise the temperature of an equal mass of iron through several degrees. The quantity of heat that would raise the temperature of one kilogramme of water from 0 degree C. to 100 degrees C. would raise the same amount of iron from 0 degree to between 800 and 900 degrees C.

The method then followed in using this pyrometer is to expose a piece of some refractory metal, like platinum, to the heat of the source to be measured and after it has taken up the temperature of the source, it is immediately plunged into a known weight of water, the temperature of which is known. From the rise in temperature of the water, which is the loss of the platinum, the temperature to which the mass of the metal was exposed is easily calculated.

The thermo-electric pyrometer of Le Chatelier is used very generally for scientific observations. Its action is based on the fact that when two dissimilar metals are united and the juncture is heated an electric current will be produced. To use this instrument for high temperatures it is necessary that the metals should be able to withstand the temperature and also that a small current should be generated. Two metals that are used are platinum and an alloy of platinum with ten per cent. of rhodium. For protection and to facilitate their introduction into a furnace they are inclosed in a porcelain tube. The temperature is measured by the deflection of the needle of a galvanometer.

The latest methods, however, are based on an entirely different principle worked out in the so-called optical pyrometers. On the suggestion of Newton that definite colors are due to definite temperatures, Pouillet by direct vision worked out the temperatures accompanying the principal color changes. This method was later improved by Mesure and Nouel in what they called the pyrometric telescope. It consisted of a tube containing two Nicol prisms. One of the prisms was fixed in position and the other could be rotated, the amount of rotation being measured by a circular scale. A quartz plate was inserted between the two prisms. The light from the source whose temperature was to be measured was polarized by the first or stationary prism and then partly rotated by the quartz. This light is examined by the rotating prism, and the angle through which the prism must be turned to obtain a certain color will depend upon the composition of the light and this latter upon the temperature. Hence the angle of rotation becomes a measure of the temperature. The difficulty of recognizing a previously

observed color precludes the possibility of a high degree of precision. It is, however, an improvement on direct visual observation.

The very latest forms of radiant pyrometers do not depend on the light rays, but upon the heat rays emitted by the body whose temperature is to be determined. The temperature of the dark rays emitted from a body can be determined, and on the relation that exists between the absolute temperature of a body and the wave length of the rays emitted the working of the apparatus is based. According to Planck there is a definite relation between the wave lengths of two sets of rays and the temperature of the bodies from which they are emitted. Hence it is possible to measure the relation between the temperature of an unknown body and one whose temperature is known.

In the Wanner pyrometer, which has been tested for temperatures between 900 degrees C. and 2,000 degrees C., the maximum error was less than one per cent. The comparison light in this pyrometer is an incandescent lamp and waves of uniform length are obtained either by using colored glass or by dispersing the light by means of a prism and selecting some definite portion of the spectrum. In practice the latter way is generally adopted. The rays from both sources are passed through a direct vision prism and then through a polarizing prism, where it is polarized in two directions at right angles to each other. This light is then analyzed by means of a Nicol prism, and the angle through which this prism must be rotated in order that the two fields be of the same intensity is the measure of the temperature relation of the two sources. To use the instrument it is only necessary to point it at the source of heat and rotate the eye piece until the whole field is evenly illuminated, read the amount of rotation and from a previously prepared table the temperature is calculated. In this method the comparison light has its "black" temperature determined by comparison with a non-luminous source of heat.

These optical methods are the latest advances in thermometry and are excellent examples of the application of some of the refined principles of physical science.

PHOTOGRAPHING THE INTERIOR OF THE EYE.

Many fruitless attempts have been made heretofore to photograph the interior or background of the eye, but according to the latest accounts Dr. Walther Thorner, of the University Eye Clinic at the Royal Charité in Berlin, seems to have solved the problem. His

device is an improvement on the ophthalmoscope invented by Helmholtz in 1850 and which permitted of only direct visual observation of the back of the eye by the oculist.

The great difficulty to be overcome in this achievement was due to the fact that on account of the peculiar construction of the eye it was either impossible to illuminate the interior sufficiently to take a good photograph, or if strong light was used, the exposure was so long that the patient would suffer serious inconvenience.

Dr. Thorner first employed his apparatus to obtain photographs of the eyes of animals, particularly cats. The interior of the human eye is much darker than that of a cat, and therefore several modifications had to be made in the apparatus before it could be successfully applied to the photographing of the human eye.

The apparatus resembles an ordinary camera. The picture of the back of the eye is first focused on the plate by means of the mild light of a kerosene lamp. This done, the photographic plate is secured in place and then by means of a special lever the camera is opened and at the same instant a flash light composition is ignited by an electric spark. This flash light illuminates the background of the eye sufficiently to obtain a good picture of the back of the eye. The pictures are, however, somewhat underexposed and require special care to develop them properly for best results.

A large number of photographs of both healthy and diseased eyes have been made by the inventor. From these photographs it is quite possible to distinguish healthy eyes from sick ones. This invention, it is hoped, will enable oculists to observe the progress of eye diseases step by step.

ELECTROLYTIC IRON.

Electricity has been applied to the smelting of iron and steel, and in some cases with considerable success. Another application of electricity in a similar direction, namely, the production of chemically pure iron, is worthy of mention. The method is described in a paper presented to the American Electrochemical Society by Messrs. C. F. Burgess and Carl Hambuechen.

The method is that of securing the pure iron by electrolytic deposition. Pure iron obtained in this way has been long known as a laboratory product, but the present method looks to producing it in such quantities and at such a price that it will become a commercial product. Recent experiments in this direction have been

carried out in the electrochemical laboratory of the Wisconsin University.

The authors of the paper referred to above, after experimenting for more than two years, describe the following satisfactory method: "The electrolyte consists of ferrous ammonium sulphates; the current density at the cathode is six to ten amperes per square foot of cathode surface, and at the anode slightly less; the electromotive force for each cell is slightly under one volt; the temperature of electrolyte is about 30 degrees C.; the anodes consist of ordinary grades of wrought iron and steel; the starting sheets for the cathodes are of thin sheet iron previously cleaned of rust and steel."

Up to the present the only practical application that has been made of electroplating with iron is in the facing of dies and electrotypes. The coating thus deposited consists of pure iron with occluded hydrogen. The presence of the hydrogen is supposed to give it the hardness that makes it useful for these purposes.

The cost of the process alluded to above is, after eliminating the fixed charges on the plant, about one-half cent per pound of iron and the product has a purity of 99.9 per cent. The cost is only very little in excess of that for refining copper.

The presence of the hydrogen makes the metal as hard as steel and so brittle that it can be easily shattered by a hammer. The hydrogen can be expelled by heat and then the metal becomes softer and is malleable and tough like Swedish iron. The electrical properties of the iron thus obtained are greatly affected by the amount of hydrogen present.

With regard to the uses to which this pure iron may be put no definite answer can at present be given, but it will no doubt serve as a basis for studying the properties of iron and its alloys; it may also serve as the basis for chemically pure compounds and for standardizing laboratory solutions.

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Boston, Mass.

Book Reviews.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA. Editors: Daniel Coit Gilman, LL. D., President of Johns Hopkins University (1876-1901), President of Carnegie Institution; Harry Thurston Peck, Ph. D., L. H. D., Professor in Columbia University; Frank Moore Colby, M. A., late Professor of Economics in New York University. 17 Vols., large 8vo. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Encyclopædias and encyclopædic dictionaries have been multiplied so rapidly in recent years that the appearance of a new one does not generally attract much attention or call for lengthy comment. As a rule they are brought out on the subscription plan, placed in the hands of agents quick of foot and tongue, and not supersensitive about the means they use to get in touch with a prospective buyer, and then there is not much room for any one else to speak on the subject, nor many occasions. The agents cover the ground pretty thoroughly, and very few possible purchasers escape them. We may be unreasonable, but we must confess a bias against the subscription book and the professional agent. We do not wish to discuss the merits of the subscription plan, or the necessity for the agent to carry it out, but we have good reasons for our bias. The various means employed by the publisher to place us in the hands of the agent, and the ingenious persistency with which this thrifty person tries to get his hands upon us, hardly conduce to love for the plan or its representative.

For instance, one important encyclopædia published recently is advertised without mentioning the price. The reader of the advertisement is invited to write to the publishers for the price. An unreasonable requirement, but in answer to his letter the agent calls, requests a personal interview and takes up a lot of valuable time imparting information which the other person has already or does not want. Very often these agents present engraved cards which do not announce their business, but which sometimes bear a title of distinction. A busy lady or gentleman is taken away from something very important to listen to one who has no right to intrude himself or herself upon any one without announcing the purpose of the call.

We know a lady of prominence in the social world who recently inconvenienced herself very much to dress at an unopportune time to receive another lady whose card indicated that she was making a social call, only to find an agent for a magazine who wished to place her name on the subscription list.

An Archbishop in one of our large cities who is a very busy man, and who always works late into the night, but who finds it necessary

to have fixed hours for receiving visitors every morning, was recently called to the telephone after dinner in the evening and requested to receive at once two gentlemen on very important business, who could not or would not call the next day during the regular hours, because it would be inconvenient. When told that they could not see the Archbishop in the evening except by appointment and on business which would warrant an exception, they reluctantly acknowledged that they wished to obtain a letter of approval from him for an encyclopædia which he had never seen. Lest our readers should conclude that these gentlemen represented the International, we hasten to assure them that they did not.

We wish also to assure our readers that the International is an exception to the statement contained in our opening sentence, namely, that the appearance of a new encyclopædia does not attract much attention or call for lengthy comment.

It is an exception for several reasons. It is an entirely new book, rewritten throughout by competent persons acting under the direction of a very able editorial staff; it is the result of a critical study of all the famous works of reference which have at any time appeared in Europe or the United States, and it combines the four qualities which are necessary to make up the ideal encyclopædia, namely, accuracy of statement, comprehensiveness of scope, lucidity and attractiveness of presentation, and convenience of arrangement. No one of the great encyclopædias can make this claim. This is no reflection on the others, and least of all on the three standards, the Britannica in English, Larousse in French and Brockhaus in German. As these were great advances on the encyclopædias of the eighteenth century, on which they were founded, so is the International an advance on them, taking into consideration all the points of a first-class encyclopædia. The International cheerfully acknowledges its debt to these three leaders, because it has adopted what is good in their plans while trying to avoid their defects.

Its distinctive features are: unsigned articles, because each article, though written by a thoroughly competent person, is passed upon by others in the same field and carefully edited; comprehensiveness extending especially to fullness of biography and to subjects usually found only in readers, handbooks, such as titles of books, characters in fiction, political nicknames, etc.; particular attention to pronunciation and etymology; full bibliography at the end of all important articles; the avoidance of the stereotyped encyclopædic style in writing and of technicalities as far as possible; the adoption of a plan which renders consultation most convenient.

But perhaps our readers will wish to know most of all how are Catholic subjects treated. We distinguish: there are Catholic sub-

jects strictly and technically so called, and there are general subjects which have a Catholic aspect. The former have been treated by competent Catholic writers, and are satisfactory in every way. We have taken such subjects as Confession, Indulgences and the Mass as tests. General subjects which have a Catholic aspect have been treated by writers noted for their knowledge of the subject, rather than for their knowledge of its Catholic aspect. We believe that they have tried to be fair, and that the editors have tried to help them to be fair. We cannot think of anything more that could be done except to publish a Catholic encyclopædia fully as large as this one, or to translate the famous *Kirche Lexicon*, which we hope will be done soon.

Mistakes can be found in this book, as they can be found in everything human. For instance, we are told that Ascension Day is Holy Thursday, and Holy Thursday is Ascension Day, but we believe that these mistakes are few, and if they are all as palpable as this one, they can be easily corrected.

As far as we have been able to observe, the editors of this book have planned well, have conscientiously tried to carry out the plan, have succeeded to a remarkable degree and have produced the best encyclopædia in the English language, judged by the standard raised in the beginning.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY: An Explanatory Narrative. By *Rev. Rouben Parsons, D. D.*, author of "Studies in Church History," "Some Lies and Errors of History," etc. Vol. II. *Early Mediæval History—From the Fall of the Western Empire until the end of the Crusaders.* 8vo., pp. x.+716. New York: Fr. Pustet & Co.

Dr. Parsons is an indefatigable worker. His six large volumes of "Studies in Church History" would be a life work for any man, even the most learned and zealous, but Dr. Parsons had hardly completed that very valuable work when he began the publication of six more equally large, if not larger, volumes on *Universal History*.

The Catholic English-speaking world cannot be too grateful to him for supplementing the first with the second. The publication of the first emphasized the need for the second, and no one was better fitted for the work than Dr. Parsons. When the announcement of the new publication was made, and before the first volume appeared, those who had followed the "Studies in Church History" as they came from the press, and realized the great amount of labor connected with them, doubted the wisdom of the second undertaking. Not that they questioned the learning and zeal of the reverend author—these are beyond question—but because they

feared that physical strength would not keep pace with intellectual power.

When the first volume appeared, and the extent of the undertaking became more apparent, these fears increased rather than diminished; but when the second volume came out so promptly and so complete, we began to feel that Dr. Parsons knew himself better than we knew him, and to realize more fully that he is an indefatigable worker, and that he will bring his second great work to a successful finish.

The present volume covers an intensely interesting period in the world's history, when men were building up and tearing down kingdoms, when civilization was overcoming barbarism, and when Christianity was overthrowing paganism. A glance at the sections of the book is sufficient to induce one to desire to possess it and to read. They treat in succession of "The Taming of the Barbarians," "The Lower Greek Empire from the Fall of the Western Empire until the Crusades," "Islamism from Its Origin until the Crusades," "Charlamagne and His Successors in the Holy Roman Empire," "The Popes from the Fall of the Western Empire until the Creation of the Holy Roman Empire," "The Last Carlovingian and First Capetian Kings in France," "The Northmen or Normans," "Commencements of the Eastern European Nations," "The Holy Roman Empire from Its Transfer to the Germans until the Crusades," "The Crusades," "Western Europe During the Crusades," "The Popes from the Creation of the Holy Roman Empire until the End of the Crusades." These specific sections are preceded by an admirable introduction entitled "General Considerations on the Middle Age."

It is worthy of note that the size of this volume necessitates the assigning to Volume III. the section which treats of the "Literature, Science and Art" of both the early and the later Middle Age. It is to be hoped that Catholics will show their appreciation of this Universal History, written from a Catholic point of view, for it is generally admitted that without it the average student would never get at the truth.

COURSE OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. A Handbook for Teachers. Part First, four primary grades. Quarto, pp. 66. Philadelphia: The Dolphin Press.

We quote from the preface: "While in the ordinary branches of secular education there has been of late years notable improvement in methods for imparting as well as in plans for simplifying the acquisition of knowledge, making it interesting and living to the children by pictures, blackboard sketches, the use of moulding

boards and the like, there has been up to the present, or until very lately, comparatively little change in the old-time method of teaching Christian doctrine mainly by question and answer. Yet the abstract nature of the study itself and its difficult phraseology make it all the more incumbent on the teacher to seek to remove the thorns of difficulty and strew with flowers the pathway that leads to the knowledge and love of God. . . . To this end we have but to bring into the teaching of catechism the adjuncts we ourselves employ in secular branches. Why should we not employ the same means in teaching catechism? Traditional methods should be broken with; we should take up again something of the idea that informed the old miracle plays, and with all possible reverence press into the service of religion every appliance that has helped to simplify and make pleasant our secular teaching.

"The Course of Religious Instruction herewith presented is the outcome of attempts to bring the 'New Education' to bear on the old sacred and unchangeable truths, and to lead children not only to know, but to love and practise them. Prepared at first as a guide to young teachers of a religious community, it met with the approbation of priests who saw its practical result; then it passed into wider circulation, so that for several years it has stood the test of actual use in the school room. In response to repeated requests it is now published for general use, in the hope that it may not be less effective in a wider sphere than it has been in a comparatively limited circle."

The appearance of this Teachers' Manual marks an important departure which no doubt will be followed with other guides on the same lines, far reaching indeed in their results. Only those who have had actual experience in teaching, and especially in teaching catechism, and who know the great advantages to be derived from the many helps that have in recent years been introduced into the school room, can appreciate this book, which aims to bring those helps to the teaching of catechism.

All who have examined this book and who are qualified to judge speak of it in the highest terms. The experienced and efficient Superintendent of Parish Schools in Philadelphia stamps it with his approval, and that is high commendation. Indeed, its appearance is due to his persevering efforts and to his confidence in its merits.

He is to be congratulated on the success of those efforts. We have seldom seen a book so suitably clothed. In every particular the form is worthy of the matter. But this is not surprising. The Dolphin Press is a guarantee of good taste and accuracy. We hope that it will be kept busy.

ANTWERP: An Historical Sketch. By *Wilfrid C. Robinson*, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. 8vo., pp. viii.+288. London: R. & T. Washbourne. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Antwerp forms a very interesting subject for the historian, pushing its origin back by legend to two hundred years before the Christian era, and trying to prove its antiquity by appeals to the many bright stories that are told to account for its name. But the true historian must not stop when he has entertained his readers with interesting legends, however much he might be tempted to do so; he must proceed to facts. Mr. Robinson accepts the meaning attached to the name of the city by the latest historian, which is etymological rather than legendary, for he tells us that Antwerp is a modification of *Aent' werf*, which is a contraction of *Borgt aen 'twerf*—the burg by the riverside.

The geographical situation of Antwerp destined it to be a great commercial city. In three respects it resembles London: it was founded on the river Scheldt where the Schyn empties into it, as London was founded on the Thames where the Lea joins it; both rivers ebb and flow, and both cities are about sixty miles from the sea. During the Middle Ages and the centuries which followed them it was always in the centre of action. Its prosperity made it a temptation for rulers, and hence we are not surprised to find it passing from the control of one government to another on many occasions, and suffering the usual fate that follows such changes. The vitality of the city was shown by its quick rise after periods of attack and adversity and by its general development.

Its ecclesiastical history is no less interesting than its political. It suffered sadly during the rise and progress of the so-called Reformation, its most beautiful churches being dismantled and its magnificent works of ecclesiastical art being destroyed by the Reformers (?). But it also profited by the reaction which followed these diabolical outbursts, for in this field some of the most zealous sons of Holy Church labored.

The city's highest claim to the gratitude of all interested in intellectual progress is that it was the birthplace of the *Acta Sanctorum*, and for more than a century and a half the home of the Bollandists. It was there, in the house of the Jesuits adjoining their church, that the good Jesuit Father Rosweyde began this monumental work one hundred and thirty years ago, and it is not finished yet. Pope Alexander VII. said of it that no work had ever been undertaken more useful to the Church's glory.

Antwerp is illustrious for its artists. In 1382 the famous Guild of St. Luke of Antwerp was founded on a charter granted by Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders. This Guild gathered together

the goldsmiths, painters, woodcarvers, embroiderers, enamel-workers and glassworkers who by birth or residence were burghers of Antwerp. The sculptors in stone belonged to the guild of masons. This organization gave a new impetus to art which had already attained a high degree of perfection. This is evident from the ancient monuments of the city. On the roll of honor we find such names as Quentin Metsys, who attained a world-wide fame. His biographer says of him: "Thanks to his great genius, Antwerp became the Florence of the North. As Italian art centralized itself on the banks of the Arno, so Flemish art found its centre on the banks of the Scheldt. As Florence, so Antwerp rallied and led beneath the banner of St. Luke all the great Flemish artists and kept alive, amid the bloodshed, slaughter and devastation of civil war, a noble and pure passion for the beautiful. What Florence is to Italy, Antwerp is to Belgium, the capital of the fine arts."

In the churches and picture galleries of Antwerp may be studied the long line of Flemish artists, from the Van Eycks to Metsys, from Metsys to Rubens and his successors, down to our own times.

Mr. Robinson has all the qualifications of the successful historian. He is clear, painstaking, accurate, unimpassioned and very interesting. Any one who reads his history will want to visit that city if he has not already done so.

GESCHICHTE DER ALTKIRCHLICHEN LITERATUR. Von *Otto Bardenhewer*, Doktor der Theologie und der Philosophie, Professor der Theologie an der Universität München. Zweiter Band. Vom Ende des Zweiten Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des vierten Jahrhunderts. Freiburg and St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, \$4 net.

The second volume of Professor Bardenhewer's great "History of Ancient Ecclesiastical Literature" deals with the writers of the third century. Here we meet the immortal names of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Lactantius, Hippolytus and the other towering personalities of the Age of the Martyrs, who are made to pass before us in solemn procession, each in his proper place and environment. Professor Bardenhewer has the rare gift of infusing the spirit of life into antiquarian research; his perspective is just, his judgment keen and nothing pertaining to his vast subject has escaped his eye. It is a great pleasure to possess a work like this to oppose to the productions of contemporary rationalism. In his preface to this volume the learned author repels the charge that a firm believer in the divine origin of the Church cannot write a "scientific" patrology. Who else, in fact, is in so favorable a position to write of the labors of the early fathers with full intelligence of their aims and deep sympathy for their trials and difficulties? In order to emphasize the fact that he writes from the

standpoint of a believing Catholic, he substitutes the term "altkirchlich" for the "altchristlich" of the Rationalistic school. We pray that God will preserve Professor Bardenhewer in life and vigor to finish his great task. The six volumes will form a monument of erudition and industry of which Catholics may well be proud.

DIE KATHOLISCHE KIRCHE IN ARMENIEN. Ihre Begründung und Entwicklung vor der Trennung. Von *Simon Weber*, Professor der Apologetik zu Freiburg im Breisg. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. Price, \$3.10 net.

Dr. Weber has written a very fascinating book on a subject of intense interest at the present moment. Poor Armenia, the true Niobe of the nations, continues, to the great disgrace of a degenerate Christendom, to be that which she has been throughout her entire history, the martyr-nation of Christianity and civilization. How much longer will the West suffer the cradle of the human race to be the helpless prey of ruthless barbarians? The first step towards arousing an interest in their wretched condition is to become acquainted with their history, as noble as it is pathetic. Armenia has the proud distinction of having been the first nation that made Christianity the religion of the State, and continues to adhere to her Christian faith, in spite of all the terrible storms that have swept over her hills. This fidelity to her religion, scarcely paralleled by Ireland or by Poland, cannot but ensure for her an ample reward in a brighter future, the first symptom of which is a growing affection for the centre of Catholic unity, from which circumstances, not malice, estranged her. May we hope to see this excellent book reproduced in our own tongue?

COMPENDIUM SACRÆ LITURGÆ IUXTA RITUM ROMANUM, Una cum Appendice de Iure Ecclesiastico Particulari in America Fœderata Sept. Viginti. Scripsit. *P. Innocentius Wapelhorst, O. F. M.* Editio Sexta. 8vo., pp. xvi.-601. Neo-Eboraci: Benziger Fratres.

Wapelhorst's Compendium of Sacred Liturgy is so well known and appreciated that we shall not presume to praise it. A word as to the reasons for a new edition may not, however, be out of place.

The first and most urgent reason given by the author is the publication of the Collection of the Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites under the direction of our late Holy Father Leo XIII. in 1900, and the new decrees made by the same Congregation since that time. The publication of these decrees called for many changes in the Compendium, but only such changes as were necessary were

made, and the work as a whole remains the same. Certain annotations which formerly appeared in an appendix have now been embodied in the text. All quotations of decrees made in former editions from the collection of Gardellini, in the new edition are taken from the authentic collection. In a word, all that was good has been retained and improved, and something has been added. The Compendium is more than ever likely to remain unrivaled for an indefinite period.

LIFE OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. Together with a Sketch of his Venerable Predecessor Pope Leo XIII. Also a History of the Conclave, giving a full account of the Rites and Ceremonies connected with the Election of a Successor to the See of St. Peter. With a Preface by His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons. 8vo., pp. 401, profusely illustrated. New York: Benziger Brothers.

It is very gratifying to be able to lay our hands on the written life of our Holy Father Pius X. so soon after his election to the Holy See, and the publishers are to be congratulated on their promptness. It is not a mere sketch, as such hurriedly prepared biographies generally are, but a very complete and satisfying life.

The book begins with a short life of our late Holy Father Leo XIII. This is followed by a very full history of the Conclave, with complete descriptions of the rites and ceremonies of a Papal election. This is very interesting reading. Then comes the life of the present Pontiff, on whom the eyes of the world are now focussed. It is the story of a simple, holy, faithful priest raised up by God from the humblest station to the highest throne, and it is most edifying from beginning to end. One feels better for having read it.

The illustrations are an important feature. They are all pleasing and instructive, but special interest is attached to those made from recent photographs of actual events.

S. ALPHONSI MARIAE DE LIGORIO Ecclesiae Doctoris Opera Dogmatica ex Italico Sermone in Latinum transtulit ad Antiquas Editiones Castigavit Notisque auxit Aloysius Walter Congr. SS. Redemptoris. Tomi duo, 8vo., pp. xix.+717 et xxvi.+798. Romae: Typis Philippi Cuggiani.

This new edition of the dogmatic works of St. Alphonsus, which we have received from Pustet & Co., of New York, is well worthy of the great doctor and theologian of the Church whose works rank among the classics. They are so well known and their merits so universally acknowledged that it would be presumptuous to praise them at this time. The Latin translation gives to them a dignity

and a permanency which they could hardly acquire in any other language.

In Volume I. we have: 1. "Contra Atheos et Deistas." 2. "Contra Sectas Dissidentes." 3. "De Fidei Veritate Contra Incredulos et Haereticos." 4. "Vindiciae contra Feltrinum." 5. "Doctrinae Catholicae iuxta Concilii Tridentini Decreta Expositio."

Volume II. contains: 6. "Haeresum Historia et Confutatio." 7. "De Divina Revelatione Considerationes." 8. "De Novissimis." 9. "De Majno Orationis Medio." Appendix I. et II. Index Rerum Notabilium.

MODERN SPIRITISM: A Critical Examination of Its Phenomena, Character and Teachings, in the Light of the Known Facts. By *J. Godfrey Raupert*. St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, \$1.35.

This is the second book which the author, a convert to the Catholic Faith, has written for the purpose of exposing the perils that lurk in practices and theories of modern Spiritism. His former treatise bore the name of "Dangers of Modern Spiritism;" and both works are deserving of serious consideration of all those who have charge of souls. The so-called occult science has been so saturated and honeycombed with fraud, that there is a general disposition to see nothing in the whole affair but arrant imposture. If a tithe of the facts presented by Mr. Raupert can be believed (and he seems to know whereof he speaks), we are forced to recognize the presence amongst us of a very active and pernicious Satanic agency and to dread the return of the days of a widespread demoniac possession.

BENEDICTI XIV. PAPE OPERA INEDITA. Primum publicavit *Franciscus Heiner*, Doctor S. Theol. et Jur. Can. Prælati Domest. S. S., Professor Ord. Jur. Ecclesiastici in Universitate Friburgensi Brigg. Sumptibus Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, \$6.25 net.

Comparatively few of those who were acquainted with the seventeen large volumes of Benedict XIV.'s "Opera Omnia" were aware that there still reposed in the Vatican archives "Opera Inedita" patiently awaiting an editor. The wonder, therefore, still grows how that indefatigable Pontiff ever found time, in his few vacant moments, for such stupendous literary work, all of it of the first magnitude. The present volume consists of three treatises, the first on "The Greek Rite," the second on "The Feasts of the Apostles" and the third on "The Sacraments." It is a valuable contribution to canonical lore, as was to be expected from so illustrious an author. It is supplied with a complete index. We congratulate Mr. Herder on the beautiful typographical setting of the work.

We subjoin a list of the principal publications of Ginn & Co. since our last issue. A copy of their catalogue, which recently came to us, shows a surprisingly long list of books which are not only excellent, but which may reasonably challenge comparison with the best. It must be quite clear to any one who examines the publications of this house that it is always searching for the best.

BOTANY NOTEBOOK. To accompany Bergen's Text-Books on Botany, and for general use in Botanical Laboratories or for Secondary Schools. By *Joseph Y. Bergen*, formerly Instructor in Biology, English High School, Boston. Cloth. Square quarto. 144 pages. List price, 75 cents; mailing price, 90 cents.

Bergen's Notebook was prepared with the particular view of minimizing the amount of routine dictation for both teacher and pupil without doing any of the latter's thinking for him. Not only will it save time and trouble, but it will also lead the pupil to perform neat and accurate work.

The experiments with their comprehensive directions, the special directions to the student for using the Notebook, the blanks for review summaries and for review sketches, together with the convenient ruled and blank sheets, provide adequately all that the modern teacher of botany will require in a botany notebook.

The author has everywhere insisted on accurate and careful observations, and he has taken especial pains to provide for the needs of the beginner.

OUR BODIES AND HOW WE LIVE. Revised Edition. By *Albert F. Blaisdell*. 12mo. Cloth. 352 pages. Illustrated. List price, 65 cents; mailing price, 75 cents.

In this revision of Dr. Blaisdell's "Our Bodies" the text has been thoroughly revised and in many parts entirely rewritten. The author's intent has been to bring his well-known book fully into touch with the latest and best scientific thought on physiology and hygiene. In addition, the revised book is fully illustrated with engravings and line cuts based upon original drawings and photographs; and the mechanical execution of the book as a whole marks an improvement over the older edition.

EDUCATIONAL MUSIC COURSE. Teachers' Edition for Elementary Grades. By *James M. McLaughlin*, Director of Music, Boston Public Schools, and *W. W. Gilchrist*, Author of "Exercises for Sight-Singing Classes," etc. 8vo. Cloth. xiv.+271 pages. List price, \$1.25; mailing price, \$1.40.

This book is a teacher's manual and has been designed to supplement the "New First Music Reader" of "The Educational Music Course." It will also prove invaluable as a guide to all elementary music teaching in the schools. Among its entirely new features are the following: 1. It presents a comprehensive and practical plan, with plenty of drills, for training and developing the child voice. 2. There is introduced an entirely new system of developing tone relation. 3. It gives a collection of superior rote songs for use

in the first three years of school. 4. It contains an appendix of the songs of the great masters. 5. It presents complete piano accompaniments for all the song material of the "New First Music Reader" and for all the songs in the manual itself. 6. Invaluable "Aids to Teachers" are included for the special purpose of making more effective the work with the "New First Music Reader." Every time and tone feature to be developed with each exercise and song is clearly explained and illustrated.

THE SQUYR OF LOWE DEGRE. Edited by William E. Mead, Professor of English in Wesleyan University. Octavo. Cloth. lxxxv.+111 pages. List price, \$1.25; mailing price, \$1.35.

This new edition of "The Squyr of Lowe Degre" forms the second volume of the "Albion Series of Old and Middle English Texts." All the extant forms, including Copland's edition, the short version of "The Squier" in the Percy MS., and the fragments of Wynkyn de Worde's sixteenth century edition—until now never reprinted—are arranged in parallel paging, with notes, glossary and introduction discussing the relations of the versions, the date and sources, and, in particular, the alleged acquaintance of Chaucer with the piece.

"The Squyr of Lowe Degre" is one of the most interesting of the minor verse romances of the later Middle Ages, and well deserves the praise bestowed upon it by James Russell Lowell and other discriminating critics. Evidences of its popularity in the sixteenth century are not lacking. Shakespeare clearly alludes to it in one play and imitates some lines of it in another. As an excellent specimen of its class, the right of the poem to a permanent place in the representative literature of its day is not likely to be seriously questioned.

MINNA VON BARNHELM (Lessing's). Edited, with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary, by Richard A. Von Minckwitz, Teacher of Greek and Latin in the De Witt Clinton High School, New York City, and Anne Cromble Wilder, Teacher of Greek and Latin in the Westport (Kansas City, Mo.) High School. 16mo. Semi-flexible cloth. xviii.+202 pages. Portrait. List price, 45 cents; mailing price, 50 cents.

This play, "The Child of the Seven Years' War," conquered at once the stage of Northern Germany, and has retained its popularity to the present day. It gave voice in the theatrical world to that spirit of national independence which owed its recognition on the political field to the great Prussian King.

GERMELSHAUSEN. By *Friedrich Gerstäcker*. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Exercises and Vocabulary, by Griffin M. Lovelace, Instructor in Modern Languages in the Louisville (Ky.) Male High School. 16mo. Semi-flexible cloth. xiii.+107 pages. Frontispiece. List price, 30 cents; mailing price, 35 cents.

This book, already very popular with teachers and students, has been especially recommended by the "Committee of Twelve." It is interesting as being the product of a German who spent several

years in America. The book throughout is distinctively German in spirit and color, and presents an excellent example of narrative and conversation. In every way it is suitable for high schools and colleges as a first book after the reader.

A MANUAL OF PRONUNCIATION. By *Otto Ashmore*, Superintendent of Schools, Savannah, Georgia. Sq. 12mo. Cloth. ix.+67 pages. List price, 30 cents; mailing price, 35 cents.

This little manual has been specially prepared for practical use in the class room. Not only is it adapted to the upper grades of the grammar schools, to high schools and to colleges, but it is also intended for use in homes and offices. It contains only those words most commonly mispronounced in our language, and the plan of the book, original and unique in itself, enables the student to see at a glance the weight of authority for every word given.

Ten of the leading lexicographers and orthoepists of America and England have been selected and quoted on the words where authorities differ, so that the student may see not only the preferred pronunciations but the secondary forms as well. In many words of more than one authorized pronunciation, as abdomen, alternate, bronchitis, etc., there is overwhelming testimony in favor of one form, while in others, as economical, acoustics, etc., the authorities are more nearly balanced. All this is clearly summed up in tabular form and shows the student at a glance just what company he keeps.

PRIMARY ARITHMETIC. 12mo. Cloth. 264 pages. Illustrated. List price, 30 cents; mailing price, 35 cents.

Without going to an extreme in any one theory, this book presents the best modern ideas of primary arithmetic, and is intended to assist in vitalizing the work in the elementary grades.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL ARITHMETIC. 12mo. Cloth. 394 pages. Illustrated. List price, 65 cents; mailing price, 75 cents.

Like the author's "Primary Arithmetic," this work follows, in sequence of topics, the best of the courses of study in use by the various cities and States. In general, each topic is so treated as to give the pupil a feeling of reasonable mastery, together with the consciousness that it is not completely exhausted.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL SCIENCE. By *Rev. Walter McDonald, D. D.*, Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, \$1.60 net.

GENESIS UND KEILSCHRIFTFORSCHUNG. Ein Beitrag zum Verstaendnis der Biblischen Ur und Patriarchengeschichte. Von *Dr. Johannes Nikel*, Professor an der Universitaet Breslau. St. Louis: Herder. Price, \$1.75 net.

A PRECURSOR OF ST. PHILIP (Buonsignore Cacaguerra). By *Lady Amabel Kerr*. Herder: St. Louis. Price, \$1.25.

IMITATION OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS. By *Rev. F. Armond, S. J.* Translated from the Latin by *I. M. Fastre*. New Edition with Morning Prayers, Devotions for Mass, Confession, Communion, etc. 16mo., pp. 734. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

"Contributors to the *QUARTERLY* will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the *REVIEW* not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

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THE POWER OF THE KEYS IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

A.

"The members of the Conference are agreed that the discipline of Private Confession and Absolution cannot be shown to have existed for some centuries after the foundation of the Church. It grew, in fact, out of the gradual disuse, perhaps about the fifth century, of . . . Public Penance."—Report of the Fulham Round Table Conference on Confession and Absolution, p. 109.)

B.

"That the Primitive Church knew nothing of this [the Power of the Keys] is plainly inferable from the silence of the Early Fathers."—(Mr. Lea, "The Power of the Keys," p. 109.)

C.

"This power [of the Keys] is not permitted to heresy, for this right is granted to priests alone. Rightly, then, does the Church that has real priests claim this power. Heresy that has not priests of God cannot claim it."—(St. Ambrose, "De Pœnitentia," lib. I., c. 2.)

THERE are two kinds of Christian Apologetics, one general, the other special. The one deals mainly with the Divinity of Christ and the credentials of the Church, the other with the details of the Christian Faith. Moreover, the latter employs different methods for different classes of truths. Mysteries, for example—the Trinity, say, and the Incarnation—involve, chiefly, questions of philosophy; the Sacraments, questions of history. It is the latter method—the historical—with which we are in this paper mostly concerned. Furthermore, the historical method used by opponents against the Sacraments, and especially against the Sacra-

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ment of Penance, is not positive but negative. They urge not precisely that historical evidence is against the Sacrament of Penance, but rather that there is not enough historical evidence for it.

I.

THE METHOD OF PROOF.

How is this manner of argumentation to be met? Are we to reply by the production of Biblical texts? Is the Holy Bible to be in this matter the final court of appeal? Is Scripture to be recognized as the only storehouse of revealed truth? Restricting our consideration to the Sacraments, and specifically to the Sacrament of Penance, we freely admit that the Bible is on this matter exceedingly brief. Who, then, is to be here the authoritative interpreter of the Bible?

On this question, as on others, Protestants¹ are driven to appeal to a source external to the Bible. They are obliged to consult Tradition. I take three instances—one negative and two positive. First, Anglicans must fall back on Tradition to show that feet-washing is not a sacrament, in face of Christ's words: "If, then, I your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you." (St. John xiii., 13.) Secondly, only by Tradition can they prove that the baptism of infants is a sacrament. Christ said: "Except a *man* be born of water," etc. (St. John iii., 5.) Thirdly, only by Tradition can they prove that baptism conferred by heretics is valid. For a long time the invalidity was hotly maintained on many hands until Pope Siricius towards the end of the fourth century scotched the error by a dogmatic decree. In these three instances the Bible by itself affords no solid basis; nay, it rather suggests difficulties. Yet these are revelations of Christ. For Christ alone could institute Sacraments, and He alone could lay down the conditions under which the sacramental rites should be valid or invalid.

But more fundamental still for the Protestant, the New Testament on which he, most illogically, ultimately bases Christianity cannot be proved to be inspired, except by means of the organon of Tradition. Christ Himself never declared the New Testament inspired, for He wrote none of it, and no part of it existed during His lifetime. No Book of the New Testament declares itself inspired. Nor even if it did would its word avail anything, since the testimony is worthless of a witness to his own veracity. But

¹ By "Protestant," I understand one who being baptized does not admit the infallible authority of the Pope.

from among the many documents inspired and apocryphal,² the Church, the mouthpiece of Tradition, at the end of the fourth century, picked out those we now call "canonical," and declared them, and them alone, to be inspired. Therefore our certainty of inspiration is conditioned by our prior certainty of the infallibility of the Church, the mouthpiece of Tradition.

Here, then, as Protestants admit, we have essential questions of revelation, and yet of a revelation that has not been clearly handed down by the Bible. By whom, therefore? The answer by Catholics and Protestants is identical. By Tradition!

The Sacrament of Penance is then, we are agreed, to be found not in Scripture alone, but in Scripture and Tradition.

But what do we mean, precisely, by Tradition? Is Tradition nothing more than the ecclesiastical literature of past centuries? Nothing else than historical documents? Has it all been written down and preserved by the Fathers? Certainly not. Turn to the Sacraments and you find at once that the deficiencies of the Bible reappear, to some extent, in the Fathers. Where do they enumerate the Seven Sacraments? Where do they set forth the essential forms of the Sacraments? What reason have we to assume that the Fathers wrote down all the Tradition with which they were familiar? The Patristic tomes are not catechisms, not handbooks, not systematic treatises on Dogmatics, not formal manuals of Moral Theology. The writings of the Fathers were penned—like the Books of the New Testament—to meet special occasions, to supply particular wants, in answer to specific questions, to suit local circumstances. Moreover, we know that the *disciplina arcani* was scrupulously observed in regard to the Sacraments—"mysteries" as they were called—and therefore that the Church trusted largely to oral transmission. Furthermore, through the invasions of barbarians, the persecutions of heretics and the hostility of pagans, many writings of the Fathers have utterly perished.

Consequently we have a right to be suspicious of the negative contention that Penance is not a Sacrament because the rite is not clearly set forth in either the Bible or the early Fathers; that its appearance in later ecclesiastical literature counts for nothing since it is found in no texts of the earlier centuries, before primitive Christianity had had time to grow corrupt. Opponents do indeed offer these unsatisfactory arguments and arbitrarily fix the beginnings of this imaginary "corruption," some at one date, some at another, to suit the varying exigencies of this or that controversy.

² For example, the Epistle of St. Clement was in the early days read publicly in many churches, and in some Codices is ranked among the inspired writings.

Moreover, the *à priori* argument is obvious enough, that as the post-Apostolic ages are never to be granted a new revelation, God must have given to these ages, as a final Judge of appeal, something more than a fragmentary Bible, supplemented by informal, lost or mutilated ecclesiastical writings. If there is to be no salvation without faith,³ and no faith without belief in the whole of God's revelation,⁴ and no real belief in that revelation without certainty,⁵ surely there is, at any rate, a presumption in favor of that living and continuous infallibility which is the mark of world-wide Catholic beliefs, of the Church's universal practice concerning the Sacraments, and of her solemn decisions in controverted questions.

No one who admits a visible Church would on *à priori* grounds deny its infallibility as impossible or absurd. Nor will any reasonable person deny that certain Scriptural expressions at any rate favor this infallibility. Christ said, in effect: "Go, teach, baptize, and behold I am with you always, everywhere to the end." "I will send you the Spirit of Truth to dwell forever with you." And St. Paul: "The Church is without spot or blemish, the pillar and ground of the truth."

Nor will any competent scholar deny that from very early times the Fathers seem, at least, to teach infallibility; for instance, when Irenæus bears witness to the "charisma of certain truth belonging to the Succession of the Episcopate."⁶

Tradition, therefore, implies more than written history. It extends beyond manuscripts. It is more extensive than texts. It is not exhausted by the sifting of printed evidence. The Church is the organ of Tradition, the Church infallible, assisted supernaturally, mystically, divinely. The Church is the living storehouse of Tradition, and even if printed books fail, still she may be implicitly trusted. For the Church has been present as a witness of the facts whereto she testifies, she has an unfailing memory, and she never dies.

It will be said, perhaps, that this doctrine does not commend itself to the modern spirit. From Anglicans, however, such an objection comes with an illgrace. They admit inspiration; with what consistency, then, can they deny infallibility? For the latter is less of a difficulty than the former. Yet the inspiration of the Bible they recognize. If not, how does the Bible differ from other books? And if it does not differ, why do Protestants pay it such honor, scatter it broadcast, describe it as the storehouse of all revelation? Than inspiration what can there be more supernatural,

³ "Without faith it is impossible to please God." (Heb. xi. 6.)

⁴ "Going teach all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." (St. Matt. xxviii. 20.)

⁵ Faith is to believe without doubting all that God has revealed.

⁶ Irenæus, "Contra Hæreses," iv., c. 26; Migne, vii., col. 1053.

more mystical, more divine? Infallibility is a smaller gift than inspiration. For inspiration is a positive charisma, infallibility only a negative; inspiration teaches what should be said; infallibility only withholds from teaching what should not be said. Moreover, infallibility is a gift absolutely necessary to safeguard inspiration, to shelter it from false and contradictory interpretations. Without infallibility, inspiration is in practice all but useless—as the continued multiplication of religious sects daily proves, and the contradictory interpretation of Bible texts makes obvious. Protestants may not, then, deny infallibility because it is supernatural and mystical, yet admit inspiration, which is still more supernatural and still more mystical.

The Fathers themselves refer us to unwritten Tradition. They consider as infallibly certain the universal custom and practice of the Church, even where there are no ancient documents to which to appeal. Take three brief instances:

First. Against the Pelagians St. Augustine argues, from the general practice in his day, to the validity of infant baptism. Infant baptism was, and is, a universal custom, not proved by written documents, but based solely on the authority of the Church our Mother, the assured rule of truth, the impregnable wall from which every attack falls back baffled.⁷

Secondly. Fulgentius has to solve the question whether or not the baptism was valid of an adult, who having asked for it, and then become unconscious, had been baptized in that state. In the Bible there was nothing to which to appeal, nothing in earlier writers. But Fulgentius appealed confidently to Church usage—which was, in such a case, to baptize—and said that “the Church would not thus act if thereby this man received nothing. For the Apostle bears witness that the Church is ‘the pillar and the ground of truth.’ Were there an instance in the mysteries of the faith wherein the Church was not infallible, the Church would no longer be ‘the pillar and ground of the truth.’ ”⁸

Thirdly. As in the West, so too in the East. St. Basil wrote: “The Apostles and Fathers who, at the beginning, prescribed certain rites for the Church, safeguard by silence and secrecy the dignity of the holy mysteries. A mystery is no longer a mystery if it be published abroad and made notorious. Consequently, in the transmission of certain matters they avoided the expression of them in writing.” St. Basil there applies the *disciplina arcani* to the “mysteries,” that is, the Sacraments.⁹

⁷ St. Augustine, “Serm.” 294, cc. 17, 18; Migne, xxxviii. col. 1846.

⁸ Fulgentius, “Epist.” 12, c. 10; Migne, lxxv. col. 389.

⁹ St. Basil, “De Spirit. Sanct.” c. 32; Migne, “P. G.” xxxii. col. 187.

The Fathers therefore recognize as notorious the existence of oral Tradition.

To the objection that oral Tradition must needs be distorted by time, we have a two-fold answer. First, not if the Tradition concern a plain detail of routine practice, such as is the simple administration of a Sacrament. Secondly, not if God be watching over this oral Tradition and safeguarding what is essential in the sacred rite.

Against the negative historical attack on religion, and especially on the Sacraments, and specifically on the Sacrament of Penance, we have a two-fold method of defense—the analytic and the synthetic. Each detail of the faith which the heretic attacks, the analytic method would defend by confronting the negation with an array of historical texts; the synthetic, by setting forth essential teaching and practice of the infallible Church. The former method is long and unsatisfactory; the latter short and efficacious. Life is too brief to be ever prying among the foundations of our spiritual house to see whether they can support the superstructure which in fact shelters us. That truth was, eighteen centuries ago, realized and well expressed by Tertullian:

It is a thankless job to engage in a quest wherein your discovery must beget weariness and vexation. . . . You may perchance lose only your voice and waste merely the efforts of your lungs, but neither will you gain anything, except perhaps bile and the hearing of blasphemies.¹⁰

Hence he suggests a better plan:

Before plunging into a discussion of the Scriptures, our business is to ask, first to whom the Scriptures belong, from whom the faith comes, by whom and to whom the Gospel doctrine has been transmitted? All questions under dispute are thus focussed into one. For from the moment we know where Christ's doctrine really exists, we are certain to find there the true Scriptures, the true interpretation of them, and the true Christian tradition.¹¹

"The true Christian Tradition!" Therefore not only does the Church, the guardian of all revealed truth, unerringly preserve the Bible and the true meaning of the Bible, she is also the unfailing custodian of ancient Tradition and the only trustworthy interpreter of the contents of that Tradition.

But, it will be said, "Patristic documents are stubborn facts. Are you then afraid of facts?" We reply by asking what is here meant precisely by "facts?" These "facts" are positive or negative. If we are dealing with Penance, they either prove—negatively—that nothing was said about Penance, or—positively—that things were said adverse to Penance. These "facts" are either the fact of silence or the fact of adverse statement. The positive argument may be satisfactory, the negative argument is nearly always insufficient.

¹⁰ Tertull, "De Præscrip." c. 15; Migne, II. col. 28.

¹¹ Id. 1b. c. 19.

The positive argument tries, let us say, to show, by patristic quotations, an absolute and essential contradiction between the primitive and the later Church. Take the instance of baptism touched on above. The primitive Church baptized by immersion, the later Church suppressed immersion. Here is an obvious contradiction. Is it also essential? The "fact" is beyond dispute. Are we then "afraid of the fact?" Not in the least. For though an obvious fact, it is not an essential fact. The change in question affects only accidentals. Baptism performed by sprinkling water on the head of the child is *essentially* the same as the baptism of adults by immersion. But why is immersion not essential? Because the Church says it is not. Well, but how does the Church know? By unwritten Tradition. It is, therefore, not enough to have "facts," but we need an authoritative interpretation of the "facts."

The negative argument from the "facts," which we are supposed to fear, is even less satisfactory. It amounts to this: To prove such and such a point—say, early Auricular Confession—you Catholics have no documents, or not enough documents or documents not ancient enough, or documents not decisive enough. Such an argument, however, is rarely valid, and is never safe. For silence is not equivalent to disproof. One witness who affirms excels a thousand who say nothing. The testimony of Catholic Tradition, even when unwritten, affords a basis of belief which the negative argument from silence does nothing to destroy. Before the negative argument can acquire any validity these three following canons of criticism must be duly established:

First Canon. It must be proved that had the point in dispute been a fact, the author whose silence is invoked could not have remained ignorant of that fact.

Second Canon. That, unless ignorant, he could not, for any reason, have remained silent about it.

Third Canon. That in all his works, preserved or lost, he did remain silent about it.

In the matter of early Auricular Confession, an adversary must show that no known early author even once refers to it in any work of his which we possess, or in any which may have been lost; that had he known of it he could not have rested satisfied with oral Tradition, but must of necessity have put it down in writing in the days when writing was much more uncommon than now; that there was no *disciplina arcani*, or any other reason to prevent its being written down.

And in applying these canons to early Auricular Confession these following facts are to be borne in mind:

Confession was far less *en évidence* then than it is now. In those

early ages there was no custom of confessing venial sins. There was no law of annual confession, so that those who thought themselves sinless did not approach the tribunal of Penance. Moreover, the evil custom crept in of communicating without first confessing, as we know from the complaints of St. John Chrysostom.¹² Many remained catechumens all their lives—for example, Constantine and Constantius—and were satisfied to be baptized when *in extremis*, and therefore it is probable that many of those who had been baptized and had fallen into sin deferred till the last their reconciliation with God by confession. As to the silence of the ancient ecclesiastical Canons, they treated of external details. Public Penance, for instance, and as a rule said little or nothing about the inner part of the Sacraments, or about what took place in private. And as to the silence of liturgical works, it must be remembered that Auricular Confession was not a sacrament distinct from Public Penance, any more than Private Baptism is a sacrament distinct from Solemn Baptism; in each case they are but different forms of the same. And as oral Tradition and custom sufficed to hand down the simple form of Baptism, so have they also sufficed to hand down the simple form of Penance—Auricular Confession.¹³

II.

THE RATIO THEOLOGICA.

Having thus briefly discussed the method of proof, let us now shortly apply that method to the question in hand, the existence of private and sacramental Confession in the early ages of Christianity. We argue to that existence by the following summary of theological reasoning.

The Council of Trent defined the Sacrament of Penance to have been instituted *jure divino*, and to be necessary to salvation.¹⁴ It defined, moreover, that private confession to a priest in secret, which had been ever practised in the Church *from the beginning*, was not foreign to Christ's institution and command, and was not a human invention.¹⁵ Moreover, the Council defined confession to be necessary in this sense, that all mortal sins committed after baptism had to be confessed, and not merely that the penitent had to submit his conscience to the keys once in life, after which he should be left to his

¹² "Hom. de Bapt. Christi." n. 4; Migne, xlix. col. 369.

referred to? Nevertheless they believe in it and teach it.

¹⁴ "Si quis negaverit Confessionem Sacramentalem vel institutam vel ad

¹⁵ In the sermons of present-day preachers how often is Extreme Unction salutem necessariam esse jure divino . . . A. S." (Sess. 14, can. 6; Denzinger's "Enchiridion," n. 794.)

¹⁵ Id. ib.

own private contrition.¹⁶ And this necessity for integral and repeated confession the Council deduced from the very words whereby Christ instituted the Sacrament of Penance.¹⁷ Furthermore, the Council emphatically and repeatedly declares that the Church has *always* held this doctrine.¹⁸

Moreover, in the Constitution "Auctorem Fidei," in which Pius VI. (August 28, 1794) stigmatized eighty-five propositions of the Synod of Pistoia, he condemns the Jansenists who, relying on what they called the venerable discipline of ancient days, proposed as an excellent deterrent from sin to refuse absolution to relapsed sinners even at the hour of death. This hideous proposal the Pope declared to be contrary to the thirteenth canon of the First Council of Nice, to the decretal of Innocent I. to Exsuperius, to the decretal of Celestine I. to the Bishops of the Province of Vienne and Narbonne, and to be redolent of that wrong-headedness which Celestine rejected with horror.¹⁹

The fifteen members of the Fulham Round Table Conference had the courage to say, in effect, that they were unable to agree with the opinions and decisions of the Tridentine Fathers! But if the Church at any period of her existence had reduced the Sacrament of Penance to the narrow limits of Public Penance, according to the Council of Trent she would have violated divine law. For Public Penance was confined to certain mortal sins, the sacrament extends to all. Public Penance was not given twice; the sacrament must be given as often as the relapsed sinner asks for it with contrition. Public Penance could not be given to a dying sinner; the Sacrament of Penance could, and was so given.

Therefore, besides Public Penance there was also another less manifest form of Sacramental Penance—Auricular Confession.

For the sake of brevity and clearness we now proceed to lay down the following positions, the right understanding of which will tend

¹⁶ "Si quis dixerit in Catholica Ecclesia Pœnitentiam non esse vere et proprie Sacramentum, pro fidelibus, quoties post Baptismum in peccata labuntur, ipsi Deo reconciliandis, a Christo institutum A. S." (Id. 16, can. 1; Denzinger, n. 789.) And again, "Esse jure divino confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia." (Can. 7; Denzinger, n. 795.)

¹⁷ Cap. 5; Denz. n. 779; St. Matt. ix. 6; St. Mark ii. 10: "The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins." St. John xx. 21: "As My Father hath sent Me, even so I send you." St. John xx. 22: "He breathed on them and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted; and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained." (Cf. St. Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18.) This was well put by Lord Halifax at the Round Table Conference. (Cf. p. 12, Report.)

¹⁸ "Universorum Patrum consensus semper intellexit." (Sess. 14, cap. 1; Denz. n. 774.) "Universa Ecclesia semper intellexit." (Cap. 5; Denz. n. 779.) "Secreta Confessio sacramentalis qua ab initio Ecclesia usa est." (Cap. 5, Denz. n. 780; Can. 3, Denz. n. 791; Can. 6, Denz. n. 794.)

¹⁹ Denzinger, n. 1401.

greatly to simplify the complicated question under discussion. The concatenation of these headings we leave in part to the acumen of the reader.

III.

WHAT WAS THE MATTER OF PUBLIC PENANCE?

Public Penance, Tertullian,²⁰ an eye-witness, describes as the discipline of prostration and humiliation. He describes the penitents as clothed in sackcloth and ashes, with unwashed bodies; their food bread and water. They had to fast and pray, to grovel at the feet of others, to groan and lament with tears. They lay at the church door, not being allowed admittance, sometimes for years and sometimes for life. Public Penance, however, varied very considerably in different parts of the Church.

But this stern punishment was limited to the three Penitential or Capital sins of Idolatry, Homicide and Adultery, understood, however, in a generic sense. These were *the* mortal sins, *par excellence*. Idolatry was the lapse of a Christian back into paganism. Homicide included brigandage. Adultery stood for the grosser sins of uncleanness.

Be it then carefully noted that the sins for which Public Penance was done were three, and three only.

Other sins must therefore have been forgiven in another way—by Private Confession.

The Penitential sins were three. Tertullian²¹ (born 160) writes:

Behold the Idolater, the Homicide, and (between them) the Adulterer. All three seated together, through the duty of penance, grimy in sackcloth and ashes, breathing the same sighs, soliciting by the same prayers the compassion of the faithful, casting themselves in the same fashion on their knees, and invoking the same Mother.

And St. Gregory of Nyssa (born 330) explains why these Penitential sins were three only. Moreover, we may note that he is describing a state of things long prior to his own, the fourth century, for he makes constant appeal to the institutions and traditions of the Fathers. In his Canonical Epistle to Letojus, Bishop of Melitines,²² he divides sins into three classes, according to the Greek tripartite division of the soul faculties, into the Rational, Concupiscible and Irascible,²³ and in each of these classes the spiritual physicians have chosen one, and one only, for cure by canonical penance. To the Rational part belongs idolatry, that is, the apostasy from Christian-

²⁰ "De Pœnit," c. 9; Hurter's "Sanctorum Patrum Opuscula," vol. v. p. 196.

²¹ "De Pudicitia," c. 5; Migne, II. 987.

²² Migne, xlv. 222.

²³ τὸ λογιστικόν, τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ θυμοειδές.

ity to paganism, the penance for which is lifelong. To the Concupiscible part belongs adultery, *i. e.*, uncleanness; for which the penance is three years' exclusion from public prayer, three more years among the "auditors," and a third three among the "prostrated." To the Irascible part belongs homicide, which includes brigandage, sacrilege, the theft of consecrated objects and the violation of sepulchres.

There were many other mortal sins besides those which were called Penitential or Canonical, as St. Gregory in this self-same passage (canon v.) clearly testifies. He says:

From anger flow, without doubt, many sins and evils of all kinds. However, our ancestors judged it well not to censure them all, not to display overmuch zeal in the attempt to cure all the sins begotten of anger . . . Hence against homicide alone have they set up the barrier of Public Penance.

It is of prime importance to grasp this fact, that there were other mortal sins besides the three that fell under the Canonical Penance. How, then, were they forgiven? By Auricular Confession. Take heresy, for instance. It was an enormous sin, and was so regarded. Yet it did not fall under the Canonical Penance. It was forgiven by private sacramental confession. Tertullian writes:

Who doubts that a heretic, deceived by false teaching, after making known his fall and expiating it by penance, not only obtains pardon, but returns to the bosom of the Church?

Perhaps, however, an adversary might maintain that the early Fathers regarded all sins, except the three Canonical, as venial—even heresy itself? If so, the following passage from St. John Climacus will remove his mistake:

One day a scholar asked me this hard question: Which is the gravest of all sins after homicide and apostasy? I replied that it was heresy. Then, he said, how comes it that the Catholic Church receives back heretics when they sincerely recant their heresy, and admits them to the mysteries [sacraments]? Whereas the adulterer, in spite of his confession, in spite of the avowal of his sin, is only received back to be kept for a long time from the holy mysteries? ²⁴

The Penitential or Canonical sins were then three only. The corollary is thus obvious. There was a multitude of mortal sins that did not fall under the Public Penance. Nor could it have been otherwise. For had all those who had sinned mortally been obliged to undergo the Canonical Penance and for years to remain outside the church doors, the church porches would have been full, the churches themselves empty. Yet we know that this was not so. Not indeed because of the absence of mortal sins, for human nature was then very much what it is now, and indeed the Fathers fre-

²⁴ "Scala Paradisi," grad. 15; Migne, lxxxviii. col. 889.

quently complain bitterly of the moral disorders of their time. St. Paul says: "Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners shall inherit the kingdom of God." (I. Cor. vi., 9.) Among these sins most were non-canonical. Yet they were mortal, excluding from "the kingdom of God." How, then, were they forgiven? By Auricular Confession.

IV.

WERE ALL PENITENTS WHO HAD COMMITTED ANY OF THE THREE CANONICAL CRIMES OBLIGED TO UNDERGO PUBLIC PENANCE?

Not all. Clerics were certainly not. Pope Siricius (canon 585) in his letter to Himerius,²⁵ lays it down expressly that to no cleric is Public Penance allowed—*pœnitentiam agere cuicumque non conceditur clericorum*. Nor was this an innovation made by Siricius. St. Leo,²⁶ writing to Rusticus of Narbonne, declares that it "comes down from Apostolic Tradition."

Moreover, to several classes of society Public Penance was an impossibility—to magistrates, to laborers, to all whose toilsome work demanded their whole strength and time, to the sick, to the infirm, to the young, and so forth.

How, then, were their sins forgiven? By Private Confession.

V.

HOW OFTEN WAS THE PUBLIC PENANCE GIVEN?

When a penitent had finished his Public Penance, and then lapsed again into one of the three Canonical crimes, what happened to him? Had he to begin another Public Penance? And, if not, how was the sin forgiven?

The answer is plain. It is abundantly evident that the Public Penance was never repeated. That was the Canonical law.

St. Augustine²⁷ writes of those who had apostatized and then repented—the famous *lapsi*:

No place in the church is any longer granted them for this most humiliating penance. Wise and prudent is the decision arrived at that once only in life should a penitent be allowed to undergo it.

What, then, happened when a *lapsus* grew penitent and sought to be reconciled to the Church and to God? Was there no absolu-

²⁵ Cap. 14, n. 18; Migne, xlii. col. 1145; Hurter's "Opuscula," ton. xvii, p. 217.

²⁶ Letter 167; Migne, lii. col. 1203; Hurter, "Opuscula," x. p. 64, note.

²⁷ "Epist." 153, n. 7, ad Macedonium; Migne, xxxlii. 656.

tion from the Church for him? Are we to believe that he was in a far worse plight than a sinner with a Papal reserved case? For the latter could be absolved at any time by the Pope, and by any priest at the hour of the penitent's death.

Before a discipline so barbarous can be fastened upon the Christian Church, it must be demonstrated by arguments clear and cogent as the theorems of geometry.

The assertion of such rigorism is dead against the Council of Trent. In sess. 14, cap. 7,²⁸ the Council declares that:

The practice of the Church has at all times (*semper*) prevailed that there should be no reservation at the hour of death; and therefore that (then) any priest can absolve any class of penitents from any kind of sins and censures.

VI.

WAS PUBLIC PENANCE FOR THE THREE CANONICAL CRIMES OBLIGATORY OR OPTIONAL?

For one class only was it obligatory, for all others optional. It was obligatory for those who had sinned publicly and to the open scandal of the community. They had to undergo it under pain of excommunication. Even when absolved during sickness, they were required to promise to undergo it in case of recovery. But this once only, and never twice.

On the whole, then, Public Penance was not an infliction, but a grace; not a punishment imposed, but a favor granted, and granted but once lest its value should be depreciated. And thus we find that it was only allowed after earnest petition, as Morinus has amply proved.²⁹ Hence it was regarded as a terrible privation for those who, having relapsed into one of the three capital crimes, were not admitted a second time to Public Penance, because they were adjudged unworthy of such a favor.

In the case of those, therefore, who were not obliged and did not choose to undergo Public Penance, how was this burden of sin remitted? Will any one maintain that there were no means for its remission? It seems clear that such penitents must have had recourse to Private Confession.

VII.

WAS PUBLIC PENANCE IDENTICAL WITH PUBLIC CONFESSION?

No, the former in no sense supposed the latter. The two are, indeed, to be sharply distinguished. No text of the Fathers requires

²⁸ Denzinger, n. 782.

²⁹ "Comment. Historico-Dogm. de Pœnitentia," iv. c. 16; v. c. 30.

Public Confession of specific sins. St. Leo (became Pope in 440) lays it down as an apostolic rule that Private Confession is enough even when the Penance is public. The abuse had, no doubt, been introduced by certain rigorists into two or three provinces of Italy, of requiring the faithful who came to be absolved to make a list of their sins to be read out in public. Against this tyranny the Pope protested energetically; he called it "presumption," "unlawful usurpation," "an abuse to be at all costs rooted out;" he laid it down as an absolute and universal principle that it was enough if the guilty conscience was, by secret confession, laid open to a priest in secret.

Public Penance, then, was the "Satisfaction," but it was enough according to Apostolic tradition to make the "Confession" in private. A public avowal of sins, even if, in cases of grave scandal, sometimes counseled, was never imposed as an obligation. We argue, therefore, that Auricular Confession preceded even the Public Penance.

Moreover, if we look to the question of the *sigillum*, the Secret of Confession, it is hard to see how the practice could have been otherwise. For how else could the Seal of Confession have been kept inviolate? Before the penitent undertook a Public Confession, before he ran the grave risk of giving scandal rather than edification by an open declaration of his sins, he had, as Origen observes,³⁰ first to take counsel either with the Bishop or with the Priest Penitentiary, and to lay open his conscience to them. Without a prior confession, made in private, how could a penitent whose ill-deeds had been entirely secret have had the proper amount of Public Penance assigned him, its place, its degree, its duration, and so on? And having made his confession in private, what would have become of the Seal of Confession if he had been compelled to repeat it in public?

Look at it another way. If Public Confession was a duty, was that duty of divine or human law? If of divine, why is not Public Confession exacted to-day, since divine right cannot change? By the Council of Trent it is expressly declared that the Church has *at all times* held integral confession of all mortal sins to be necessary *jure divino*,³¹ but Public Confession to be neither necessary nor *de jure divino*,³² Public Confession then was not a divine law.

³⁰ Hom. II. n. 6, In Ps. 37; Migne, xli. col. 1386.

³¹ "Universa Ecclesia semper intellexit . . . integrum peccatorum Confessionem . . . post Baptismum . . . jure divino necessariam existere." (Sess. 14, cap. 5; Denzinger, n. 779.)

³² "Etsi Christus non vetuerit quin aliquis . . . delicta sua publice confiteri possit, non est tamen hoc divino præcepto mandatum." (Id. ib.; Denzinger, n. 780.)

But was it a human law? It was sometimes counseled, but was it ever imposed? The Council declares that the imposition—which is not the same thing as the permission—by ecclesiastical law would have been imprudent.³³ Will any one dishonor the Church by imputing to her this “imprudence?” *Nemo malus donec probetur!*

That Public Confession was never obligatory let us support by two citations, one from the Greek, the other from the Latin Church.

Representing the Greeks, St. Basil (born 329) wrote:³⁴

Just as a man does not imprudently make known his bodily ailments to any chance person, but only to those who know how to cure them; in like manner, the confession of sins should be made to those who can cure them.

Who are they? St. Basil answers:³⁵

The dispensers of the Sacred “Mysteries,” i. e., Confessors.

In behalf of the Latins we may quote from the “Life of St. Ambrose” (born 340) by his notary, Paulinus:³⁶

When any one had confessed his sins in order to receive penance, the Saint so wept that he forced the penitent to weep also. The crimes that had been confessed to him he spoke of to God alone, making intercession for the guilty one. Thus he left to priests a beautiful example to become intercessors before God rather than accusers before men.

It is obvious that in the fourth century Public Confession was not an obligation.

VIII.

WAS PUBLIC PENANCE A SACRAMENTAL RITE?

It was. It was the “Satisfaction” of private Sacramental Confession. To a penitent who had privately confessed, but had solicited a Public Penance, a true sacramental absolution was given when the Public Penance began. This absolution may have been similar in form, but was entirely distinct in effect from the final reconciliation. This reconciliation was the concluding rite of the Public Penance, was far more solemn in form and therefore was far better known than the initial sacramental absolution. The final reconciliation was sometimes given by a deacon, and though not sacramental absolution, it was nevertheless an absolution from all ecclesiastical censures.

That the sacramental absolution preceded the Public Penance, in the Greek Church at least, is notorious. Morinus³⁷ proves it

³³ “Non satis consulte humana aliqua lege præciperetur ut delicta, præsertim secreta, publica essent confessione aperienda.” (Id. ib.)

³⁴ “Reg. Brev.” 229; Migne, xxxi. col. 1235.

³⁵ Migne, lb. col. 1283.

³⁶ N. 39; Migne, xiv. col. 40.

³⁷ Lib. vi. ch. 24.

by the ancient Greek Penitentiaries which he published. Moreover, Sozomen³⁸ shows that it was the Priest Penitentiary who gave sacramental absolution to penitents before they began the Public Penance.

As to the Latin Church, had its practice in this respect been separated from that of the Greek by such a gulf of difference as opponents pretend, would not clear evidence of the fact have come down to us? Had the Latin Church shown itself so rigorous as to refuse for years absolution to repentant sinners, should we not have heard of it, would there not have been protests, complaints, controversies on the subject? And where is there a trace of any such?

If we turn now from this negative to positive evidence, we may quote St. Augustine, who blamed his priests for deserting their posts in the days of persecution when of their flock some were asking for baptism, others for reconciliation, others for the imposition of penance, all for the consolation and administration of the Sacraments. And he continues:³⁹

If through want of ministers of the Sacraments these hapless ones pass out of life unregenerated (by baptism), or without being loosed (from sin by absolution), what ruin, what loss to their souls?

But what does his distinction between "reconciliation" and the "imposition (or "action" as he calls it) of penance" indicate, if not that sacramental absolution preceded the penance? In such an hour of storm and stress it could not have been the Public Penance they had in mind, but the sacramental absolution that accompanied the imposition of penance.

A little later (in 432) Pope Celestine I., addressing the Bishop of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne, blames priests and Bishops who refuse "penance" to the dying. Such clerics he calls "soul-murderers."

What else is this but to add death to the dying and to kill the soul by a cruelty which withholds absolution . . . He therefore deprives a soul of salvation who refuses at the time of death the request for penance.⁴⁰

Of what penance is the Pope here speaking? Certainly not of the Public Penance which lasted for months and even for years. The penitent was dying; the "penance" then could not be that formal "reconciliation" which at the conclusion of Public Penance was, in presence of all the faithful, solemnly given by the Bishop. Celestine is referring neither to the Public Penance nor the Solemn Reconciliation, but to some other form of absolution—that of sacramental Auricular Confession.

³⁸ "Hist. Eccles." vii. ch. 16; Migne, lxxvii. col. 1457.

³⁹ Letter to Honoratus, 228, n. 8; Migne, xxxiii. col. 1016.

⁴⁰ Migne, lvi. col. 576.

And, to cite one more instance, Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne, writes to ask St. Leo (440) what is to be done with those who as children had been baptized, then taken captive by pagans, and who finally returned and asked to be admitted to the sacraments. The Pope answered:

If they have adored idols, or have committed homicide, or have been fornicators, they are not to be admitted to Communion until after Public Penance.⁴¹

Here we have the three Canonical crimes again distinctly specified. The Pope goes on:

If they have only committed the sin of taking part in pagan feasts and of eating meat offered to false gods, they can be purified by fastings and by the imposition of hands.

What is this "imposition of hands" with intent to cleanse? What else but a form of Penance administered by the Church? Not indeed Public Penance, against which it is distinguished. Then private Penance—sacramental Absolution!

The same fact emerges from a study of the ancient Penitentiaries, both Greek and Latin. They give forms of absolution identical for the beginning and for the end of the Public Penance. A Bishop usually performed the final reconciliation, but a priest at least (a deacon was not enough) was required for the initial rite which was called "absolution." Martène⁴² has published a very ancient *Ordo*, in which the priest after having questioned and confessed the penitent, receives these directions:

Then give the penitent a penance proportioned to the sins he has committed, as in the Penitentiary is set forth. Next let the priest absolve him, lest perchance sudden death should come upon him and he should quit this world (legatus) bound by sin.

IX.

WHAT WAS THE USE AND PURPOSE OF THE PUBLIC PENANCE?

We have shown that the Public Penance was given only for the three Canonical crimes, and was given only once. A far milder form of Penance was given; (1) to those sinners who fell a second time into a Canonical crime; to all other classes of sinners; to all clerics; and to all who were incapacitated by circumstances from performing the Public Penance. We have shown, moreover, that in the main, Public Penance was a grace permitted and not a punishment inflicted.

But in face of these facts an obvious difficulty suggests itself.

⁴¹ Letter 168; Migne, liv. col. 1209.

⁴² "De Antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus," lib. i. c. 6, act 7: *Ordo x.*

Why should any penitent undergo this rigorous penance when he could have escaped so much more easily?

To this we reply that the Public Penance had points in its favor. For those early ages of faith it had special advantages, powerful attractions. It alone represented the full and perfect remission of sin, not only of the guilt, but also of the temporal punishment due after the guilt has been forgiven. It was equivalently a second baptism. Once the Public Penance was discharged, the penitent could joyously claim that there remained no soil of sin, no more temporal punishment, no more debts to pay—and that, no matter how long-lasting and how black his crimes had been—but innocence fully restored, a soul white with grace, and if he died then, a heaven open at once to receive him. This was a second baptism won on terms much more severe than those of the first baptism, and therefore called by the Fathers, *Baptismus Laboriosus*. Public Penance was a second baptism and therefore, like the first, could not be repeated. To us moderns all this is not easy to realize. We are always in a hurry, and, satisfied with the remission of guilt and the closing of the gates of Hell, we make less account of the "satisfaction"—which to some extent is a luxury of Penance. The difference is that the early Christians wiped away on earth that debt of temporal punishment which we moderns may—for all we know—have to account for in Purgatory by years of anguish. Hence we can understand that the Public Penance was regarded as a grace and not as the punishment of man.

Having by these rather disjointed notes to some extent cleared the way, we may now formally put to ourselves the question:

X.

DID AURICULAR CONFESSION EXIST IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH?

We reply by a Catena of the Fathers.

(a) Fifth Century.

It certainly existed in the fifth century, as the Lambeth Round Table Conference admitted.

St. Leo the Great (born 390) wrote to the Bishops of Campania:

It is an abuse, contrary to the apostolic rule, which I have lately heard has been, by a piece of unlawful usurpation, preached by some, and which I order at once to be removed—viz., that when the faithful ask for penance, a written confession of their sins is publicly read aloud.

It is enough that the guilt of consciences be revealed to priests alone in private confession. ⁴⁸

⁴⁸ "Reatus conscientiarum sufficit solis sacerdotibus indicare confessione secretâ." ("Epist." 168. "Ad Episc. Campaniæ et Samniti; Migne, liv. col. 1210.)

That is the evidence of the head of the Church in the middle of the fifth century—evidence, however, that the custom of Private Confession *had come down from the Apostles!*

So much for Italy in the fifth century. In the same century St. John Chrysostom, at Constantinople, who wrote in 403, said:⁴⁴

If you fall into sin, begin to do penance, and as often as you come to me, I will cure you.

Speaking for West Africa, St. Augustine (died in 430) expressed his pity for those who die "unbaptized or unabsolved." This passage we have quoted already. Again, in another place⁴⁵ he says:

There is the same necessity for reconciliation (by the Sacrament of Penance) as there is for Baptism.

(b) Fourth Century.

The historian, Sozomen⁴⁶ declares that the institution of the Priest Penitentiary at Constantinople dates from the beginning of Christianity, and that his work was to hear private confessions.

St. Basil (born 330), speaking for Asia Minor, writes:⁴⁷

In the confession of sins there is the same notion as in the revelation of bodily defects. As men do not hastily lay open bodily ailments to people at random, but only to those who have the means to cure them, in like manner the confession of sins also ought to be made to those only who can cure them.

And who are these physicians of souls? St. Basil answers in Reg. 288 N.:

Of necessity sins should be laid open to those to whom have been entrusted the "Mysteries of God."

And in the thirty-fourth Canon of St. Basil it is forbidden to denounce the crime of a woman's adultery *which the priest has known by Confession.*

St. Gregory of Nyssa (born 300) refers to the case of "secret theft" which the priest knows only by Confession.⁴⁸

And, speaking for Syria, Aphraates (born 280) in his tractate on Penance says:

As it does not shame a man, when he has been wounded in battle, to show himself to a wise physician and put himself in his hands, . . . so when a man has been overcome by the devil he is not in the least ashamed to confess his sin, and give it up, and ask for the medicine of penance. . . . Nor can a man be cured who is thus ashamed, seeing that he is unwilling to show his wounds to the physician.

And St. Ambrose (born 333), of Milan, says very clearly indeed⁴⁹ of the powers of binding and loosing:

⁴⁴ Harduin, "Concilia," I. col. 1042.

⁴⁵ "De Conjug. Adult." I. c. 28; Migne, xl. col. 470.

⁴⁶ Lib. vii. c. 16.

⁴⁷ "In. Reg. Brev." Reg. 229.

⁴⁸ Epist. Canon. can. 6; Migne, "P. G." xiv. col. 233.

⁴⁹ "De Pœnitentia," lib. I. c. 2, n. 7.

Both the Church possesses; heresy has neither. For this prerogative has been granted to priests alone.

And again:⁵⁰

God has granted to His priests the power to remit all sins, without any exception.

(c) Third Century.

Origen of Alexandria (born 185)⁵¹ speaks of the penitent who is not ashamed to reveal his fault to the priest of God and to ask him for a remedy:

Quum non erubescet sacerdoti Domini indicare peccatum suum et querere medicinam.

And again he writes:⁵²

The Holy Scripture teaches us that a man must not hide a sin within himself. Just as those with indigestion are eased and cured if they come to vomit, in like manner those who keep a secret sin in the depths of their conscience are oppressed and, as it were, stifled by the humours of the sin, but are eased as soon as they have vomited up that sin by accusing themselves and confessing it. . . . Address yourself to an approved physician.

And, speaking for Africa (he became a Christian, 245), St. Cyprian writes:⁵³

Let each confess his sin while he is yet on earth, while he has an opportunity of confession, while satisfaction and remission, made by priests, are grateful to the Lord.

And again:⁵⁴

Those who, having committed idolatry only in thought, hasten to confess their fault sadly and simply to the priests of the Lord, do thus make exomolosis of their conscience, expose the burden of their soul, and ask for a salutary remedy for their wounds, however small or slight they may be.

Here and elsewhere the great Bishop of Carthage is referring to the secret confession that preceded Public Penance.

Auricular Confession, as we have now shown, prevailed in Italy, Africa, Constantinople and Asia Minor, that is, in the principal churches of East and West, as far as can be gathered from documents of the fourth and third centuries. Sozomen and St. Leo affirm, moreover, that this custom goes back to the dawn of Christianity. Positive documents by which to prove this statement we do not possess. But neither is there any document that denies it. The statement, therefore, of the Fulham R. T. Conference that Private Confession arose about the fifth century has been proved to be utterly false.

Protestantism, however, has rejected not only Private, but also Public Penance. Yet the latter was just as much a sacrament as the former.

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⁵⁰ Cap. 3. n. 10.

⁵¹ "In Leviticum," Homil. II. c. 4; Migne, xii. p. 418.

⁵² "In Psal." 37, Homil. II.; Migne, xii. col. 1386.

⁵³ "De Lapsis," n. 29.

⁵⁴ Id. ib. n. 28.

DANTE'S MADONNA.

"Benedetta tue nelle figlie d' Adamo, e benedette sieno in eterno le bellezze tue."—*Purg.* 29, 85.

IT IS not difficult to see in Dante a herald of religious revolt, if we have eyes only for his differences with ecclesiastical superiors. Modern writers have so insisted on this opposition to authority that they have persuaded themselves and many others that the great Florentine was the precursor of a reform taken up by Savonarola and consummated by Luther. This claim to notoriety Dante would have been the first to repudiate. At the same time his outspoken condemnation of Popes and Cardinals, together with his imprudent zeal for the reform of abuses, have given color to the accusation and made the task of vindication far from easy. Yet we have Dr. Moore's authority for the statement that Dante's view on the relation of Church and State "is the chief, if not the only, subject on which Dante is really found in serious opposition to the generally accepted teaching of the Church."¹ This vexed question it is not our present intention to discuss. We merely remark in passing that ecclesiastical politics and religious faith are by no means convertible terms. Vigorous and ill-timed denunciations of abuses in discipline or practice do not necessarily involve a charge of error in doctrine. The omission to note this vital distinction leads to the most unjust estimate of many orthodox reformers and not a few saints. Personal prejudice and rancor almost inevitably play a large part in the domain of ecclesiastical politics, and this was notably the case in the Middle Ages. The surest way of judging of Dante's orthodoxy seems to be to turn to his views on matters purely theological. Here we have no personal bias or rancor to discount—a difficult element to gauge at all times, but especially after the lapse of centuries. Here Dante stands revealed as a loyal son of the Church. He is never at fault when expounding such delicate points as the authority of Holy Scripture, the necessity of faith and the doctrine of Purgatory. He is conspicuously a Catholic in his conception of the greatest privileges of the Mother of God. True, he has not left us a treatise on this sublime theme, though one feels he could have anticipated the devotional books of St. Alphonsus. For Dante's appreciation of Our Lady we must search through the pages of his poetry and prose. The numerous references to be found there must be considered as so many touches building up the perfect portrait. And when these delicate touches are brought together and laid one on another on the same canvas they present

¹ "Studies," Second Series.

a picture surprisingly complete. One feels that here if anywhere in literature is the Madonna of Christian art painted in words. It has lost nothing of its brilliant coloring and sweetness of expression; it has gained much in idealism and love for the human race.

To give some faint idea of Dante's Madonna, I propose to collate the more striking passages scattered through Dante's works. They naturally fall into four groups; viz., references to Our Lady's life, her physical beauty, her moral excellence and her power of intercession. For the sake of clearness it will be well to treat of them in this order.

The faithfulness with which Dante popularized the teaching of theologians, such as St. Bernard and St. Thomas Aquinas, must be incidentally noted, for it is our object to show that Dante's view of the Blessed Virgin is not novel, but strictly orthodox. The intensity of his love for the Mother of God needs no emphasis. We can readily believe him when he tells us that he invoked her name morning and evening in his prayers. It was his deep reverence for the "Blessed Mary" that forbade all mention of that name in the accursed regions of hell. To quote Dr. Moore again: "In the exalted position assigned by Dante to the Blessed Virgin as the Queen of Heaven, and the enthusiastic language in which he speaks of her, we recognize the expression not only of theological doctrine . . . but also of deep personal devotion."

First, I will give as exactly as possible the life of Our Lady as found up and down Dante's pages. Maria—la baldezza e l'onore dell'umana generazione—was of the line of David, the son of Jesse.³ She was the daughter of Joachim and Anne;³ of Anne who in Paradise gazes so long and so lovingly on her daughter that her eyes are never seen to wander from her. The poet takes it for granted that Our Lady was thirteen years old at the time of the Annunciation—giovinetta donzella di tredici anni.⁴ By her humble "Ecce ancilla Domini" she became "the one only bride of the Holy Ghost."⁵ This mystery of the Annunciation is reënacted in the Heaven of the Fixed Stars. There Gabriel is the attendant angel on the Mother of God. Again he spreads his wings before the Queen who so enamored him. The whole court takes up the strains of his Ave Maria. It is explained to Dante that by reason of this sublime mission long ago "exultancy and winsomeness, as much as there may be in angel or in soul, is all in him (*sc.* Gabriel); and we would have it so, for he it is who brought down the palm to

³ Conv. 4-5, 40.

³ Conv. 2-6, 14.

⁴ Conv. 2-6, 24.

⁵ Purg. 20, 97.

Mary, when the Son of God willed to load Himself with our burden."⁶ And the angel's description of his own office is not less beautiful: "I am angelic love, who circle round the joy sublime which breathes from out the womb that was the hostelry of our desire; and I will circle, Lady of Heaven, until thou followest thy Son, and makest more divine the sphere supreme."⁷

"Mary ran with haste into the hill country" is the cry of the slothful in Purgatory, as they are hurried along to their punishment. In the earthly paradise the twenty-four elders chant their blessings on the Virgin in words similar to those used by St. Elizabeth: "Blessed art thou among the daughters of Adam, and blessed to all eternity be thy beauties."⁸

We have reference in *De Monarchia* (2, 12) to the edict of Cæsar ordering the enrolment. To prove that the "*Romanum imperium*" is *de jure*, the patriot claims that Christ's obedience proves beyond a doubt that this edict was from a just source—nay, divine. "*Fortē sanctius est arbitrari, divinitus illud exivisse per Cæsarem.*" In the fifth circle of Purgatory, one of the shades pathetically reminds the avaricious and prodigal of the extreme poverty and wretchedness of the stable of Bethlehem.

No sooner had the poet reached the prison house of the wrathful⁹ than he saw in an ecstasy the scene of the finding in the Temple. He beholds a woman about to enter, with the tender attitude of a mother, saying, "My Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us?"

"They have no wine" is uttered by a spirit, invisible to the travelers, in the second circle, where the envious are being purified from their sins. We have no mention of Our Lady during the years when her Divine Son was growing from youth to manhood, nor during the three years of His ministry. But in the tragedy of the crucifixion Mary is found at her rightful place, the foot of the Cross.¹⁰

It will be remarked that Dante's references to the mysteries of Our Lady's life are merely incidental. Though no new light is thrown upon these sacred themes these casual allusions serve at least one good purpose. They show us that these mysteries were evidently familiar to the generation for which the poem was written. The same events, then as now, were held as certain by Catholic tradition. As a matter of fact, Dante's purpose was in no wise to enumerate the facts of Our Lady's life. He is in search of examples with which to adorn the terraces of Purgatory. Each of the seven

⁶ Par. 32, 109.

⁷ Par. 23, 105.

⁸ Purg. 29, 85.

⁹ Purg. 15, 85.

¹⁰ Purg. 33, 5; par. 11, 71.

terraces is set aside for the purification of souls tainted by one or other of the seven deadly sins. By way of instruction to the visitor and by way of encouragement to the sufferer a motto and an example of the opposite virtue is provided in each terrace. The life of Our Lady, the model of all virtues, furnishes an episode to illustrate the beauty of the seven contrary virtues. Pride finds its antithesis in the "Ecce ancilla Domini;" envy, in the ineffable love of one's neighbor shown at Cana; anger, in the calmness and restraint of the query "Why hast Thou done so to us?" sloth, in the haste with which Mary went to her cousin's aid; avarice is put to shame by the poverty of Bethlehem. To these incidents reference has already been made.

Two of the capital sins still remain—the sins of gluttony and of lust. As an antidote to the former, the marriage feast is again recalled. Mary thought more how the feast might be honorable and complete than of her own mouth.¹¹ The last terrace contains the souls stained with lust. There they are seen passing and repassing through purifying flames, the while glorifying God's mercy in their "summæ Deus clementiæ." This finished, they repeat in unison Mary's words to the angel, "I know not man," and softly begin their hymn again. This effective way of illustrating the several virtues is evidently taken from St. Bonaventure's *speculum B. V. M.* After declaring in a general way that the Blessed Virgin was free from every stain and adorned with every virtue, the saint explains more explicitly how she was most free (*immunissima*) from the seven deadly sins. He then enumerates the virtues which the Blessed Virgin exhibited in direct contrast. "To pride, she opposed humility most lowly; to envy, charity most loving; to sloth, diligence most unwearied; to anger, meekness most gentle; to avarice, poverty most straitened; to gluttony, sobriety most temperate; to sensuality, virginity most chaste."¹² What makes one all the more think Dante had this passage before him is the fact that though there are very different enumerations of the virtues in mediæval books, that of the *Purgatorio* follows strictly the order found in the *Speculum*. It is worth noting that the English writers Chaucer and Gower preserve the same sequence.

To the last mystery of Our Lady's life we have more than a passing allusion. The remarkable scene,¹³ already referred to, represents undoubtedly the mystery of the Assumption as well as that of the Incarnation. One might call it a *tableau vivant* illustrative at once of the source of Our Lady's glory and its crown. Elsewhere¹⁴

¹¹ *Purg.* 22, 1042.

¹² *Spec.*, B. M. V., lect. iv.

¹³ *Par.* 23, 105.

¹⁴ *Par.* 25, 127.

the poet tells us that "Christ and His Mother alone have ascended into heaven clad in their two robes" (*i. e.*, of body as well as soul). From this it is not rash to conclude that he accepted the tradition, common in the Middle Ages, regarding Enoch and Elias. When they were taken bodily from the earth they were believed to be placed, not in heaven, but in the earthly paradise. But to return to the vision of the Assumption. Our Lady appears as the Rose in the midst of the garden of lilies—to wit, the Apostles. As soon as the poet's eyes grew accustomed to the dazzling beauty of this meadow of flowers he beholds the angel Gabriel—in the form of a tiny torch—descend to crown the Rose. To the evident delight of the whole company of saints and angels, she is caught up from their midst and passes upwards to the highest heaven, while the air is filled with the sweet melody of the *Regina cœli*. The traveler does not again see the Blessed Virgin until he has been entrusted by Beatrice to the care of St. Bernard and reaches the Empyrean itself. Here the saint's first injunction is that Dante must put all his trust in the Queen of Heaven and mark the most remote circle where she sits enthroned. The brilliance of this court supreme of light and love surpasses everything seen before. But even there the glory of the Blessed Virgin is unmistakable. He is bidden to gaze on "the face that most resembles Christ; for its brightness only is able to prepare thee to see Christ." He gazes long and lovingly, for, to quote his own words, "all that I had seen before o'erpowered me not with so great wonder, nor showed me so great semblance of God."¹⁵ By a few masterly strokes such as these the poet conveys to the reader's mind all that art had tried to express concerning the form and feature of Our Blessed Lady. It is not without significance that Dante, the realist, does not attempt a detailed description of her as she appeared to him. His method is, in fact, very similar to the one he has recourse to when describing the Beatific Vision itself. It is impossible to put into words the Vision of the Godhead; he therefore describes the visible effects of that Presence on the Court around and on himself. So here he hints at Our Lady's beauty as it is reflected in her subjects. For instance, "her beauty wrought gladness in the eyes of all the other saints;" the angel of the Annunciation with constant gazing on her seemed all aflame; Adam and St. Peter sit on her right and left enraptured, as is also her holy mother Anne. Most significant of all, the brightness of her countenance is the last discipline and only fit preparation before admission to the Beatific Vision.

The poet contents himself with describing her surpassing beauty in this general way. Nowhere does he fill in the details of the

¹⁵ Par. 32, 85-93.

picture, as he never fails to do in the case of Beatrice and others. This reserve is full of meaning for any one who has studied the Madonna in Christian art and song. From early times it was admitted that no true picture of the Blessed Virgin existed. St. Augustine said so in as many words. In course of time it was claimed that a true picture did exist. Artists set to work to copy the so-called "Luke Madonna," and the result was their art became cramped. Decadance was bound to follow from this fallacy of making The Perfect Woman anatomically correct and of imagining that one type of beauty was all sufficient. The great artists who followed shook themselves free from these restrictions and painted after their own fancy. The result was more satisfactory. Representations of the Madonna became almost infinite in variety. None claimed to be true, but all strove to express a common ideal—what each master considered the embodiment of purity and beauty. From this very variety of expression the idea of Our Lady's beauty gained immeasurable grandeur and power.

Another important principle they came to recognize was that the ideal of Our Lady's perfections, though always exceeding their power, was nearer their grasp than the beauty of her Divine Son. And so some artists painted first their Madonna and then a child closely resembling her in features. In this we discover the influence of earlier writers and poets. The application of the old adage, "Filii Matrizant," recurs again and again in their descriptions of the Madonna and Child. They lay stress on the fact that this general law of maternity is morally certain in the case of Christ, because He was the Son of a *Virgin* Mother. Another reason urged in support of this same law of likeness is that love increases and intensifies resemblance of face and disposition. I will quote St. John Damascene: "Ave flos prae cunctis tinctorum coloribus varium omni virtute condimentum, ex sua flos flori similis, matrem exacte referens, consurgit."¹⁶ I have referred at length to this close likeness of Mother and Son as it was undoubtedly a strong tradition in the thirteenth century. One cannot help thinking that this tradition restrained Dante from describing Our Lady as minutely as did the Eastern Fathers, with all the gorgeousness of Eastern coloring. On the other hand, the same tradition surely inspired that most poetic verse:

Riguarda omai nella faccia ch'a Christo
Più si somiglia, chè la sua chiarezza
Sola ti può disporre a veder Cristo.

—(Par. 32, 85.)¹⁷

¹⁶ Hom. 2, in Nativ. B. M. V.

¹⁷ Look now into the face that unto Christ hath most resemblance; for its brightness only is able to prepare thee to see Christ.

Ineffable as is the natural beauty of Our Lady, Dante would not have us imagine it is her chief excellence. It is not on this account that she is so like to God and makes diviner the sphere supreme. Her charms without but reflect the beauty of the king's daughter within. Denis the Carthusian declares it to be a credible and even certain doctrine that Mary's body and features were a revelation of the fullness of grace in her soul.¹⁸ On earth her perfect symmetry of form and color was excelled only by her gifts of virtue and grace. And if so perfect during the time of exile, how entrancing the sight of her in glory. Dante says simply that all the brilliant pageant in the lower heavens—the array of doctors and warriors, the glories of Apostles and angels—gave him no such glimpse of God. Queen of Heaven, she is placed by the poet high beyond all other creatures, for she unites in her sacred person whatever good there is in creatures.¹⁹ There she is found to excel as here (*i. e.*, on earth) she excelled.²⁰ She excels all others, as east surpasses west on a summer morn.²¹ In St. Peter Chrysologus we trace the germ of this same idea. "Hail, full of grace," he exclaims. "Others have shared in grace divine, but on Mary its fullness was showered once and for all."²² Her place in heaven is the highest, not merely because she found most merit in the eyes of her Creator, but because she has been made to share the royalty of her Son. He has made subject to His Mother all created beings that she might receive homage from them. Her love, says Albert the Great, is more ardent than that of the Seraphim, her knowledge more profound than that of the Cherubim, her authority over the devil more potent than that of the powers and virtues; in a word, she is the incomparable one. To typify all this she is seen in vision²³ to mount upwards through the ranks of confessors, of martyrs, of virgins, through the choirs of angels, and take her place next "her own seed." According to Catholic tradition, divine maternity is the source and principle of her superiority over the rest of creation. The title of Mother of God was felt from the earliest times to include all other titles and favors. Dante draws the same conclusion in his own way. Because, so he argues in the *Convito*, everything had to be in the best disposition for the coming of God, His Mother had to be the noblest of creatures—*la femmina ottima*. We have already alluded to other titles found in the "*Commedia*," now numbered among our litany invocations. Another worth mentioning is that of the Rosa Mys-

¹⁸ De Laudibus B. V., lib. 2.

¹⁹ Par. 33.

²⁰ Par. 23.

²¹ Par. 31.

²² Serm. 143, de Annunc.

²³ Par. 23.

tica. More than a thousand angels hover round her while Gabriel spreads his wings before. At her feet sits Eve, who caused the wound that Mary healed.

The deep affection the saints and angels bear her is shown by the loving way these gleams of light reach upward after her. The Empyrean—the tenth and last in ascending order of importance—is declared by St. Bernard to be subject and devoted to the enthroned Queen. The nine choirs of angels have charge of the lower spheres. Our Lady reigns supreme over the one next the Awful Presence Chamber. The whole realm resounds with her praises, and on every side is heard the Canticle, “Ave Maria gratia plena.” In return for their loving service and affection, the saints and angels are “happier made at each new ministering.” The words on St. Bernard’s lips are these :

Qui sel a noi meridiana face
Di caritate, e giuso, intra i mortali,
Sel di speranza fontana vivace —(Par. 33, 10.) ²⁴

This does not, of course, imply that the Beatific Vision is insufficient for the happiness of the blessed. It has reference simply to the “accidental glory,” which theologians—St. Thomas chief of all—hold to be capable of increase. Hence the soundness of the pious belief that Mary’s clients will reap a reward denied to others.

The plenitude of grace enjoyed by Our Lady naturally suggests its corollary—her power of mediation between God and man. Dante’s utterances on this point of doctrine are in happy contrast to those of heretics before and after his day. As is well known, some of these detractors, Luther, for example, insisted that the saints, the Blessed Virgin included, had only a dim knowledge of our difficulties and necessities. Because their knowledge was so limited, they could not, if they would, interest themselves in our petty concerns. Others pretended to exalt Our Lady by assuming she was too far removed to interest herself in us. Having reached such a high place in glory, she would not condescend to intercede for sinners. Dante knows no such limitations or supineness.

First, as to Our Lady’s knowledge of our wants. Dante is at one with his master, St. Thomas, as I pointed out in a former REVIEW.²⁵ “In the Beatific Vision,” writes the Angelic Doctor, “the saints see whatever goes to fill up the cup of their happiness. One happiness in heaven must surely be to help their clients; for in this, according to the Areopagite, they coöperate in the most divine works. It is certain, therefore, that they see in the Word the vows and the prayers of those who pray to them for help.”²⁶ It necessarily follows

²⁴ Here unto us thou art a noonday torch of Charity, and below there among mortals Thou art the living fountain-head of Hope.

²⁵ July, 1902.

²⁶ In Sent., iv. D. 45.

that Our Lady, by reason of her deeper vision, understands better than all the blessed our necessities and our prayers. The poet graphically describes how she hears the cry of misery even before it is uttered:

La tua benignità non pur soccorre
A chi domanda, ma molte fiate
Liberamente al domandar precorre. —(Par. 33, 16.) ²⁷

Next, knowing our wants, is she able and willing to help? Dante's conception of Our Lady's power is identical with that of St. Bernard and St. Alphonsus. One passage from the first-named will be sufficient to recall that conception: "Let us ask for grace, and let us ask it through Mary, because she obtains whatever she asks for, and cannot be denied."²⁸

This beautiful thought finds its echo in the saint's prayer for Dante, when every grace has been granted except a glimpse of the Infinite:

Perchè tu ogni nube gli dislegli
Di sua mortalità col preghi tuoi,
Sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispiegli
Ancor ti prego, Regina che puoi
Ciò che tu vuoli, che conservi sani,
Dopo tanto veder, gli affetti suoi. —(Par. 33, 31.) ²⁹

Whether this striking passage be taken apart from the context or taken with the context, whether it be looked upon as an expression of personal or of popular devotion, its burden is the same. It is the phrase so often on the lips of St. Alphonsus: "All graces through Mary." It is the grand prerogative which heretics begrudge her, though given her without scruple by a St. Anselm, a St. John Damascene and a St. Bonaventure.³⁰ The action of the whole trilogy is designed to give practical illustration of man's utter dependence on Our Lady's intercession. St. Bernard had laid it down as a first principle that the Blessed Virgin is the only way of mounting up to God, because she is the only way by which God chose to descend to us.³¹ The "Divine Comedy" is full of this idea. The initial grace to put off mortality for a time and breathe the immortal,

²⁷ Not only thy benignity gives succor to him who asketh it, but oftentimes forerunneth of its own accord the asking.

Note.—This thought would seem to be borrowed from Richard of S. Victor. *Exposit. in Cant. xxlii.* "Velocius occurrit ejus pietas quam invocatur et causas miserorum anticipat."

²⁸ In *Nativ. B. M. V. Brev. Rom.*, 24th May, Lect. 9.

²⁹ That thou wouldst scatter from him every cloud of his mortality, so with thy prayers,
That the chief pleasure be to him displayed.
Still further do I pray thee, Queen, who canst
Whate'er thou wilt, that sound thou mayst preserve, after so great a vision
his affections.

³⁰ *Glories of Mary. C. 5.*

³¹ *Serm. 2 in Adventu.*

the grace of constant protection and guidance through the horrors of hell, the sorrows of Purgatory and the brilliance of heaven are sought and obtained at the hands of Mary. Commentators are careful to explain that the "donna gentil nel ciel" who sent Lucia to Beatrice, Beatrice to Virgil, Virgil to Dante is the symbol of convenient grace. Symbolism undoubtedly underlies all these characters, and it would be folly to ignore it. But if too much stress be laid on this symbolism, the living personalities cease to stand out as clearly as they do in the written page. There is a danger of their becoming theological formulæ and nothing more. The Madonna of the closing scene of the "Paradiso" is above and before all a living person. And in the lines last quoted Dante would have his readers infer two home truths about Our Lady's power with God. One is that man's final perseverance depends on Mary's prayers. Dante's days of trial are not yet over. After the momentary vision of God in glory he will have to return to earth and work out his salvation. In spite of all he has been privileged to see, he may fall into sin and forfeit eternal happiness. Mary is his security in this uncertainty, as she is for every one in this Vale of Tears. The other truth, more than implied, is that the sight of the Beatific Vision depends on the prayers of the Queen of Heaven. So confident are the Fathers of this that they apply to her the words which Christ spoke of His Eternal Father. "Unless the Father draw him, no one can come to the Son" is thus adapted by them: "No one can come to the Son unless the Mother draw him." To obtain the crowning grace—the one to which his long and wonderful journey was always tending, and for which his soul had been now purified and strengthened—the pilgrim is commanded to turn to Mary, "who alone has power to aid." Beatrice and all the saints join in St. Bernard's prayer for Dante, persuaded that if they can prevail on the Blessed Virgin his cause is won and his desire certain to be gratified. The reason of their confidence is given. She is the Queen "who can do what she wills."⁸² Taken by itself, this expression is a remarkable one. Dante has twice before made use of the same words to describe the omnipotence of God.⁸³ Here it is the poet's profession of faith in Our Lady's dignity and prerogatives, and at the same time a summary of his former teaching. He is not detracting from the omnipotence of God. He is only insisting on the great truth that the Mother of God is never refused when she espouses a cause. In any necessity, in any danger, man has but to secure her ear. Mary will do the rest.

⁸² Cf. "Habes enim, novi, parem cum voluntat facultatem, tamquam Altissimi Parens." S. Germ. Consti., in Ingressum S. S. Delparæ, Sermon. 2.

⁸³ Inf. 3.95; 5.83.

This is the last touch Dante gives to his picture of the Madonna. Her power of intercession is supreme. In the final tableau of the "Divine Comedy" we are in presence of the same "Orante" that is rudely sketched on the walls of the Catacombs. Between the second and the eighteenth century other titles have been found for Our Lady, other honors of hers have come to be recognized, but her most gracious office is still the same—to pray and supplicate for her children on earth.

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THE NEW APOLOGETIC.

THERE is said to have been discovered a new method of apologetic. It is attributed to a French layman, M. Maurice Blondel, and appears chiefly in his work entitled "Action." It has an exponent in English in the person of Father Tyrrell, S. J., who utilizes it almost throughout his earlier works, "Nova and Vetera," "Hard Sayings," "External Religion" and "Faith of the Millions," and states it formally in his latest work, "Lex Orandi." It is something new only in so far as it is a new way of approaching old truths. Just as the four evangelists looked at the life of Christ from different points of view, so we now may behold the Catholic Faith from different points of view. Hitherto theologians have had glimpses of this new aspect of things, but not until now have they formulated and emphasized it.

The leading characteristic then of the new method may be said to be this, that it is subjective rather than objective. In the usual text-books of apologetics the arguments are practically all external and objective. We have, for instance, the five proofs of St. Thomas for the existence of God, motion, efficient cause, contingency, grades and design; for the claims of the Roman Church, the authority of Scriptures and the four external marks; for the articles of the creed, the definitions of the general councils. Nearly the whole, in fact, of a priest's theological training is spent in trying to master these external proofs.

Now the new apologetic regards these external proofs as absolutely necessary, but at the same time as quite secondary and altogether insufficient. Their insufficiency lies in the fact that they do not appeal to the whole man. They appeal only to his reason and intelligence, whereas reason and intelligence are but a part of man's being. There is a part to which they do not appeal, or not

necessarily, namely, his will and affections. Now the will and affections are the chief motive power in man, and consequently in matters pertaining to faith the will and affections are of far more importance than the reason and intelligence. Before a man can arrive at the Faith, he must first have an inclination towards it, the "*pius credulitatis affectus*." That affection is set at liberty and justified by the reason. Thus the affection and the reason are each necessary to the other, the one, however, being the cause of faith, the other its condition.

Again, the faith is not merely an opinion nor yet merely a school of thought; but it is a life and is lived by the whole man. It is not merely an object of intellectual entertainment and school room disputation, neither is it a fashion just for Sunday use; but it is a life which is always with us, which permeates all our actions, which informs every human act, which is lived day after day and all day. Consequently it must appeal to the whole man, not only to his intellect, but also to his heart and affections.

The whole man was made for God and religion was the tie made to bind him to God. Consequently in man is to be found an exigency and a need for God and religion; and this not merely in a vague and general sort of way, but in all the details of the Catholic creed. This exigency or longing or thirst may be dormant or undeveloped; still none the less there and only waiting to be set free by the action of the intellect.

The new method of apologetic, then, engages to point out to the unbeliever this fitness and aptitude of his soul for God and religion. It makes for his will and affections by dilating on the usefulness and beauty of religion, insisting all along that that which is universally useful and fair must be true.

Further, following the theology of St. Thomas, it assumes that we are dealing with human nature as we find it, not as it might have been. Human nature as it now exists is not the technical "*status purae naturae*" which could have no exigency for a supernatural religion, but it is a nature in which the natural is permeated with and related to the supernatural, and as such it has a need of the supernatural religion for which it was destined, namely, the whole Catholic Faith. It is as Tertullian says, "*naturaliter Christiana*;" it seeks for and rests nowhere else but in the bosom of God; it lives in the Christian religion as its own natural atmosphere.

Seeing then that there is in man this thirst and craving for God and religion, it follows that man must endeavor to satisfy that thirst and craving. If he finds a void or vacancy in his heart he will seek to find its complement; in a word, he will endeavor to unite his heart and soul to God, that is, he will pray. In praying, however, he

will only seek those things for which he feels the need, the things which satisfy the demands of his soul. But since the soul is "naturaliter Christiana" it will feel the need of the Christian revelation only. Thus the object of his prayer becomes identical with the object of his belief; hence the maxim: the standard of prayer is the standard of faith, "*Lex orandi, Lex credendi*." This does not mean that the soul, even in its present supernaturalized state, could by its own efforts arrive at a revealed mystery, say, for instance, that of the Blessed Trinity; but that, once the mystery is revealed, the human soul by its predisposition accepts it as its own proper complement. Also by this predisposition the soul will reject everything alien to its Christian nature. Thus it is said "the Catholic doctrine is far less a creation of theological reflection than of selective power of the Christian spirit rejecting the variations of heretical curiosity—Arian, Nestorian, Monophysite—as inadequate to its needs or untrue to the laws of its life."

Neither is this selective power to be extended to every pious impulse and imagination of every individual soul; nor yet to the devotions of various companies of souls, but to the whole body of the faithful. It is only in and through the whole body of the faithful that we get the aspirations and yearning of the collective Christian soul, and it is only in and through the collective Christian soul that we have the assured guidance of the Holy Spirit. "Hence it is that no man can take his own subjective and separate experience as a sufficient test. If he is to develop a healthy individuality he must first appropriate and master what is common to all; he must correct his eccentricities by the teaching of the Church, that is, by the consensus of experts in the art of charity." Thus a special impulse may be given here and there by an individual saint, by a particular confraternity, by a religious order, by a local church; but only in so far as it is taken up and adopted by the whole Catholic Church is it the expression of the collective Christian soul; and only in so far as it is the expression and prayer of the collective Christian soul is it a statement of Catholic faith.

Here then, I think, we have the main outline of the new method. Now we may consider some of its advantages and disadvantages.

The first obvious advantage is that it gives the apologist a due sense of proportion as to the value of scholastic theology. Scholasticism was ever meant to be and ever will be the handmaid of religion; but merely the handmaid, and the scholastic theologian has need to examine his conscience whether he has not been endeavoring to exalt the handmaid into the position of mistress. The Christian revelation was revealed to babes and sucklings and in the language of babes and sucklings. In the course of time as that

revelation was explained and defined it was embodied in the language of Aristotle and the peripatetics. It has come down to us embodied in that language as a jewel in a casket, and the apologist who will avail himself of the theological thought of the scholastic age must familiarize himself with scholastic language. But he must ever remember that his mission is to the present age, which present age no longer speaks in Aristotelian terms. And more, not only is scholastic language not current, but scholastic method would seem to have little attraction for the modern spirit. Take, for instance, the use of the syllogism. "This universal living scene of things," writes Cardinal Newman, "is after all as little a logical world as it is a poetical; and, as it cannot without violence be exalted into poetical perfection, neither can it be attenuated into a logical formula." And again: "We are not able to prove by syllogism that there are any self-evident propositions at all; but supposing there are (as of course I hold there are) still who can determine these by logic? Syllogism, then, though of course it has its use, still does only the minutest and easiest part of the work in the investigation of truth, for when there is any difficulty, that difficulty commonly lies in determining first principles, not in the arrangement of proofs." And once more: "Logic then does not really prove; it enables us to join issue with others; it suggests ideas; it opens views; it maps out for us the lines of thought; it verifies negatively; it determines when differences of opinion are hopeless, and when and how far conclusions are probable; but for genuine proof in concrete matter we require an *organon* more delicate, versatile and elastic than verbal argumentation."*

This *organon* is provided by the new apologetic in the "whole man," the man not with his intellect only, but also with his heart, his temperament, his affections, his religious sense. Or, again, take the scholastic statement of the distinction between intellect and sense. Certainly one of the most pestilential errors of the day is the identification of these faculties, and the scholastic theologian renders signal service to religion in emphasizing their essential distinction. But has he not need to examine his conscience whether, whilst insisting on the essential distinction, he has not undervalued their intimate connection even though it be only accidental? Take, for instance, the problem of the origin of evil. Nearly all the difficulties which arise from it touch the feelings and the imagination. "Why should I suffer so?" asks the poor sufferer, lingering in a long and painful illness. "For my sins? But my friend here suffers more, and he has no sins." The enigma is not altogether intellectual, but one touching the whole being: intellect, imagination, temperament, everything.

*Grammar of Assent, 268-270.

And in dealing with it in the concrete, reason, the white light of intellect as it is called, is powerless. The new apologetic therefore would seek for an answer which would appeal to the whole man and would offer the considerations best suited to the man's temperament. If the individual were a soulless, passionless sort of person, it would naturally choose arguments drawn from justice, retribution and positive law; but if the individual were a person of feeling and emotion—and this would be the case with most men and with all women—then it would choose æsthetic considerations, say the fitness of vicarious suffering or the beauty and attractiveness of suffering as an expression of love. And in thus appealing to the whole man it need never be at a loss for an answer when face to face with awkward questions drawn from reason. Having admitted the insufficiency and limitations of reason, it can have recourse to the mysteriousness of God's wisdom and love, it can admit that there are hard sayings impossible to reconcile with our understanding; but since God is infinitely good, beautiful, wise and true, everything will eventually turn out to have been the best possible arrangement, and God will be seen to have been right after all.

Another advantage of the new method is that it helps to develop and increase the life of faith. So far we have touched only upon its value as a means of arriving at faith and of retaining the essence of faith in the presence of danger. But it goes much further. Its principles may be extended beyond the realms of dogmatic and moral into those of mystical and ascetical theology. Just as the soul looks into itself and finds a need and exigency for God, so also it looks into its higher aspirations and finds that their only chance of realization is in God. Just as in the essence of faith appeal is made to the whole man, so also in the superstructure, namely, the ascetic life, appeal is made to the whole man. The new apologetic sees in all natural loves only so many new ways of loving God. "If a man love not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen? *i. e.*, if a man is void of natural affection, how can he pretend to the supernatural? If he does not know what it is to love as a child, as a parent, a husband, a master, a friend, how can he pretend to that love which contains all these loves eminently—the love of Him who is father, spouse, friend, brother, child all in one?" In this respect it affords a very good corrective to exaggerated ascetics and false conscience. In theory we all admit that human passions and affections are good as entities, and that they are a help to salvation as long as they are kept under the control of reason and do not lead to any breach of the ten commandments. But in practice there is often a mistaken zeal which, looking upon the passions and affections as so many pitfalls, seeks for a remedy

in stifling and crushing them. The new method would rather utilize them by spiritualizing them and directing them to the service of religion. Hence we find that it makes full use of such portions of Holy Scripture as the Cantic of Canticles and of erratic poets such as Coventry Patmore. Of St. Paul on parting from the ancients of the Church at Ephesus it is written: And there was great weeping on all hands and they fell on Paul's neck and kissed him, sorrowing most of all because he had said they should see his face no more. "Making all due allowances for national temperament, there is here a large residue of feeling which certain Christian stoics would consider very human, very natural and therefore very wicked; and certainly St. Paul seems to have been consenting unto their deeds."

The chief objection to the new method is that it tends to do away with responsibility in the matter of faith in so far as it reduces the question to one of temperament; and, again, that it is calculated to destroy all solid piety, inasmuch as the motives are based on the feelings rather than on the reason. Emotion, poetry and romance, Coventry Patmore and Watson, it is said, may be very good as the foundation of Methodism or any religion where faith comes to us in a material form and remains with us in the shape of something like a piece of hard pudding that has fixed itself in the gullet; but these things will not do for Catholics, simply because such piety is not lasting, and even while it lasts is not based on the right motives.

The objection savors of the fallacy, "ignoratio elenchi." The "affective" apologist does not wish to undervalue the use of reason; nay, rather, he insists upon it as a necessary though secondary factor in the method. Certainly the suggested danger is present if "affective" theology is used exclusively. Just as scholasticism, taken alone, would tend to intellectualism and ever fail to touch the heart of man, just as moral theology taken alone would tend to a low standard of spirituality and ever fail to produce a saint, so might "affective" theology, taken alone, tend to mere emotion and ever fail to produce real and lasting faith and sanctity. And yet it may be that temperament has much more to do with religion than we have hitherto supposed. The new method certainly throws light on the nature of many conversions, those, for instance, for which no tangible reason could be assigned beyond that they were the effect of grace. Likewise does it throw light on those unfortunate cases of persons who are said to have read themselves into the Church and read themselves out again. A religious temperament is a great grace, and rather than diminish responsibility it increases it; for the less religious the temperament is, the more need it has of religious cultivation, and the more religious it is, the greater care it requires in order that it may produce its full complement of fruit. On the

other hand a defective temperament may go far as an excuse for defective faith. Indeed the question has already been asked: Seeing that a man may inculpably be devoid of faith through weak intelligence, may he not also be equally inculpably devoid of faith through a defective æsthetic sense or unreligious temperament? And the answer would seem to be in the affirmative.

Another objection regards the propriety of using certain of the natural affections as analogies of the affections between God and us. Of course it is understood that we make use only of *ordinate* affections. Now even within the limits laid down by moral theology there is a wide range of possibilities. The apologist, therefore, in his choice, must have due regard to the nature of his audience. It may be that there are select souls to whom the symbols in the Canticle of Canticles would be of the greatest service, but for the majority they are scarcely suitable. St. Teresa tells us how they delighted her nuns and herself, but how they only excited laughter in a general church congregation.

To dilate on the ecstatic joys of the unitive way would be as much out of place before a congregation of Birmingham shopkeepers as would a sermon on the æsthetics of sobriety and honesty before a congregation of contemplative nuns.

"Affective" theology, therefore, must be used with discretion. That the new method is not intended to exclude the older and commoner method may be seen from the following passage from "Faith of the Millions," with which we may conclude: "Nothing, perhaps, is more unintelligible to the Protestant critic of Catholicism, nothing more needs to be brought out prominently than the firm hold our religion can exercise over souls that are naturally irreligious. Her (the Church's) first thought is for the multitudes of average humanity who are not and cannot be in intelligent sympathy with many of the commands she lays upon them. . . . We recognize, therefore, that there is a certain serviceable fustian every-day piety, where together with a great deal of spiritual coarseness, insensibility to venial sin and imperfection, there exists a firm faith that would go cheerfully to the stake rather than deny God or offend Him in any grave point."

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GREAT CATHOLIC SOLDIERS: PRINCE EUGENE,
VICAR GENERAL.

IT IS difficult to find, among the great military captains of the past or the more recent days, one who exhibited qualities of high statesmanship and learning as well as preëminent military genius. Still more rare is it to find the magnanimous mind of the humanitarian as well as the wisdom of the philosopher uniting with those masterly qualities, in the one individual, to produce a paragon among generals. Wallenstein, William of Orange, Bonaparte were men who along with being great soldiers might lay claim to a certain degree of statesmanship. But as this was in each case along the line of personal ambition, and had for objective the ultimate idea of personal or family aggrandizement, the military wreath is, after all, the only one that justice has accorded their memory. One of the notable commanders in the eighteenth century wars in Europe, Prince Eugène, was, perhaps, the best example of this rare combination that history affords. His reputation has been, for reasons not easily explained, eclipsed by that of other men vastly inferior, even from the military point of view, to him—Marlborough, for instance. He had no claim on mankind but that of a successful general—unless it be the doubtful one of successful rascality. Eugene stands high on the moral plane, as well as on every other. For a record of successful fighting and continuous service there would be difficulty in finding an analogy for his. From the age of twenty until he died, in 1736, he was almost constantly in the field—a period of fifty-three years. Other men have been longer with the colors; few ever fought so unintermittently. Europe's condition was in his epoch that of almost constant war (there were scarcely ten years of peace, as he remarked, since the treaty of Westphalia); and Eugène was always to be found wherever its flames mounted highest. Military men have studied, and with profit, the long story of his campaigns; readers of this will be interested more in the contemplation of the moral character of the brilliant commander. He himself furnished the means of making a true estimate of his character. His personal chronicle is a reflex of his thoughts as well as his deeds, his philosophy no less than his strategy. It is a study that affords no little satisfaction, so little is there of egotism about the writer, and so much that is sagacious and large-minded at the same time.

Personally the Prince was fond of war, as he assures us in his memoirs, yet politically he was opposed to it. Those who are on the side of war, he remarks, are those who take no part in it—the

ministers, the clergy, the women and the lawyers in the great cities. He told a brilliant company one day, as they were chattering and clamoring for a fresh war, that he wished the ministers and the ladies were each obliged to pay four thousand ducats to the Emperor, and each of the gentlemen to shoulder a musket and march to the front, that they might be enabled to feel what war really means.

François Eugène de Savoie-Carignan, the Prince's full designation, was a Frenchman whom some of his countrymen would style a renegade. The man who quits his country, like Coriolanus, with the avowed purpose of leading her enemies against it in war, fairly deserves such a description. Still, in his case there were extenuating circumstances. His father was Prince Eugène Maurice, Count of Soissons, and his mother Olympia Mancini, a niece of Cardinal Mazarin's. Young Eugène was by his parents intended for the Church, but he himself had no such high ambition; war was more to his liking. The King, Louis XIV., the Grand Monarque, the Roi Soliel, etc., was determined to force him into the Church, and he allowed the boy's mother, who was a prominent figure at his court, to suffer all sorts of petty persecutions at the hands of her enemies because she would not join the King in enforcing the wish. This persecution maddened the high-spirited lad, so that existence in France became intolerable to him. He quitted the country at the age of twenty, vowing that he never would return to it save as its enemy; and this resolve he fulfilled to the letter. These were certainly extenuating circumstances; yet not altogether sufficient to justify the extreme course of a man turning his sword against his own countrymen. Yet, on this point the Prince's own conscience seems to have been easy enough. Nowhere does he give vent to any sentiment of regret or compunction on the subject, but seemed rather to take a great pride in his repeated victories over the French generals.

The great Condé would appear to have been the military strategist whom Eugène took for ideal; and Eugène was the model whom the ill-fated young Bonaparte ("L'Aiglon") set before his mind's eye, while he was studying war at the Austrian court. His father took Frederick the Great as an example in many problems of the great art; and it is curious to note how the links of military renown bind age with age, as illustrated in the fact that it was the fortune of Eugène to have met with the Prussian maestro when he was as yet the Crown Prince, as well as his crotchety parent, the peppery mean old King. He expresses his contempt for the latter, because of his perpetual talk about drills and uniforms and pipeclay and buttons, as if these things were really the science of war; while

he has nothing but words of praise for the former because of his masterly knowledge of fortification and excellent judgment in choosing defensive positions.

The great aim of Eugène's life was to frustrate the designs of France against Austria and erect an insurmountable barrier between the two States, in the hostility of the people of those countries which form the respective frontiers. Austria was the country to which he offered his sword in his youth, and he served her with steadfast fidelity, through good and evil fortune, until he was no longer fit for campaigning work.

Eugène's first service was against the Turks. His bravery and skill were so conspicuous, even at the outset, that after the battle of Vienna, when the Moslem host was overthrown, he was given high command. Fourteen years later, after a prolonged campaign against the French in Savoy, he was again pitted against the Moslem. At Zenta he achieved the greatest victory over this common scourge that any European general had in a land campaign. He exterminated their army, in fact, and so compelled the peace of Carlowitz.

Eugène's third campaign was in the war of the Spanish succession. It was distinguished by some remarkable displays of military genius on his part. The daring commander anticipated Napoleon by taking his army over the Alps into Italy. There in the low country he encountered some of the most celebrated of the French generals—Catinat, Villeroi and Vendome. He defeated them all, but met a bad check at Cremona when endeavoring to capture that city by assault. It was defended by two divisions of the Irish Brigade in the service of the French King—those of Dillon and Burke. Although surprised in the night time, the men rushed from their beds to the square and flung themselves, half clad, upon the cavalry of the Prince and pulled the horsemen from their saddles to the ground. Their onslaught was so fierce and so unexpected that the assailants fled from the city in wild confusion. Soon afterward the sanguinary battle of Luzzara was fought between Eugène's army and that of Vendome, but resulting in no advantage to his side, though the French were no gainers either, he went to Southern Germany, where the combined forces of France and Bavaria were moving to attack those of the Emperor. In this campaign the Prince first met the Duke of Marlborough, and in coöperation they fought and won the famous battle of Blenheim. But he was not invariably victor, for in a short time afterwards he was defeated by Vendome at Cassano, being twice wounded himself in the course of the struggle. He was again wounded when he attacked the French before Turin, but he defeated

them, though with a much smaller army, and so raised the siege of the city. Later on he joined Marlborough again, the theatre of war being shifted to the Netherlands. Here their combined forces won the battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet. Afterwards Eugène was entrusted with the siege of Lisle. It was a hotly contested undertaking throughout. In one of the assaults Eugène was terribly wounded. His troops thought him dead, and "so did I, too," he says naïvely in his mention of the incident. "They found a dung cart," he continued, with the same rough frankness, "in which I was conveyed to my quarters. First my life, then my sight, was despaired of. I recovered both. The ball had struck me obliquely. Here was another unsuccessful attack; out of 5,000 men not 1,500 returned, and 1,200 workmen were there killed"—a vivid picture of what war in the Low Countries meant under such hard-fighting commanders.

It seems never to have entered the Prince's mind to depreciate the skill or valor of the generals against whom he fought, or endeavor to exalt himself. He has nothing but praise for some of these commanders. The great Vendôme always compels his admiration, as much for his astuteness in strategy as for his bravery in action. So does Luxembourg. Marshal Boufflers, who defended Lisle for several months against his forces, but was at length obliged to capitulate, is the object of many complimentary references in his memoirs. He, indeed, inspired Eugène with such respect that he allowed him to fix his own terms for making the surrender—a course of singular magnanimity. The noble pair met after the surrender, and each manifested in the most marked manner the esteem in which he held the other. The incidents of this memorable meeting form some of the most delightful portions of the Prince's memoirs, so ingenuous are the avowals and so hearty the expressions of good will by each of these eminent foemen.

During this remarkable siege the injustice of the sentence of death subsequently passed upon Admiral Byng, of the British navy, is strikingly forced upon the reader's attention. Prince Eugène mentions his services at Ostend, where he landed an English army of fourteen battalions and defeated a powerful French army, under Lamotte, which had been despatched to attack them on their landing. Admiral Byng, it will be remembered, was court-martialed on the charge of "cowardice," because he failed in his subsequent attack on the port of Minorca. What a disgraceful stigma on the British name! Because a commander fails to perform what has been assigned him, he must forsooth be branded as wanting in physical courage! Prince Eugène failed again and again, in various similar enterprises, and he never attempts to minimize or

excuse his failure. All he does is to show his losses and tell of the able conduct of his several adversaries in their resistance to his plans.

Marshal Catinat was one of the most formidable opponents with whom Eugène had to cross swords in early life. He also had crossed the Alps and descended on Piedmont; and on the field of Marsiglia he routed Eugène with heavy loss. For the first time the Irish soldier here had fair play for his valor and spirit of discipline. Catinat had some regiments of the Irish Brigade serving under him. Macaulay notes how these troops retrieved the misfortunes and misconduct of the war at home by the display of "a valor which distinguished them among many thousands of brave men."

The state of suspicion amid which even the most irreproachable commanders lived in those days of tortuous diplomacy and underhand intrigue may well be imagined from a passage in the Prince's memoirs wherein he describes his meeting with Marshal Boufflers after the latter had been forced to capitulate. "I durst not be alone a moment with the marshal," he writes, "lest idle stories should be circulated respecting us, and one or other might appear suspicious to our courts, where people are always sure to have good friends who are never asleep." The Duke of Marlborough was by no means so punctilious. He did not hesitate to intrigue against either his own country or his allies, whenever there was personal gain for himself or family in the transaction. In fact, there is no darker picture of a traitor to friend and foe alike than that which Macaulay draws of this remarkable combination of huckster and strategist—a man whose sense of honor stood in inverse ratio to his wonderful ability.

Although Eugène speaks in the highest terms of his great enemies—Boufflers, Villars, Vendome, D'Asfeld and others—he is not very enthusiastic about Marlborough, until the period came when the great general lost favor at court. Then his truly magnanimous character asserted itself. He hastened to London, with the view of doing all he could to restore his comrade in arms to his former eminence. The only fault he admits in his character is what he styles "his rather too great economy"—an excellent euphuism for a niggardliness unequaled in the records of the great. He himself had caught Marlborough, on the eve of the battle of Blenheim, standing on a chair snuffing out the candles which had given them light to draw the plans of the battle after they had dined.

Explaining his behavior toward the hero in disgrace, Prince Eugène puts the matter in a way that shows he was a good judge of average human nature. "From policy itself," he says, "persons of narrow minds ought to counterfeit feeling. Their designs are

too easily seen through. They are despised and miss their object." The people, he adds, liked him for standing up for an old comrade, and they followed him about London, manifesting their admiration; and the honest part of the court esteemed him the more for his fidelity. But Mrs. Marsham and the Whigs had completely triumphed. Marlborough's career was ended, as far as the court was concerned, and Eugène, after expending a good deal in making presents ("for buying," he remarks—that is, bribing—"is very common in England"), was obliged to depart from London completely unsuccessful in his chivalrous design.

When the Emperor Joseph I. died Prince Eugène again proved his integrity of character. "I sincerely regretted this prince," he writes, "the first who possessed genius since Charles V., and was not superstitious; and I determined to serve him even after his death. I hurried to almost all the electors to dispose them to insure the imperial crown to his brother, and then went to solicit the Dutch to continue their credit in money and friendship to Charles II. of Spain, who became the Emperor Charles VI."

Eugène was strongly indignant at the conduct of the Protestants of those days. They had put out shocking insinuations about the death of the Emperor Joseph, on the ground that he had given some offense to the Court of Rome. It is common, he says, to assert that great persons die of poison. No credit should be given to such defamatory libels. He was in a position to know how baseless they were, in that particular case as well as in many others.

Later on, when he was negotiating at Trieste for the establishment of a great trading company, he says: "I had to battle a good deal with the too-righteous Catholics and large wigs of this country. The Jesuits are indulgent, when you know how to manage them. They were very useful to me in procuring a cessation of the persecutions practised upon the Protestants in my fleet, who were forbidden the exercise of their religion."

Eugène, who was at this time an admiral, was a man of the most versatile genius and capability, as well as broad and liberal mind, as the foregoing observations prove. Though a staunch Catholic, he abhorred persecution in the name of religion, and he does good service in showing how false is the charge that the Jesuits preach or practice intolerance. He may be accepted as a reliable witness, since he was no less friendly with the Protestants of Europe of his time than with the Catholics of Austria and Spain. To the multiplicity of his employments he bears some amusing testimony. "After having been a soldier, minister, grand vizier, financier, postilion, negotiator, I was at last made a merchant. I established the Ostend Company. . . . I converted Trieste into a port

capable of containing two squadrons of men-of-war, to escort and protect the merchant vessels. I directed other small ports, or at least shelters, to be formed in the Gulf of Venice, the advantages of which were acknowledged by the whole monarchy." He omitted from his list of official appointments one of the most important—viz., that of Vicar General of Italy. This honor was conferred on him by the Emperor as a reward for the two terrible defeats he had inflicted on the Turks, at Peterwardein (August, 1716) and Belgrade a year later, breaking their power completely on the Austrian frontier. He had also filled the important post of Governor of the Netherlands.

Despite the fact that he had long ago turned away from France in bitterness and disgust, Prince Eugène never lost his admiration for that country's greatness. Under Louis XIV. she was at her zenith. Her generals, her statesmen, her philosophers, her men of letters and learning, formed at that time a galaxy of brilliant minds never previously equaled; and the prosperity of the country, in spite of its years of continuous warfare, was wonderfully high. After the capitulation of Friburg to the French general, De Villars, in 1711, the Prince breaks out into a threnody on the inferiority of the German Empire to the French monarchy. "There are very bad Germans in Germany," he complains. If they had only raised a hundred thousand men to help him check the French on the Rhine, he could have relieved the beleaguered cities. So now he counsels the Emperor to make peace, as the course of prudence. "France has been making prodigious efforts. Her resources are infinite. 'Tis the will of one individual and one nation. The Austrian monarchy" (*i. e.*, the German then) "is composed of five or six, which have different constitutions. What a difference in civilization, in population and importance! The title of Emperor does not bring in a single man or a single kreützer. He must even negotiate with his empire, that it may not be French; with the Bohemians, that they may not run away into Prussia and Saxony, for fear of becoming soldiers; with his Lombards, who are ready to turn Savoyards; with his Hungarians, ready to turn Turks; and with his Flemings, ready to become Dutchmen."

This doleful rhapsody was the prelude to the peace of Rastadt (1714). The Prince and General de Villars were the two men who arranged it. It was then that the Prince was made Vicar General of Italy, with a salary of 150,000 florins.

Soon afterward the Grand Monarque had to yield to a greater, King Death, and Eugène expresses his feelings in a manner creditable in the highest to one who had always fought against the King as his personal enemy. The news produced the same effect upon

him as that of an old majestic oak uprooted and overthrown by a hurricane—he had been standing so long. Then he proceeds to moralize upon the lessons of great Kings' beginnings and endings, in a tone not usual in the military memoirists.

Leisure was now his for some time, and he proceeded to indulge his finer tastes. He built a palace, in the Turkish or Arabic style, in the suburbs of Vienna. He chose this peculiar style because of the fact that the spot where it stood was that whereon the Turkish grand vizier had pitched his tent at the siege of the city in 1529. His choice of architecture excited adverse criticism from the dilettanti, but he says he informed these superior critics that he was as well acquainted with the five orders of architecture as they, "as also with the seven orders of battle of Vegetius." "I like to have an order of my own in both sciences," he added, "and I have invented one." In battle certainly his invention usually asserted its own excellence. He says he put up fountains, cascades, *jets d'eau*, and superb basins in his palace grounds; and the superintending the erection of these, as well as the arrangement of his maps and choice books brought from London, in French, Latin and Italian, seems to have afforded him much delight. The Turkish Emperor sent him a rich present of Arabian horses, a scymetar and a turban, with the elegant compliment: "The one is a symbol of thy valor; the other of thy genius and wisdom." "I like this Eastern compliment," he jots down, "and I distrust those of Christians." The prevailing fashion in compliment, led by France, was then so artificial that it was little wonder a blunt soldier turned away from it in disdain.

This keen observer's criticisms on rulers and men by whom they were surrounded, brief and pithy though they be, are at times wonderfully suggestive of the Sultan's insight as to his mental attributes. The Emperor, Charles VI., had been brought up at the Spanish court, where etiquette was always of the stiffest and intercourse between monarch and counsellors formal to the point of frigidity. On the marriage of his niece the Emperor gave magnificent entertainments, at which the Prince figured. He gave entertainments, too, but there was little stiffness at these, for it was chiefly old comrades who met, and the rule with these war-scarred veterans was doubtless *desipere in loco*. He says nothing about ladies at his receptions; and he himself being a bachelor all his life, it is difficult to say whether his captains' captains—*i. e.*, their good wives—were there or not. He expresses his dislike of the gorgeous displays of robes made at the court pageants, and says he always wore his uniform and that some of the other generals followed his example.

Amid all these festivities the Prince did not lose sight of the more serious things of life. Naturally his position made him at times as much of a diplomatist as a fighter. He had a far greater knowledge of men, owing to the extent of his travels, the many varieties of minds with which he came into contact, and his keenness of insight, than those regularly brought up in the routine of government. He received much company at his house, he writes, in the interval between dinner and the play, "because I find that more business can be done in a drawing room than in a closet. I walked about with some foreign ministers or sat down in a corner with one of our own people; and a communicative air makes others talkative. On the other hand, I often see the reserve of others repel everybody; and concealing their mediocrity these gentlemen know no one; they are unacquainted with public and private opinion. 'Tis thus that sovereigns are often deceived, for want of mixing with society."

Another proof of his skill in psychology: "Charles had a reserved, Spanish air, and took but little pains to laugh—though he was fond of buffoons. This is always the case with people who are not naturally cheerful." This unfavorable picture he qualifies with the afterthought: "He was good and just."

The Emperor had two brothers whom the Prince seems to have esteemed more highly. They were Leopold and Joseph. The former, he thought, had more understanding than the Emperor; and the latter more than either, and he had the advantage of being much more amiable. Eugène, anticipating that Joseph one day might ascend the throne, bestowed much attention on his preparation for the duties of government—for Joseph, he says, would undertake that responsibility himself instead of playing the *roi fainéant*. The advice he gave him presents a mixture of lofty ethics and practical statecraft which proves that power, no matter how well intentioned, can hardly ever dissociate itself from the principles of Machiavelli, identifying the good of the ruler with the good of the State and sacrificing morality to a real or fancied necessity of public well-being. "Employ, sire," he advised him, "none but honest men; but if you sometimes find a scoundrel willing to undertake the dirty work of intrigues and not ashamed to have his conduct disavowed, make use of such a one, without esteeming him. The honor of States is not so ticklish as that of individuals. Bad faith and meanness, independently of the abhorrence which they excite, are not sound policy; but address and dissimulation are allowable. . . . Never threaten any power until you are prepared to strike."

The principles of political economy and social science were not

highly developed in Eugène's day, yet he was vastly ahead of his age. He was constantly busy in the planning of improvements and the inculcation of practical ideas in the minds of the administrative chiefs. He asked the ministers, one time, he says: "Cannot you disband the host of underlings who prevent the money from reaching the pocket of the sovereign? Contrive a tax, proportionate to the income or earnings of each individual; provide habitations for paupers, and set them to work; consult the English, the Dutch, the bankers for a good system of finance and manufactures; invite Flemings, to improve our agriculture; bring our heaths into cultivation, by means of the monks and soldiers; join the rivers by canals; cause the roads to be repaired by the proprietors of the adjoining lands, without ruining the government by constructing them; encourage the breeding of horses, that money may not be carried out of the country." Many other sound maxims in politics and economy are scattered throughout the memoirs.

Eugène seems to have been always a busy man. His life was a continual scene of activity. When not engaged in war he was employed looking after his gardens, of which he appeared to be very fond, the decoration of his palace, the selection of pictures and statuary, the regulation of his library. He gave employment to fifteen hundred workmen on his grounds and in the palace. He seems to have found considerable time, with all his activities, to indulge his literary tastes. And (will it be believed of a soldier?) his favorite books were devotional and homiletic. He was fond of reading the sermons of Bossuet, of Bourdaloue, of Masillon; and he gives us his impressions of the respective merits of these great orators. "When Bourdaloue," he says, "inspires me with terror, Masillon fills me with hope. We were born in the same year, and I knew him on his entrance into the world—a perfectly amiable man. Bossuet astonishes, Fénelon affects me. I saw them also in my youth, and Marlborough and I paid the latter all possible honors when we took Cambrai." He wrote thus when he was seventy-two, adding that he had enemies in the country, jealous of his success and his reputation, but he forgave them, he said, with all his heart.

Eugène was fond also of music and the theatre. He liked a fine opera, he said, and a great tragedy, such as "Athalie," "Esther" and "Polyeucte."

It is not often that we find great captains religious. Eugène was certainly so—after his own fashion. "I have been happy in this life," he wrote, "and I wish to be so in the next. There are old dragoons who will pray for me. . . . The fine music, whether simple or more obstreperous, of the divine service delights

me. The one has something religious, which awes the soul; the other reminds, by the flourishes of trumpets and kettledrums, which have so often led my soldiers to victory, of the God of hosts who has blessed our arms. I have scarcely had time to sin, but I have set a bad example, perhaps, without knowing it, by my negligence of the forms of religion, in which I have, however, invariably believed. I have been too careless as a soldier and lived like a philosopher. I wish to die as a Christian."

Prince Eugène had less time for marrying than he had for sinning, it appears, since he always shunned the matrimonial state. He was exceedingly fond of his mother, and he seems to have had a great friendship for Madame de Bathiany, a lady high in court and diplomatic society. "I play picquet there every night," he says, and, in fact, he played that game there the very evening before he died. "I am fond of the company of young people; they are more pure, not having been corrupted by intrigue." These he used to meet at Madame de Bathiany's, who was at that time a widow, it seems. She must have been a lady of splendid qualities, and seems to have inspired him with something more than mere friendship. But he was then too old to entertain any romantic feeling. Still, they both must have often joked over the idea. He said to her one day, he writes: "If you were not religious and I were five-and-twenty, what would be the consequence?" "Nothing," she replied; "things would be just as they are. I am religious, in the first place, because I love God, and because I believe and put my trust in Him; in the next place, because this is the safeguard of my peace, which comes to the aid of my wounded self-love, if I were to be forsaken; and then, that I may be able to scoff at women who have lovers. I am religious because I have neither fear, nor hope, nor desire in this life; and because the good which I do for the poor, for humanity, is of benefit to my soul. I am religious because the wicked fear me and are disgusting to me. I am religious that I may not have occasion to be continually watchful of my reputation; women who are dare not say or do anything. But I detest those who assume the mask of piety or are religious only on account of the immortality of the soul. Were mine to perish with me, I would nevertheless endeavor to be virtuous as I do at present. It is not so much for fear of God as out of gratitude for His favors and love to Him that I am religious without publicly proclaiming it like those ladies who make a trade of the thing to please the court, rather than to please heaven." There were reports that Madame and the Prince were married, and one of her young friends mentioned the fact to Madame. But she only laughed and said: "I love him much too well for that. I would rather have a bad reputation than take away

his." By this she meant, no doubt, his reputation for good sense; since the world would be inclined to laugh at the spectacle of a man of seventy-two marrying a lady who might have been, perhaps, his granddaughter, or at least his daughter.

In these jottings Eugène gives us the picture of a very sweet and noble woman. Minds like hers exert a powerful influence upon all around them. Eugène felt the effects of her piety to the very day of his death. It acted like a talisman to shield him from temptation and the folly that often accompanies old age. He was in the company of this admirable woman, and heard her good counsel, down to the very last; and with such hopeful augury did the great captain lay down his arms to the King of Kings.

Behind Eugène's bier walked an Emperor and sixteen marshals of the army—the largest assemblage of military notables that ever followed the coffin of a comrade in arms. If the honor was unique, so was the hero to whom it was paid—great in war, great in peace, great in personal character and refined tastes. He was the foremost Catholic soldier of his time, or perhaps of any time, and one whose career and philosophy are well worth the attention of the student.

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THE APOSTLE OF JAPAN.

EUROPE owes to the Venetian, Marco Polo, the discovery of Japan, and Japan owes to Spain its Apostle, St. Francis Xavier, the great Jesuit missionary.¹ It was during his travels in China, from which he returned in 1295, that Marco Polo heard of the existence of the island of Chipangu, by which name Japan was then known to the Chinese, of its civilized but idolatrous people and of the endless quantity of gold the group of islands in the high seas, 1,500 miles from the Asiatic Continent, possessed. Recent history has made known what a large share the discovery of gold mines has in the making (or perhaps marring) of empires; and Europeans in the thirteenth and subsequent centuries were as liable to the gold fever, the *auri sacra fames*, as their descendants in the nineteenth. In the wake of the Venetians followed the Portuguese.

Japan was in a state of anarchy when, in 1542, the Portuguese made their first appearance there, three fugitives from a Portuguese vessel in a Chinese junk having been driven on the shores of one

¹ Urban VIII. gave him the title of Apostle of the Indies and Pius IX. that of Apostle of Japan.

of the southern islands. Three years later the well-known traveler, Fernan Mendez Pinto, visited Japan, to which he returned in 1547 and rescued two Japanese fugitives, who were taken in the Portuguese vessel to Malacca, where Pinto met St. Francis Xavier, who had just arrived upon his mission to the far East. The saint took the fugitives to Goa, where they were converted and baptized. One, Anger or Anjiro, as he is called by the early Jesuits, received the name of Paulo de Santa Fé, or Paul of the Holy Faith, and his companion that of John. They learned to speak and write Portuguese and were the saint's first co-workers in the attempted Christianization of Japan.

The four large islands and three thousand smaller ones which form the Empire of Japan, called by the Japanese themselves Dai (Great) Nippon,² are situated in the northwestern part of the Pacific Ocean. They are a portion of the long line of volcanic islands extending from Kamtschatka on the north to Formosa on the south. The principal island, Hondo, which runs nearly north and south a distance of about 590 miles and extends east and west for about 540 miles, was the fabulously rich island, whose wealth exceeded the dreams of avarice, which Columbus hoped to reach by circumnavigating the globe. Measured by its greatest extension, it is about 1,130 miles long, although its greatest width does not exceed 200 miles, and for much of its length it is not more than 100 miles across the island. The second largest island, Yezo, is 350 miles long by 270 broad; the third, Kyushu, extends for about 200 miles from north to south; and the fourth, Shikoku, is about half as large as the last named. There are only a few large cities. Tokyo, the capital, situated on the main island, has a population of 1,155,200; Osaka, the second largest city, 473,541; Kyoto, the old capital, 289,588; Nogoya, 170,433; Kobé, 136,968, and Yokohama, 127,987. Besides these there are four cities whose population ranges from 60,000 to 100,000; twelve from 40,000 to 60,000, and twelve from 30,000 to 40,000. According to the census of 1890, the total population of the empire was 40,453,461.

Two distinct races are represented in the population, the Ainos, presumably a remnant of the aborigines and a rapidly diminishing quantity, and the Japanese, a branch of the great Mongolian race. The former, descendants of the Yemishi, hardy barbarians from the north and east, brought under subjection by the Japanese, are a hairy race, noted now for their peaceful and inoffensive character and primitive habits, although they long resisted the military power of the latter.

² Nippon, or Nippon, signifies in Japanese the East, or origin of the sun. From the Chinese name Gepuanque, or Chipangu, Europeans have evolved the word Japan.

The primitive religion of the Japanese was Shintoism, which prevailed long before Buddhism was introduced by priests from Korea. It was a singular creed, with no dogmas and no moral code, its adherents asserting that "morals" were invented by the Chinese because they were an immoral people, and that in Japan there was no necessity for any system of morals, as every Japanese acted rightly if he only consulted his own heart.

"From the beginning of their history," says a contemporary writer,³ "they have been a receptive people. They have stood ready to welcome the good things which were offered to them, coming from whatever direction. They accepted eagerly the Chinese written language and the philosophy with which it came charged. They accepted Buddhism with its priesthood, dogma and ritual, and permitted it to crowd their native religion until it became a pitiful minority. They have in recent times accepted with a hearty impetuosity the civilization of Western nations, and are absorbing it as rapidly as the habits and thoughts of a people can take in so important a change.

We have the testimony of St. Francis Xavier himself that the Japanese were very eager to learn what they did not know both in things divine and things natural. The saint undertook the voyage to Japan, as he tells St. Ignatius,⁴ with great happiness in his soul and with still greater hope, because he felt quite confident that the labor they might spend on that nation would produce solid and lasting fruit. "In the college at Goa, which is called the College of Santa Fé," he says, "we have three Japanese students who came thither with me last year from Malacca. They tell us wonderful things about Japan. They are youths of very good virtue and very sharp wit; Paul in particular, who is sending you a letter of very good length. In the space of eight months he has learned perfectly to read, write and speak Portuguese. He is now making the exercises, and with very good fruit. He is quite well instructed in the Christian doctrine. I have really a very good hope that by God's help there will be a large number made Christians in Japan." These hopes were not deceived, for by 1582 the Jesuits made as many as 600,000 native converts, justifying the forecast of the apostle who had been told by the Portuguese merchant who brought the Japanese Anger to him that the compatriots of the latter surpassed other people in their desire for knowledge. "If the rest of the Japanese," the saint wrote to Rome, "have the same ardor for gaining knowledge that Anger has, then they surpass in genius all nations anywhere found. In truth, he has a great thirst for knowl-

³ "Japan." By David Murray, Ph. D., LL. D., late adviser to the Japanese Minister of Education.

⁴ Letter 63. Coleridge's edition.

edge—a thing which avails very much for a quick perception of truth.” This desire of knowing was, and is still, common to his countrymen, who, the Japanese neophyte assured the saint, would be sure to ask him a great number of questions about the religion he was introducing and would, above all, consider whether his actions agreed with his words; for it was a nation which followed the guidance of reason.

This Anger, or Han-Siro as he was probably called in Japan, is an illustration of the aphorism that out of evil cometh good. In the heat of passion he had committed homicide in his own country and was pursued either by the officers of justice or by the relatives of the man he had slain. He took refuge in a monastery of bonzes, expecting to find there not only protection from his pursuers, but peace for his remorseful conscience. He found safety for a time, but was not secure against punishment; and his own conscience gave him no rest. His acquaintance with some Portuguese merchants led him to open his heart to one of them, Alfonso Vaz, who urged him to escape in one of the Portuguese ships to India, where he would find persons who would assist him to set his soul in order and regain his peace of conscience. He gave him a letter to another merchant, Ferdinand Alvarez, but the Japanese delivered it by mistake to a different person of the same name, who took him to Malacca, telling him a great deal on the voyage about his friend, Francis Xavier. Anger was extremely anxious to see Francis, whom he already looked upon as a man sent from heaven to heal the wounds of his soul; but when he arrived at Malacca Francis had not returned from the Moluccas, and after waiting for some time the Japanese gave up his intention of applying to him and started on his voyage homewards. He was within sight of Japan when a tempest drove his ship back, and he was forced to land on the coast of China, and when he sailed again from China towards Japan another storm forced him to put back into the port from whence he had started. Here he met again Alfonso Vaz, who persuaded him to return to Malacca, and on his landing there the first person he fell in with was his old friend, Alvarez, who took him at once to Francis, who had arrived in the meantime from Amboyna. Thus this sinner, through his conversion, was the obscure instrument which, in the wonderful workings of God's Providence, led to the attempted Christianization of Japan, culminating in the fulness of time in the addition of a glorious phalanx of saints to the white-robed army of martyrs canonized under the Pontificate of Pius IX.

The account of Japan given by the Japanese Brother Paul of the Holy Faith is still extant, as it was preserved both at Rome and Coimbra. In the letter to St. Ignatius the Japanese convert gives

a short history of his adventures and his conversion. Another long and interesting document about Japan, together with the statements of Portuguese merchants, must, Father Coleridge concludes, have formed the foundation of all the knowledge possessed by St. Francis Xavier concerning it until he landed there with Father Cosmo Torres, Paul and two other Japanese, "persuaded," as he says, "that the Christian religion will be propagated in those parts far and wide." His plan was, as soon as he arrived in Japan, to go to the King himself and the principal seats of learning, and when he had made himself well acquainted with all these matters, to write of what he had found out, not only to India, but to the universities of Portugal, Italy and, above all, Paris, and admonish them, while they are devoting themselves heart and soul to learned studies, not to think themselves so free and disengaged from responsibility as to take no trouble at all about the ignorance of the heathen and the loss of their immortal souls.

The letters written by St. Francis Xavier after his return to Malacca from the Moluccas, in 1547, show how firm a hold the idea of an expedition to Japan had taken on his mind, almost from the first moment when he had met the Japanese Anger and his Portuguese friends. "His," comments Father Coleridge, "was the heart and soul of an apostle; and as St. Paul longed for Rome, or Spain, or even still more distant countries, while he was yet in Asia Minor, or Greece, or his prison at Cæsarea, so the tidings that told Francis of new islands where the Gospel had never been preached seemed almost to put upon his conscience the duty of devoting himself to the work of carrying among them the name of Jesus Christ. . . . The expedition to Japan, which presented itself to his mind with so many attractive features to recommend it, was an enterprise which Francis might have concluded to undertake on grounds of simple reason. The Japanese were intelligent, noble, manly, liberal, anxious to learn and ready to be convinced of the truth. The field was open and free from many of the obstacles which were felt so fatally in India and elsewhere." But it was neither the reasonableness nor attractiveness of the enterprise, viewed from a human standpoint, which decided the saint, but the light and guidance of the Holy Spirit which he sought and obtained in prayer and meditation, following out that golden maxim of St. Ignatius—pray, believing that everything depends upon God; act as if everything depended upon yourself—a maxim which crystallizes and condenses in one sentence heavenly and human wisdom.

He was enabled to enter Japan with devoted friends and disciples at his side, to whom the customs and language of the country were perfectly familiar.

Having arranged the affairs of the society in India, which he was to leave for an almost indefinite period, he sailed from Cochin along with his five companions—two Jesuits and three Japanese Christians—for Malacca, which they reached on May 31, 1549, after a voyage of forty days, and from which he wrote to the King of Portugal: "I feel the most intimate certainty and conviction in my mind that it is expedient for the service of God that I should go to Japan. This has given me a ready and vigorous confidence, and I have put an end to all delay in the matter by sailing from India, that I may follow the undoubted call of God, who urges me on to this voyage by frequent and strong interior impulses." His Japanese converts also felt urged to join in this voyage by a great desire of leading their own people to the religion of Christ. They reëmbarked at Malacca in a Chinese junk, the captain of which was a heathen named Ladro, who was bound by contract, pledging his wife and whole household property as security for its fulfillment to take them straight to Japan, returning with letters in their handwriting as vouchers; otherwise all that he possessed at Malacca would be confiscated to the Crown. Many Portuguese merchants had offered their vessels for this purpose, feeling that the presence of an apostle on board any ship would secure her safety from the great dangers of all kinds by which the voyage to Japan was beset; but for one reason or another every Christian ship was at that moment unavailable, some not being ready for sea, repairs being wanting to one, another not having completed her cargo, and another not being yet manned. Paul of the Holy Faith shrewdly as well as piously observed that all this happened by a singular providence of God, for if the Japanese had seen on the one hand St. Francis preaching the holy law of God, and at the same time and place had also seen, on the other, the Christian merchants doing things contrary to the same law, they would have formed their judgment of it rather from the deeds of the merchants than from the words of the preacher, and would have told the saint how could it be that the Christians looked forward to the good things of heaven after death if they lived as if there were no goods but those of this world? He thanked God that no European entered Japan along with St. Francis Xavier.

The Apostle's hopes of achieving a great conquest of souls rose higher and higher with every news that reached him from that country. While still at Malacca he wrote, on June 20, 1549, to Father Joam Beira: "It is said that some of the great people of Japan are thinking of sending an embassy to the King of Portugal to ask him to send them some priests who may preach to them the law of Christ. We all go in very high spirits and confidence, hoping that some remarkable fruit will come from our voyage, the

almighty power of our Lord God helping in His mercy our weak efforts. I am now pretty well aware how much good can be done in these parts; and if, when I reach those islands at the end of the world, I come to think clearly that more return for our labors may be justly expected there, I mean to call you all to join me, and transplant you to work in places where a larger harvest may be reaped. So you must prepare your hearts and work up your zeal even now, that nothing may prevent you from obeying me without delay as soon as you receive my letters calling you away to Japan." In one of the numerous letters he wrote at Malacca before his departure mention is made of the desire of one of the Japanese princes to become a Christian and of his sending an envoy to the Governor of the Indies to obtain Catholic teachers.

Once St. Francis had clearly recognized in himself, that is interiorly, the intimation and conviction that it was God's will he should go to Japan, he gave himself up to the plan so entirely and irrevocably that it seemed to him that if he were to desist from what he had begun he should be more wicked and detestable than the very idolaters of Japan. He was further confirmed in his purpose because he saw the enemy of the human race setting a great many devices in motion in order to make him give up the thought of it. He declares his intention of taking possession of the country "in the name of Christ our King," and as soon as he disembarked going to the King of Japan and delivering the message he had for him "from the Supreme Emperor of all nations, our Lord Jesus Christ." He had been told that the King had always with him a large band of men of letters, full of confidence in their own genius, learning and eloquence. "I do not fear much, relying on God, from the opposition of all their learning," writes the saint; "for what good learning can people have who do not know Jesus Christ? . . . It is a great comfort to us to know that God, who judges the inmost feelings of the human heart, sees clearly with what wish, with what aim, with what prayer and in search of what it is that we are moved to undertake this voyage to Japan. Our own conscience tells us that in that expedition we seek and desire nothing else at all save only that we may lead the souls of men, created in the image of God, to the knowledge of their Creator, that the Supreme Author of all things may be praised as He deserves by the creatures whom He has made in His own likeness, and the frontiers of the empire of our holy mother Church, the Spouse of Christ, may be advanced and her realm enlarged. And so we go, glowing with vigorous confidence, and we venture to presume and reckon on as a thing certain and as if our hope had received a pledge of its fulfillment, that this voyage of ours to Japan will unfailingly issue in

happy and joyful success." He knew that it was a dangerous voyage which was before them, it being common knowledge at the time that out of all the ships which sailed from India to Japan one in every three was lost by one of three causes of destruction—storms, rocks or shoals and pirates.

Mendez Pinto, who was at Malacca at the time, relates how he embarked about sunset on the feast of St. John Baptist in a small junk belonging to a Chinese Corsair called Necoda,⁵ and the next morning set sail, the winds being very favorable. Contrary to his agreement, the captain changed his course, loitering about the intervening islands and, against the will of the missionaries and despite their efforts, joining with his crew in worshiping an idol on the poop and consulting the devil from time to time whether it would be advantageous or not to sail to Japan. When they had sailed three hundred miles, the saint records, they put into a certain island and made ready their rigging and equipment for the very severe storms which sweep the Chinese sea. Thereupon the sailors offered many superstitious sacrifices to the idol and again cast lots to ascertain from the imaginary oracle whether they should have good winds. The response to their thinking being satisfactory they heaved anchor and pursued their course, again interrupted by asking the idol whether the ship would return safely to Malacca; the lots declaring, as it were, that she would reach Japan, but would not return to Malacca, they made up their mind to give up the voyage till next year and winter in China. On one occasion Emmanuel, the Chinese, one of St. Francis' companions, was near being killed by falling head foremost during a storm from a great height into the vessel's sink or tank, and on another the captain's daughter was cast overboard into the sea, sinking close to the ship in the sight of her father. After calling at Canton and having abandoned the idea of touching at Tchín-tcheon, because they were told the harbor was infested by pirates, they finally reached Cagoxima, in Japan, on the feast of the Assumption, 1549. It was the native place of Paul of the Holy Faith, by whose relatives and the rest of the people they were kindly received. This port lies on an arm of the sea which deeply indents the coast of the southern and most westerly islands.

⁵ This Corsair died at Cagoxima. "He did his work for us, on the whole, as we wished, throughout the voyage," St. Francis wrote to Don Pedro de Silva, commandant at Malacca, "and yet we were not able to repay him by good offices when we came to port or when he died. He himself chose to die in his own superstitions; he did not even leave to us the power of rewarding him by that kindness which we can after their death do to other friends who die in the profession of the Christian faith, in commending their souls to God, since the poor fellow by his own hand cast his soul into hell, where there is no redemption."

The Apostle prepared for the beginning of his apostolate among the Japanese by practising great humility, praying day and night, offering up continual austerities and acquiring an elementary knowledge of the language, so as to be able to translate the commandments and the creed into Japanese and give a short explanation of both. On the feast of St. Michael he visited the Prince of Satsouma, who received him honorably (having been previously visited by Paul of the Holy Faith, who presented him with a picture of the Madonna and Child, which the prince venerated, kneeling before it), and a few days later gave him permission to preach the Christian law, which he allowed any of his subjects to embrace if they chose.

Speaking of the Japanese generally, the saint wrote: "The nation with which we have to do here surpasses in goodness any of the nations lately discovered. I really think that among barbarous nations there can be none that has more natural goodness than the Japanese. They are of a kindly disposition, not at all given to cheating, wonderfully desirous of honor and rank. Honor with them is placed above everything else. There are a great many poor among them, but poverty is not a disgrace to any one. . . . They are wonderfully inclined to all that is good and honest, and have an extreme eagerness to learn." They marveled that the Jesuits should have come the whole way from Portugal to Japan, a voyage of more than 6,000 leagues, for no other purpose than to treat with them about divine things, to set forth the Christian faith and show them in their errors the way of eternal salvation. They listened with great avidity to religious discourses, and the saint exhorts his brethren at Goa to rejoice and give thanks to God that new regions were thus laid open in which their own industry might some day find a large field for exertion. The first fruits were gathered by the saint's companion, the Japanese convert Paul, who converted his wife and daughter as well as many kinsmen and intimate friends.

Japan at this time possessed numerous seats of learning where the bonzes or Buddhist priests, notwithstanding their immorality, cultivated literature. What St. Francis calls Meaco, the largest city in Japan, said to contain 90,000 houses, all timber built, and the residence of royalty, was a city of "bonzereries" or academies, presided over by bonzes of various sects. The saint makes mention of a famous university there as well as five colleges and more than two hundred monasteries of bonzes, besides five other principal academies round Meaco, each frequented by about 3,500 scholars. The largest and most noted of the academies was at Bandou, in the north of the large island of Nippon. The saint writes of interesting the European universities and the Pope in this field already white

with a harvest ready to be gathered and garnered and inviting "all the pious religious orders so dear to God who are burning with the desire of extending the Christian kingdom, to come out at once and slake that heavenly thirst for souls which they feel in these islands of Japan." He was in great hopes if God only gave him ten years more of life of seeing many great results produced both by those who accompanied and those who would follow him. That year two bonzes, who had been educated in the universities of Meaco and Bandou, and several other Japanese were going to India to learn the mysteries of the Christian religion.

By a letter dated November 11, 1549, he commands three of the Indian Jesuits, Gaspar Baertz, Balthasar Gago and Diego Carvalhez, whom he knew to be "animated by burning desires to promote the glory of God," to go to the city of Meaco, where he hoped to meet them. In a subsequent letter he announced that two Japanese bonzes, who had given up their sacrilegious priesthood and been converted, would arrive at the college at Goa that year, with the admonition: "Take care to treat them courteously and kindly, just as I used to treat Paul of the Holy Faith, the Japanese, when I was with you. The character of the Japanese is such that nothing in the world can bend or guide them except kindness and benevolence."

While always keeping in view the higher aims and objects of the great spiritual work in which he was engaged, the saint, with that practicality which has ever distinguished the Jesuits, did not disdain or disregard making use of human methods to subserve superhuman or divine ends. Being anxious to secure a ready means of conveyance for the successive bands of missionaries, he employed as an expedient a list of the articles of merchandise for which a good market could be readily found in Japan in order to stimulate the enterprise of the Portuguese Governor, revenue officials and merchants and secure the despatch of a government ship every year from Goa to Osaka, the port of Meaco, the Venice of Japan; or the equipping of a ship by some one to whom the Governor might give the commission of opening up the Japanese trade, with a monopoly of the market. In a letter to Don Pedro de Silva, commandant of Malacca, he wrote: "Unless I am mistaken, this expedition of ours to Japan promises to produce rich results to the King and his realm." He points out how storehouses might be built at Osaka, a maritime city, the chief centre of Japanese trade, where European merchandise might be stored until exchanged for the precious metals of Japan, silver and gold, besides its manufactures and produce, and that he would try to persuade the King of Japan to send an ambassador to India with a view to a commercial treaty for the mutual benefit of both nations. Passing from the temporal to the spiritual, he ex-

presses great confidence in our Lord that before two years are over they shall have at Meaco a church dedicated to Our Lady, so that thenceforth those who sail to Japan may be able, in the terrible storms of the Chinese archipelago, to invoke the Blessed Madonna of Meaco. He begs for something to divide among the poor Christians in Japan and tells him that many Japanese were on their way to him, attracted to India by what they had heard Paul relate of the wonders of the power and virtue of the Portuguese, adding that much will be done towards drawing them on towards embracing the Christian religion if they find by their own experience that Paul's account of the Portuguese is true.

The arrival of this letter, together with that of the Japanese recommended by it to the good offices of the Capitan of Malacca, was made the occasion of public demonstrations of joy. Don Pedro had the royal standard hoisted on the fortress, the guns fired a salute and a grand procession was organized to go to the Church of Our Lady del Monte to give thanks for the good news which seemed to promise the conversion of Japan. Magistrates and soldiers joined the Vicar General and clergy in this procession. The streets were hung with colors and lighted up at night. The Vicar sang High Mass in presence of all the authorities. Soon after this the Japanese strangers were baptized, Don Pedro de Silva himself standing as their godfather.*

Meanwhile St. Francis, who had freely availed of the prince's permission to publicly preach the Gospel, had many friendly interviews with the chief priest of the bonzes, head of one of the Buddhist monasteries in the neighborhood. Miracles were not wanting to confirm the truth of his preaching. The most remarkable was wrought in favor of the only daughter of a nobleman whom, in his agony of bereavement after her death, the new converts urged to recommend his case to the God of the Christians, and to have recourse to the prayers of the great teacher of the Portuguese. The father threw himself at the Apostle's feet; but sorrow choked his utterance, and he could say nothing. The saint withdrew for a few moments with Joam Fernandez into the little oratory in which he usually said Mass, and after a short, fervent prayer returned to the afflicted father and told him to go, that his prayers were heard. He said nothing more, and the nobleman felt grieved and hurt. In this state of mind he went homewards, and was met first by a servant, who told him that his daughter was alive, and then by the girl herself, who ran to him and threw herself on his neck. She said that as soon as she had breathed her last two horrible demons had seized her and were about to cast her into hell, when

* Father Coleridge.

two men of venerable aspect came and rescued her, and the next moment she found herself safe and well. The father took her to the house where St. Francis Xavier and Fernandez were staying, and as soon as she saw them she cried out that they were the two who had delivered her. Both father and daughter were at once instructed and baptized. Another miracle conveyed a stern rebuke to those who reject or revile the ministers of God. A Japanese had been insulting and jeering at St. Francis, who turned to him and said gently: "God preserve your mouth, friend!" The man was struck at once with a horrible and noisome cancerous disease in his mouth. These and other miracles served to increase the credit of the missionaries, and it seemed likely that large numbers would become Christians.⁷

But an impediment arose which retarded if it did not put a stop to the work of evangelization. The bonzes, two of whom had already become converts, felt as a body that their vested interests were involved in the preaching of the missionaries, whose doctrine and example were in such reproachful contrast to theirs. They took alarm and went to the prince, threatening him all sorts of calamities if he permitted the worship of the ancient gods of their country to fall into disrepute and disuse. Their protest, coinciding with the abandonment by the Portuguese of Cagoxima as a mart in favor of Firando, about fifty or sixty miles north of Nagasaki, the Prince of Satsouma was so incensed at what he considered ingratitude that he withdrew his permission to teach the Christian religion and forbade any one, under pain of death, to become a Christian. This edict, although it does not appear to have been followed by any active measures of persecution, changed the attitude of the local population. St. Francis confined himself for several months to instructing the neophytes who chiefly comprised the family and friends of Paul of the Holy Faith, who assembled privately, like the early Christians, for prayer and worship, translating into the Japanese language a summary of the Christian doctrine and of the life of Our Lord. This *pusillus grex* was thus silently laying the foundation of that Church of Japan which has added to the annals of the Church in the far East a record of heroic constancy and fortitude only to be paralleled by the heroism of the first Christians during the persecutions under Nero and Diocletian.

Meanwhile miracles were multiplied and served both to confirm in the faith the converts, who were singularly devoted to their new religion and its teachers, and to draw others into the fold of the only Church which possesses this mark of apostolicity. One of the

⁷ Father Coleridge.

miracles strikingly recalls the story of the miraculous draught related in the Gospels. The saint was walking one day by the seashore where some fishermen were dragging their nets, which, to their great affliction, were empty. St. Francis blessed the nets with the sign of the Cross, and bade them cast them again into the sea. This time the nets were found full to abundance, and that part of the sea remained afterwards remarkably productive. At another time a town visited by a severe pestilence was delivered from the plague by his prayers, while many of its inhabitants were simultaneously delivered from the worse plague of paganism and converted to Christianity. He also cured a deformed child, taking him up into his arms, healed a leper, gave sight to a blind man by making the sign of the Cross over him and wrought several other miracles.

At the beginning of September, 1550, St. Francis went to Firando, leaving Paul of the Holy Faith⁸ in charge of the Christians of Cagoxima. The saint traveled on foot, carrying a little bundle containing all that was necessary for the celebration of Mass and accompanied by the two Europeans, Cosmo Torres and Joam Fernandez, a convert named Bernard, the first fruits of his preaching at Cagoxima, and another Japanese. He had not gone many miles on his road when he was invited by one of the great lords of the country, whose name is given as Ekandono or Eshandono, to visit him in one of the great castles. Ekandono had heard wonders of the "bonze" from the West who had been teaching a new religion at Cagoxima, and was eager to see and hear him. The Apostle preached with such earnestness and power that he was able to baptize seventeen converts before he left the castle, including the lady of the house and her eldest son. Francis left Ekandono, who was dubious and hesitant, a copy of the Japanese translation of the Christian doctrine, and carefully regulated the pious exercises and rule of life of the little community, found many years afterwards (in 1562) in a state of fervor when Father Luis d'Almeyda visited the castle during a visitation of the Christians in Firando, Cagoxima and Boungo and was eagerly questioned by the lady of the manor and fourteen others whom the saint had baptized "for news of Father Francis and of the progress of Christianity in other parts of Japan, rejoicing much in the good tidings which he gave them, for it was many years since they had seen a Father or Brother of the Society." An old man held in much esteem, a kind of majordomo, whom all loved greatly on account of his virtue, and the lady herself

⁸ He was obliged to go into exile through the persecutions of the bonzes some months after St. Francis Xavier took leave of him, found his way to China and was murdered by robbers near Liampou.

related many miracles which God had wrought since the saint had departed, leaving them some prayers and litanies written by his own hand, which the lady preserved as relics, applying them to sick persons whom they healed. One of these invalids was Ekandono himself, whose life had at one time been in danger, and who had been at once cured. These Christians met once a week to take the discipline in common with a discipline which the Apostle had left behind; but the old man considered it so precious that he would not let any one give himself more than three strokes with it, lest it should be worn out.⁹ Ekandono was only prevented from becoming a Christian through fear of the prince.

Mossei, quoted by Father Coleridge, mentions a still more striking instance of the long time during which the memory of St. Francis Xavier's preaching was kept up without the presence of missionaries in the case of a place called Canadabè, thirteen leagues from Cagoxima, where fifty-five years after his visit a number of Christians were found, among whom was the daughter of the chief nobleman, who was baptized when a little girl by St. Francis, and had since consecrated herself to God by a vow of chastity.

St. Francis was received at Firando with a salvo of artillery by the captain of a Portuguese trading ship, and he was conducted with all honor to the prince, who gave him leave to preach freely. In a few days more conversions were made than during a whole year at Cagoxima.

Leaving Cosmo Torres at Firando and taking with him Joam Fernandez and his two Japanese converts, the saint, pursuing his journey to Meaco, embarked for Facata, a port on the southern and smaller of the great islands, and from thence sailed again to Simonoseki, the port of Amanguchi, the capital of a considerable State on the larger island of Nippon. The deplorable immorality of Amanguchi moved the ardent zeal of St. Francis Xavier, whose preaching in the streets and public places led to his being invited to come and explain his doctrine in private houses. This he did with the courage, fearlessness and freedom of a true Apostle. Joam Fernandez related afterwards how Francis, usually so humble and meek in demeanor, confronted the pride and arrogance of the rich and noble Japanese who used to interrogate him, bearing himself in a most lofty and dignified manner. At times Joam himself had to answer them in the same bold, uncompromising manner, and he confessed that while he did so he sometimes expected to see the sword of the questioner flash from the scabbard

⁹ Almeyda baptized some children, two of whom were lads, sons of Ekandono, whom he found perfectly prepared for baptism by the instructions of the old man, whom on returning a week or two after, he found just dead.

to make the heads of both Francis and himself roll in the dust. Although his intrepid demeanor conquered the respect of some, the bonzes insulted and the common people, doubtless instigated by them, turned him into ridicule, abused him and ran after him, pelting him with stones and filth. The prince sent for him and after listening to a long exposition of Christian doctrine, in the course of which the saint reproached him with his own and his nobles' vices, he let him go in peace. After several weeks' preaching, which resulted in very few conversions, he left the city in the beginning of December, 1550, for Meaco, where, failing to obtain audience of the Mikado or Cubosamo, the spiritual and temporal heads of the empire, he preached in the streets, but the people were too much preoccupied with the civil war then being waged to pay much heed to him.

The saint suffered much in this apostolate. His life was in danger; he was assailed by crowds and more than once was wounded by arrows and almost stoned to death. In a letter to Goa the saint describes how, whenever they went through the streets of Amanguchi—a city of 10,000 households—they were followed by a small crowd of boys of the lowest dregs of the populace laughing at and mocking them and making a joke and play of the articles of the Christian religion. On the other hand, many of those who listened with avidity to the life of Our Lord as he preached in the streets and at the cross-roads were unable to restrain their tears when he came to relate the Passion. Nevertheless very few became Christians. He was two months on the road between that city and the capital, braving the cold and running the risk of falling into the hands of robbers who infested it.

On leaving Meaco, formerly a very large city containing at one time 180,000 dwellings, he made a change of front in his method of pursuing his apostolate and opened a new campaign of preaching on a second visit to Amanguchi, where, instead of appearing as a poor missionary, he boldly demanded audience of the Prince or King of Naugato as an envoy of the King of Portugal, with his companions as attendants and provided with letters and presents from the Governor of the Indies, the Bishop of Goa and the commandant of Malacca, originally intended for the Mikado. He was well received and the next day the city was placarded with an edict authorizing the preaching of the Christian religion, while an empty bonzery or Buddhist monastery was assigned to the new teachers as a residence. The authorization, St. Francis relates, was granted "with the greatest good-will," the saint having refused an offering of a large amount of gold and silver from the prince. The edict allowed any one who wished to become a Christian. A great

many consequently went to the Jesuit missionaries, who preached twice a day and held discussions at which many of the bonzes, nobility and citizens were present. The first to become Christians were those who had been their most strenuous adversaries in controversy. "Many of these were persons of good birth," says the saint, "and when they had embraced Christianity they became our friends with an amount of warmth which I can find no words to describe. . . . In the space of two months quite as many as 500 have become Christians. Their number is being daily added to. . . . It is quite incredible how much the Christians love us. They are always coming to our house to ask whether we have anything at all which we wish them to do for us. All the Japanese appear naturally very obliging; certainly the Christians among them are so very good to us that it would be impossible to exceed their extreme kindness and attentiveness."

The Japanese, though infanticide (pre-natal and post-natal), suicide and unnatural vices prevailed in every class of society, were of a remarkably intelligent and inquiring turn of mind and had a special passion for theological disputations. Their vices were rather the outcome of ignorance than of natural perversity and were not regarded as crimes by the false religion taught by the bonzes, which was split up into nine different sects.¹⁰ Contemporary Europe has nothing to boast of in contrast to them as regards sectional differences, for there are about fifty different sects in England alone. Before the apostolate of St. Francis Xavier the Japanese were perpetually disputing among themselves, but after his preaching they all began to contend about the Christian faith. "It is really very wonderful," he writes, "that in so large a city as Amanguchi in every house and in every place men should be talking constantly about the law of God. But if I were to go into the history of all their questionings, I should have to write on forever." They left him hardly time to read his Office or take food or rest, they came in such throngs to the monastery in which the Jesuits were lodged.

Miracles again attested the truth of the doctrine he taught, of which the mortified lives of the Jesuits was a living exposition. The Pentecostal gift of tongues¹¹ was in a measure renewed, so

¹⁰ Kaempfer, in 1691, reckoned in Meaco 3,893 tira, or temples of new or strange divinities; 2,117 mla, or temples of the original ancient divinities of Japan, and 52,169 bonzes. The famous temple at Kioto contained 33,333 idols.

¹¹ This gift he exercised in two ways. First, he spoke the language (which he had never learnt) of nations to whom he went to preach the Gospel as freely and elegantly as if he had been born and educated in the midst of those nations; and in the second place, it not infrequently happened that men of different nations heard him at the same time, each in his own lan-

that in after years when other missionaries succeeded St. Francis in Japan the people complained that they did not answer their questions as immediately as the first teacher of Christianity, who made one reply to several questions simultaneously put by different persons in the crowd. Other wonderful things, such as his healing many sick persons by the sign of the Cross or by holy water, are likewise recorded by the two Japanese converts of whom mention has been made.

After he had been two years in Japan, during which Christianity had made considerable progress, particularly at Amanguchi, despite the opposition and calumnies of the bonzes, who were fast losing their young disciples and were confuted, confounded and silenced by the Apostle's arguments, St. Francis thought of returning to India to select suitable subjects for the mission, the new field of spiritual conquests which his active and enterprising zeal had opened up. Although he was very cautious in admitting converts until they had been well instructed and proved, the Christians in Amanguchi at this time numbered three thousand. He was laying deeply and solidly the foundations of a Church in the far East; and mindful that "unless the Lord build the house they labor in vain who build," he based it upon a strong, supernaturalized faith which he inculcated by word and example. The result was that neither the secret persecution of Oxindono, who, fearing to alienate the Portuguese merchants by openly revoking his edict of toleration, confiscated the property of the converts, nor the calumnies of the bonzes made these pioneer Christians of Japan waver. They stood firm, and St. Francis Xavier bore witness that there was not one of them who was not ready to lose everything he possessed, even life itself, for the sake of the faith. This spirit of martyrdom, says Father Coleridge,¹² was characteristic of the Japanese Christians from the very beginning; and it testifies to the thorough instruction given to them by the missionaries, as well as to the influence of the apostolic sanctity and greatness of soul which were conspicuous in their first great teacher.

Leaving Amanguchi in the autumn of 1551, St. Francis set out for Figi, the port of Fucheo, capital of the Kingdom of Boungo, which lies on the northeastern coast of the large island of Ximo or Kiou Siou, part of the Japanese group in which Satsouma and its chief city, Cagoxima, are situate. The King, who sent word of

guage. This happened at Amanguchi and elsewhere, particularly in the port of Jafanapatain, and was considered as a great miracle, which made people venerate him, and also converted many. Fourteen witnesses testified to it. (*Relatio super sanctitate et miraculis Francisci Xaverii*, quoted by Father Coleridge. "Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier, vol. II., p. 383.)

¹² Op. cit.

the arrival of a Portuguese ship, begged him to visit him. The saint, who was accompanied by three Japanese Christians, one of whom was a young doctor named Laurence,¹⁸ previously sent for Father Cosmo Torres to join Joam Fernandez and take charge of the Christians at Amanguchi. After walking to within a few miles of Figi, he fell ill; his feet were swollen and he had a violent headache. The Portuguese, apprised of his approach, rode out to meet him, leading a horse for him to mount. "We met him," relates Mendez Pinto, "coming in the company of two Christians, whom within a month he had converted to the faith, men of the highest quality in the kingdom. As we were all in our holiday dress and mounted on good horses, we were quite struck with confusion to meet him in so sorry a plight; for, besides that he was on foot, he carried on his shoulders a bundle in which were all the things necessary for saying Mass. Because he would never accept any of our horses, we were obliged to accompany him on foot, although it was against his will; and this served for a great example to the two new converts."

The saint, who was very popular among merchants and sailors, was received at Figi with a great *fanfare* and several salvos of artillery, to the astonishment of the King and citizens, who thought they were returning the fire of some squadrons of Corsairs off the coast. But when the King heard that it was rejoicing at the arrival of Father Francis, a holy man whom the King of Portugal held in high esteem, he sent a young noble of his own family in a state barge with a letter to the "father bonze of Chimahicogim"—the Japanese name for Portugal—begging him to come and see him. The Portuguese insisted on being allowed to escort St. Francis with every mark of honor and were met by great crowds of people. By the express order of the King a litter was provided for him, but he would not use it and walked to the palace, accompanied by a number of nobles and thirty Portuguese, with a retinue of servants gaily attired and having gold chains around their necks. St. Francis was clad in a cassock of black camlet, over which was a surplice and a stole of green velvet brocaded with gold. In his suite walked the captain, baton in hand, as majordomo, followed by five of the richest merchants, each carrying ceremoniously something appertaining to the saint, whose passage in processional order

¹⁸ A young doctor of great reputation for learning, who was about to join the bonzes when he was converted by the meekness of the Jesuit missionary, Joam Fernandez, who, when a man approached him one day as he was preaching as if to whisper something into his ear, and then spat in his face, gently wiped away the spittle with his handkerchief and went on with his sermon. The doctor was baptized by St. Francis, taking the name of Laurence, and soon afterwards was received into the society. His name became famous in the annals of the infant Church of Japan.—Father Coleridge.

through the nine principal streets of the city was witnessed by a vast crowd, every place to the roofs of the houses being full of people. At the palace, where he was received by a hundred men in armor, the merchants made a great impression on the court by each kneeling before the saint and presenting him with the article he carried, the Japanese nobles regarding with admiration the dignity and majesty of the person to whom such homage was paid. After a pretty incident, a little prepared speech of welcome by a child between six and seven years of age, led by an old man, the Apostle was greeted by the lords of the kingdom, who bent their heads thrice to the ground, the King himself advancing five or six steps to meet him and pay him the same compliment, an elaborate form of salutation called the *gromenare*. The King received him with the utmost respect, made him sit by his side and ordered out of the apartment a bonze who protested. After this interview with Civan, King of Boungo, of whom mention is frequently made in the early annals of the Church of Japan, St. Francis made numerous converts, including a learned bonze of Canafama, who, after a long disputation, made a public profession of faith in Christianity in presence of a large assemblage.

After several prolonged controversial discussions with the bonzes, who when they failed in argument had recourse to calumny and stimulating revolts, St. Francis set sail for India on November 20, 1551, along with two Japanese Christians, Bernard and Matthias, and an envoy from the King of Boungo to the Governor of the Indies, asking for the Portuguese alliance and for Jesuit Fathers to teach Christianity to his people. Reaching Cochin on the 24th of January, 1552, he addressed a long letter to the society in Europe on the 29th, reviewing the main incidents of his mission to Japan, to which in the April following some Fathers were sent from India. "Later on, if God wills," he adds, "fresh members of the society will be sent to Japan every year, and a house of the society will be established at Amanguchi, where the Fathers will learn the language of the country and acquaint themselves with the doctrines and rules of the different sects. By these means the good and learned members of the society who are to come hither from Portugal to aid the University of Bandou will find Brothers there acquainted with the language and the religions of Japan." The system of sects then prevailing in Japan having been derived from China, St. Francis Xavier was in hopes that if the Chinese accepted the Christian faith, the Japanese would give up the doctrines which the Chinese had taught them. During their two and a half years' sojourn in Japan St. Francis and his companions

lived at the expense of the King of Portugal, who ordered more than a thousand gold crowns to be given to them as alms for their journey. "It is incredible," says the grateful Apostle, "how much this excellent monarch has favored us, and how much he has spent and daily continues to spend on our colleges and residences and for the supply of all our necessities." In a letter to St. Ignatius he lays great stress on the importance of sending persons of great excellence and eminent both for virtue and learning to the Japanese universities, men endowed with "strength of soul and patience, and indeed all virtues in perfection, to tear to pieces the sophistries of the bonzes, confound their falsehoods and expose the unworthy and secret artifices with which they suck the purses of the credulous people." The number of these bonzes and bonzesses was immense and almost incredible; one dominion was said to count 800 convents, containing at least thirty persons in each, while an infinite number contained four, six or eight. There were nine rules for both men and women, all differing in their laws and precepts, each one being free to apply himself to that which he liked best. Some of the sects had three hundred, others five hundred precepts, but all agreed on five principal and essential ones which it was indispensable to keep. These were: First, not to kill nor to eat anything that had been killed; second, not to steal; third, not to commit adultery; fourth, not to lie; fifth, to abstain from wine. The bonzes traded on the credulity of the people, persuading them that it was impossible for persons in general to keep these five commandments, but that they would observe them for them and make satisfaction for all the evil they did on condition of the people giving them convents, yearly revenues and money for all necessary uses—in short, paying them every kind of honor and homage. The rich, who were able to donate liberally to these impostors, felt at liberty to indulge their passions to any extent, while the poor were held by the bonzes to have no chance of escaping condemnation!

St. Francis knew that the mad fury of these false priests would break out when their ridiculous pretensions were exposed and their chief source of gain ceased to exist; and in his letter to St. Ignatius at Rome he speaks of "conflicts and trials beyond all common expectation" and "a violent tempest of ill will" which the Fathers who are to follow will have to endure, and how self-evident it is that what is wanted are "powerful intellects, practised in dialectics, gifted with a popular eloquence, quick to follow error in its shiftings and even to anticipate them; able to snatch the mask from lies which plausibly bear the semblance of reality, to unravel sophistical arguments and to show the incoherence and mutual contradiction of false doctrines." Old men he declares to be un-

suited for the work; neither are young men desirable "except those in whom the defect of age is supplied by great virtues, proved clearly by severe trials," as "all kinds of temptations and occasions of sin abound in Japan." He thought Belgians or Germans, acquainted with Portuguese or Spanish, would be well fitted, but that all missionaries for Japan should be first sent to St. Ignatius at Rome. He perceived in the Japanese "a happy disposition for approving the Christian religion when sufficiently explained to them, and for persevering with constancy therein when they have received it, as well as handing it on to their posterity," and thought "even the greatest labor would be well employed in cultivating them." He regarded the Japanese nation as superior to any other in the East and did not think there was any other in which the Christian religion would take root and remain firm and lasting. "As far as I know," adds the saint, "the Japanese nation is the single and only nation of them all which seems likely to preserve unshaken and forever the profession of Christian holiness if once it embraces it; but this will doubtless not be without great sufferings and heroic conflicts on the part of the preachers of the Gospel." Prophetic words, as the sequel proved!

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THE TOTAL SUPPRESSION OF THE FRENCH CONGREGATIONS.

THE ALLEGED REASONS.

RESIDING in one of the Channel Islands, whence the coast of France can be sighted and where French priests and nuns who have taken refuge in British territory may occasionally be seen, one cannot but turn one's thoughts to the tragedy which has just been enacted in France—the expulsion of the religious orders, and finally in March last the vote of the Deputies in favor of the complete suppression of all the congregations engaged in teaching. Truly, these are sweeping measures; but may not their very magnitude give us pause and make us shrewdly suspect that there must have been very good reasons for such draconism? Falstaff refused to give a reason on compulsion; M. Combes has often been asked for his reasons; but though his

reasons ought to be as plentiful as blackberries, we are no better off than if he, too, had refused to give reasons on compulsion. It cannot, of course, be denied that he has very good reasons of his own, or at least one good reason—his hatred of the Church—but in the columns of the *Journal Officiel* of the Chamber of Deputies you may search in vain for an argument proving the necessity of this wholesale destruction. It is quite true that we meet with catchwords, party cries, magnificent phrasing full of sound and fury. The teaching given by the congregations "distorts the brain, perpetuates superstition, organizes a fetichism which must at all costs be rooted out from the soil of France. The members of the congregations have made a renunciation of the plenitude of their individuality. We must do away with the legal existence of an organism which is no longer in touch with the needs, the rights and the normal conditions of modern education." These are only a few specimens of the verbiage which passes for argument. Nor can we blame the orators from whose speeches these extracts are taken for the method they have adopted. There is a principle, well known nowadays, which states that if you cannot find a workable argument, the best thing you can do is to repeat your proposition often and emphatically; and your hearers as well as yourself will eventually come to accept the statement, just as George IV. came to believe his story about Waterloo. This is known as "proof by the method of assertion." Long words, vague and somewhat unintelligible language are useful; for modern audiences are exactly the same as those Athenian audiences mentioned by Aristophanes and Thucydides as being "ready to gape in wonderment in front of any casual speaker," and "slaves to the delight of hearing."

M. Combes' one reason for his vandalism is, as already stated, his hatred of the Church; but as this cannot be used as an argument, he must perforce vary his language. We shall see that all his arguments have their origin in this hatred, and that at the end of all his speeches we must imagine we hear a "*delenda est Carthago*," though instead of Carthage we must put Carthage's old-time foe.

It will not be labor lost to call the attention of Catholics outside France to the real motives of this war against the congregations. The present writer has heard English Catholics (they were not all laymen) give their opinion to the effect that the congregations for their meddlesome interference in politics richly deserved what they got. The fact of the matter is that anti-clericals in France have not yet discovered a single concrete fact to prove their charges. But stay! there is one fact which has done solitary and yeoman service for four years. At the time of the Paris Exhibition a synopsis of history was found in an exercise book which belonged to a pupil

of a congregationist school. It was therein stated that Protestantism had done much harm in France and that the Revolution was a calamitous event. To judge from the uproar caused by this discovery, one would think that this exercise book was a real danger to the Republic, and called for the suppression of all congregationist schools. In the words of M. Buisson, it was the duty of the government to rescue children from such pernicious doctrines.

The bill for the total suppression of teaching congregations was discussed this year during February and March, and M. Combes' reasons for this final act of destruction are to be found in the speech he delivered in the Chamber of Deputies on March 7. His first argument is a little surprising, but none the less refreshing to Catholics, who are ever having it dinned into their ears that they are retrograde; that, far from moving in the same line of progress as the rest of the world, they are hostile to all progress. The congregations, he says, must not be allowed to teach because they show a progressive spirit. The teaching given by them in the early days of their foundation was very different from their programmes of the present day. They have made a visible effort to adapt themselves to their new surroundings and to the methods of instruction which prevail in modern society. "Take one of these congregations which has been spoken of in nearly all our sittings, that of the Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes. Authorized according to the law of 1808 to teach the three R's, it represented primary education in its most rudimentary state. As time went on, this congregation developed in the people the taste for and the need of education, enlarged its syllabus, made efforts to perfect its teaching and entered into competition with rival establishments of the same order. The further it advanced along this way, the further it departed from its primitive plan and from its statutes. It seems that a spirit of progress took hold of it and carried it along." Here the speaker was interrupted by a Deputy who asked: "What is there to complain of in that? You ought to consider it a point in their favor." M. Combes continued: "But, alas! it was only so in appearance; for though progress may have shown itself on the exterior, it had no influence on the moral side, which remains to-day that which it ever was, an immutable doctrine blindly subjected to the dogma of faith. Thus, whatever pains the congregations may have taken to follow the science of pedagogy in its evolution and to harmonize its syllabus with university regulations and social careers, there exists an irreconcilable opposition between the moral tendency of its lessons and the spirit of modern society." The last sentence was interrupted by M. Paul Lerolle, who reminded the speaker that in many points the congregation had not followed but

led the way in the evolution of pedagogy.¹ It is hardly necessary to insist on the inconsistency of M. Combes' argument. We gather from his words two useful facts: first, that the congregations kept in touch with the "spirit of modern society," and, secondly, that any one who submits to the dogma of faith, or holds opinions contrary to those of Ministerialists is not only outside the pale of true Republicanism, but a traitor to the Republic. This intolerant attitude is continually manifesting itself. One example of recent occurrence will suffice. The chair of French literature at the Collège de France having become vacant by the death of Emile Deschanel, two candidates came forward, M. Lefranc and M. Brunetière. The world-wide reputation of the latter was looked upon as a certain pledge of his election; but the electors, deferring to the emphatically expressed wishes of the Radical press, refused to vote for a Catholic. The protests of the French Academy and of the *Temps*, and the discussion which followed thereon, only served to show more clearly that M. Brunetière had been made to suffer for his religious opinions.

In the next part of M. Combes' speech, which treats of the financial difficulties involved in the suppression of the teaching congregations, there seems to be a break in the argumentation; but if we read on far enough we shall see that there is complete continuity. Remember that all his arguments can be reduced to his theories against the Church, *e. g.*, that she is out of touch with modern society, hostile to progress, destructive of the liberties of man, opposed to the Republic and to the principles of the Revolution, etc.

The financial aspect may well engage the serious attention of the government. The opposition have made good capital out of it; and in the present troubled state of Europe, when war is in the air, and in view of the enormous expenditure required for the maintenance of the army, in view also of the revelations made by the enquiry into the state of the navy, any further expenditure of public money must be shown to be absolutely necessary. The opposition had made calculations for the purpose of ascertaining the expense that would be incurred by the State in replacing the Frères by lay teachers. M. Combes endeavors to show that these estimates are erroneous, and bases his argument on the report of M. Buisson, who was commissioned to study the question. The jugglery of figures need not trouble us here, especially as a large number of Deputies do not accept M. Buisson's report as trust-

¹ On March 1 M. Paul Lerolle made an eloquent speech in defense of the teaching congregations. His valuable historical account of their work shows that they were true pioneers in education and generally moved in advance of their rivals.

worthy. What is important to notice is that the objection put by M. Aynard to the President of the Council on February 29 has not yet received an answer. The objection runs as follows: "Voici la question que j'ai l'honneur d'adresser à M. le Président du Conseil: Le projet du gouvernement entend remplacer 9,000 à 10,000 Frères qui enseignent 200,000 enfants, par 2,400 professeurs laïques. 9,000 à 10,000 Frères enseignant 200,000 enfants, cela fait 20 à 25 élèves par Frère instituteur." First of all, then, the government will have to pay salaries to at least 2,400 extra teachers; and, secondly, the number 2,400 is absurdly short of what is required. The Brothers have twenty to twenty-five pupils in each class; and this is generally admitted to be the maximum number that can be kept in order and taught at the same time by one schoolmaster. Now if we distribute the 200,000 children among the 2,400 teachers, who according to the plan of the French Government are to replace the Brothers, each of these new teachers will have eighty pupils in his class. To this difficulty M. Chaumié, the Minister of Public Instruction, endeavored to supply an answer. He gave two solutions and called special attention to the second one as being in his opinion the more conclusive. Here then is a literal translation of the great solution: "It often happens that opposite a Brothers' school having a considerable number of pupils we find a public school where the number of pupils is very low. Let us suppose a class taught by the Brothers which has thirty pupils—I take hypothetical numbers for the sake of an example—and, on the other side of the road, a class taught by a public teacher which contains only ten pupils; the thirty will be able to pass into the class of the public teacher without topping the normal number. On the one side we shall have done away with a school kept by a Brother, and on the other side it will not be necessary to appoint an extra public teacher." The problem of how one man can teach eighty pupils still remains unsolved; and we learn incidentally on M. Chaumié's confession that the Brothers' schools were more popular than State schools; but more about this popularity later on.

We return to M. Combes' speech. After some show of careful manipulation of figures, he admits that the State will have to face during five years an annual expenditure of 3,700,000 francs, and the communes a corresponding expenditure of 4,650,000 francs. But M. Combes is anxious to get out of his embarrassing position. He briefly reminds his hearers that the budget is prepared to meet an annual expenditure of ten millions, and then proceeds to cut the Gordian knot with a bludgeon. Turning to his supporters, he addresses to them this stirring bit of rhetoric: "I ask the Republican majority of this assembly if such expenditure can outweigh the

realization of the democratic and social progress which will result from the new law."

The pendulum always comes to rest in the same position. The mention of democratic and social progress reminds M. Combes of the fact that persons who have bound themselves by vows in a congregation can have no part in this progress. And why? Because they have cut themselves off from mankind; they have renounced the full plenitude of their faculties; they perpetuate superstition and fanaticism; their religion is mere fetichism.² In the speech which is occupying us at present, the speaker argues that by taking the three vows a man destroys his liberty, and liberty being necessary for the citizen, he also destroys his citizenship; now, "to teach children to be citizens and citizens of a free country, one must be a citizen and free." M. Combes does not tell us if he took his text from the famous line of Brooke's "Gustavus Vasa:"

Who rules o'er freedmen should himself be free;

he certainly deserves to have the still more famous parody flung at him:

Who drives fat oven should himself be fat.

It is not difficult to discover the reason why the three vows are so distasteful to these Freemasons. It is because the vows represent the highest perfection in the Church. But apart from the reason of hatred of the Church, it is not easy to see why the vows should come in for so much obloquy; and M. Combes ought to be the last person in the world to indulge in tilts against them.

Take, for instance, the vow of poverty. Men who of their own free will have given up all they possessed in the world in order to give themselves more completely to the service of others can hardly be called anti-social. Had there not been men in the world who set no store on money, it would have gone hard with M. Combes' education, as he himself has admitted. True, it is not often he

² These amiable remarks are taken from various speeches of Ministerialists. The following passage occurs in a speech delivered by M. Bulsson on March 18, 1903: "By taking vows a member of a congregation passes out of society. In vain does he show himself at given moments; in vain does he mix with the world from time to time; in vain does he gather round his rostrum at certain hours a number of children. His whole moral being is out of harmony with his exterior being. Henceforward his world is the convent. The children, whom it is his duty to instruct, are instructed by him in a way contrary to the ideas which are current in their world, and conformably to the ideas of his own world. All his teaching tends to detach them from the moral doctrines which prevail in the society of which they are members." And yet, in spite of all this, M. Combes and his friends have on many occasions complained of the number of distinguished men, officers, lawyers, doctors, etc., who have received their education in Jesuit colleges.

deigns to give us a little autobiography; he has no need to do so, for the opposition lose very few opportunities of reminding him of his past history. We make no apology then for quoting the following: "I owe nothing to the congregation. I was never its pupil. Born in a poor family, I had to get an education where I could get it cheapest. I made my studies in an institution which was petit séminaire and college combined, séminaire for the sons of poor parents, college for the sons of the upper classes."³ It is quite true that the petit séminaire did not belong to a congregation, but that does not contradict our statement that M. Combes would not be in his present position had he not been able to find men who were not troubled with the *auri sacra fames*.

The vow of chastity is a delicate question, and perhaps there is here no common ground for discussion. It may or may not be that the destroyers of the congregations hold the angelic virtue in esteem, or think it altogether necessary for each man to put some curb on his passions for the dignity of his home and of his life. Of a truth, the *aimables plaisanteries* indulged in by a good number of Deputies would seem to indicate that to be asked to have some regard for this virtue was, in their opinion, rather a good joke. If, however, they admit that chastity is a good thing, then they can find no fault with the vow; if they do not, then the congregations will be very pleased to be told that they are cut off from the "moral unity."

As to the vow of obedience, we cannot do better than listen to M. Denys Cochin turning the tables on M. Combes and Co. "Too many people in the times in which we live (and in all times) have to submit to the rule of obedience. Many of us here may not have felt the weight of obedience and discipline; but is not the spirit of obedience and discipline necessary in a crowd of professions? Can you deny it, you who in the host of functionaries we have in France make no distinction whatever between State officials and government officials, and demand from all the most absolute obedience? Formerly the vow of obedience was admitted in the case of immediate officials of the government—prefects, for example, and sub-prefects, who ought, as I think, to represent the spirit of the government; but the same vow was not required of engineers, officers, magistrates, who are the officials not of the government, but of the State. A short time ago a schoolmaster in a small town said to me: 'I am very fortunate in having an excellent inspector; he was kind enough to warn me of the danger which threatened me. "Take care," he said, "your wife goes too often to the church just opposite; tell her to go to the one a little further on."' You talk

³ Speech in Ch. of Dep. March 18, 1903.

of people who impose on themselves the vow of obedience, and you impose on all who depend on you the most cruel and pitiless obedience. Not a day passes but you put them between their bread and their conscience; and what I say I could prove by a number of personal anecdotes. Would you like me to give you another? (Cries of "Parlez!") Last year I took a short trip in France. Instead of going far afield I stayed in our country, where there are so many good things to be admired. I was in a small town, and on the platform I tried to get some information from the station master. A few days afterwards I received a letter, in which the writer said: 'I saw you yesterday on the platform. I know you; I think a good deal of you, and I wanted to speak with you; you will understand why I could not do so. I am an official, and under the most absolute obedience—'."*

The above examination is, of course, not meant to be taken as a complete defense of religious vows, but only as a brief indication of the inconsistencies into which the enemies of the Church fall when they attack the vows. But what right has the French Government to take cognizance of vows, which are individual resolutions to be dealt with only by the interior forum? As M. Raiberti pointed out on March 7, the law cannot take cognizance of them, because the law deals only with exterior acts, and because its action ceases where conscience begins.

Occasionally the enemies of the congregations adopt a different attitude. While still retaining all their animosity against the vows, they profess to have a great sympathy for those who have had the misfortune to be inveigled into binding themselves by vow. "We attack the congregations," said M. Buisson on March 3, "because they constitute a vast system of oppression ever fatal to human liberty. It is precisely because I attribute this colossal force to the congregations that I feel great compassion for its victims. These men and women under the influence of religious excitation or great suffering or magnificent *dévouement* have allowed themselves to be captured by the congregations; once caught in the gear, enrolled in the service and worn down by skilful methods of trituration, they have no longer sufficient strength to free themselves." Accordingly the government formed itself into a humane society for the prevention of cruelty to misguided men and women and for the emancipation of slaves. But an act of liberation cannot be performed unless there is somebody to be liberated; and in this case the ungrateful slaves refused to be liberated. Further, to their state of willing slavery they added that of voluntary exile, and left their country to settle down in foreign lands, where they found that

* Speech in Ch. of Dep. March 3, 1904.

liberty which was denied to them by their fellow-countrymen. Many of these exiles have found a home in England, where the prayers and even the mere presence of so many devoted servants of God will bring a blessing on the land which is whitening to the harvest.

The rest of M. Combes' speech deals with "*la liberté d'enseignement*," that is, the right of individuals to open schools and the right of parents to choose what school they will send their children to. M. Combes is here on difficult ground. He must guard himself against the charge of contravening that all-sacred liberty which is, or ought to be, the glorious appanage of all French citizens. He also knows that the principles of the Revolution, which form the one standard for testing the rectitude of his own position and the perversity and immorality of Catholics, are against him here. The Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1791 contains the following article: "The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man. Every citizen then may freely speak, write and print, though he will be answerable for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law." Then again, M. Combes has to explain away his own former pronouncements on educational liberty. On March 1 of this year M. Charles Benoist reminded the President of the Council of two remarkable statements made by him on the subject. The first was written by him in the days of the Empire, when M. Combes was still a journalist. "*Pas de loi d'exception contre le prêtre, contre le Jésuite, le congréganiste; liberté pour tout le monde, pour le franc-maçon comme pour le Capucin, pour l'évêque comme pour le journaliste, pour les corporations religieuses comme pour les chemins de fer—*" The second pronouncement was made a few years ago as part of the evidence he gave before the commission presided over by M. Ribot. "*Je suis fermement d'opinion qu'au-dessus de cette discussion si importante pour l'avenir des générations doit planer le principe de la liberté de l'enseignement.*" But circumstances have changed since these opinions were uttered. Universal liberty was necessary a few years ago; but now subterranean burrowings have brought M. Combes out on top. His position has put him in touch with the various members of the social body, and he is able to state the precise dose of liberty required for each member. "Educational liberty," he said on March 18, 1903, "may figure with honor in certain constitutions. But it is certain, it is proved historically, that other constitutions may be liberal, broad-minded, wholly free from the practice of dragooning subjects in regard to the actions of social life, and yet submit the exercise of educational liberty to restrictions, more or less rigorous, which exclude certain classes of men considered incapable or unworthy of being intrusted with this liberty."

In his speech of March 7, 1904, he tells us whom he considers incapable and unworthy. Educational liberty can only be claimed "by the citizen, by the man who is in integral possession of his rights, by the man who is fitted for the complete accomplishment of his duties." This kind of argument, however, satisfies neither the rest of the Deputies nor even M. Combes himself. Accordingly the ex-disciple of St. Thomas Aquinas⁵ brings his philosophy to bear upon the subject, and denies the existence of such a thing as a natural right. Moreover, "I hold that this liberty is a pure delegation, a concession granted by the power of the State." His meaning is quite clear. Fathers and mothers have the right to instruct their children only in so far as this right has been granted to them by the State. He continues: "I also hold that this concession, not less than other concessions emanating from the State, is subordinate to the general interest of the State."

There we have the blunt avowal of the doctrine held by the men who at the present moment rule the destinies of France. It is not too much to say that such a doctrine, put into practice by **unscrupulous politicians**, is the open road which leads to the most intolerable of tyrannies; for there can be no greater tyranny than that which fetters mind and conscience. But, having said this much by way of animadversion, we leave the doctrine to speak for itself and propose to set in juxtaposition to it the Catholic doctrine on educational liberty.

There is a French proverb which forbids us to "prêcher un converti;" but every sermon is not necessarily addressed to unbelievers. There is no harm done if we Catholics occasionally call to memory doctrines of which we are already convinced, and strengthen at the same time the grounds of these convictions. Educational liberty is one of these doctrines; and we cannot insist too often on the necessity of this liberty, especially at the present time, when diplomas, certificates, school inspection and other comparatively harmless methods of State intervention tend to make us so accustomed to such things, that we may eventually forget that there is a limit to this interference, or remember the fact only when it is too late.

We hold that the family is the first of human societies; that it is constituted a society by natural right, having its origin in the very nature of man. Its end is the physical, intellectual and moral formation of the children. Everything proves it—the natural union of husband and wife, the inborn love of parents for those whom they have brought into the world, the instinctive desire to devote them-

⁵ Many years ago M. Combes published a book entitled "*La Psychologie de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*." Needless to say, his philosophic opinions have since undergone a complete revolution.

selves to the bringing-up of their children. God has decreed that children shall be born in one way and not in another, and into that decree the State does not enter. Nothing could be more erroneous than the famous dictum of Danton: "Les enfants appartiennent à la République avant d'appartenir à leurs parents." Children at birth become members of a family; they become members of the State only mediately, that is, through the family.⁶ It is impossible to become a member of a society antecedently to the existence of that society; and if you assert that families do not yet exist, you thereby deny the existence of the State. We think it hardly necessary to have recourse to the authority of Aristotle, St. Thomas, Leo XIII., in order to be convinced that the evolution of a State proceeds in the following order. First of all comes the family, then the sept or village or commune composed of a number of families, then the State—the outcome of a union of septs.

Fortunately we are still far from the state of things advocated by Plato in the Fifth Book of the Republic, wherein he would have children taken away from their mothers as soon as possible after birth and handed over to the care of public nurses, so that when grown up they might not know who their father or mother was, and thus be free to give their whole attention to the service of the State. But there is no reason why Danton or rather his modern followers should not proceed to this length. It follows logically from their tenets that the individual members of a family have as much connection with each other as a brood of chickens hatched by the same hen from a miscellaneous collection of eggs.

The family, then, is a natural society, possessed of natural rights and duties. Among these duties is the duty of furnishing their children with the necessary complement of the first gift of life, to wit, the training of mind and body. Flowing from this duty is the right of giving to their children that education which they, the sole judges in the matter, consider the most fitting and advantageous. They have then a right to all the means of education which society has at its disposal. None of these means can be imposed upon them, none can be denied them without violating their rights and the rights of the children; for it must not be forgotten that the latter also have rights. The State functionary, with his official *raideur*, is the last man in the world to be able or even to be willing to take into consideration all the varying circumstances which may influence a father in the choice of an education.

Now if parents can devote themselves to the adequate education

⁶ Leo XII. Encycl. "Rerum Novarum:" "Filli sunt aliquid patris, et velut paternae amplificatio quaedam personae; proprieque loqui si volumus, non ipsi per se, sed per communitatem domesticam, in qua generati sunt, civilem ineunt et participant societatem."

of their children, well and good; if they cannot, their rights are not thereby cancelled. They may invoke the assistance of others to relieve them from the whole or a part of their task; and this they may do either by making a choice among the schools already existing, or by combining with other families in the erection of a school that will supply their wants.

It is clear then that the monopoly of schools, by which the civil authority reserves to itself the sole right of opening schools, violates the natural right inherent in the family. We do not say that the State may in no way busy itself with education; we say that the education of children is primarily the duty of parents. Secondly and from purely accidental circumstances, the work may devolve upon the State; for example, if parents are found to be gravely neglectful of their duties, or if such poverty reigns in the district that it is impossible for the commune to erect schools or make other necessary provisions, then the State not only may, but must come to the rescue. But this is a very different thing from saying that the State is the sole arbiter in the matter of education, and possesses the right of founding its own schools and at the same time putting an interdict on all others.

The duty of a government is to help, not to hamper its subjects. The State is for the members, not the members for the State. Thus we take it as a well-founded principle that not only in matters educational, but also in commerce, in the management of industries, means of production, railways and the like, the first attitude of a government ought to be that of helping others to act rather than of acting itself. Supposing then that the State is ready to lend a helping hand in education, it can easily find legitimate means of doing so. It has been proved by experience that prudent grants of subsidies, pensions or prizes to schools where the teachers take their duties seriously, where system, order and diligence prevail, form a very efficacious stimulant and have greatly contributed to scientific, literary and artistic progress. Again, if the State thinks it can help to secure greater efficiency by requiring schoolmasters to be provided with some sort of diploma or by instituting compulsory registration of teachers, we have not much to complain of. Only it must be remarked that the value of such safeguards is grossly exaggerated in some quarters. A diploma or a degree may very well indicate that the holder is possessed of a certain amount of knowledge, but it does not prove that he is thereby able to "sell his merchandise," as the French say. Still, whenever such regulations have been passed by public authority, Catholics have not been conspicuous in the ranks of the recalcitrants. In France, for example, Catholic schools have always submitted to these ordinances.

They have at once undertaken to see that their teachers are provided with the necessary brevets. They have never tried to evade school inspection, but have rather provoked it. They have worked in open daylight, in such contrast to their enemies, the Freemasons.

In whatever way help is given, care must be taken that it does not become the thin end of the wedge opening the way to the complete intrusion of the State into the school. The State has its own well-defined functions, and if it claims among those functions the right of forming the public mind and thus procuring that union of thought and sentiment without which citizens could not tend with unanimity to the realization of aims common to the whole community, it must carry out the work by the use of those powers only which public authority may rightly exercise. All will go well if the government aims at passing wise laws, at an enlightened administration, at an honest and straightforward policy. Things will go awry if Ministers think that by the mere fact of being politicians they are also educators. You may twist and turn the various powers of the State, the legislative power, the judicial power, the executive power, but you will never produce therefrom the educative power. Besides, it stands to reason that men whose whole life has been spent in practical acquaintance with schools and with the problems and difficulties of teaching are more qualified to deal with the subject than Ministers whose knowledge is but second-hand theory.

The *mainmise* of the French Government on education is only part of a general system which tends to put everything under the care of the State. It is astonishing to see with what lightheartedness it takes up extra burdens when it is already staggering under a too heavy load. Formerly it was considered sufficient for the State to busy itself with the army and navy to guard the frontiers, to police the interior, to protect life and property, to ensure to each one the exercise of his rights and liberty; but the State has since broadened its views. Its mission is to become a universal automatic distributor, which dispenses in strict mathematical proportions packets of every commodity (education and religion included) required by citizens. You just put your money into the slot and draw out your packet. You are investing, say, in a little education; but when you open the packet you find that it does not contain the kind of education you want, just as automatic machines will supply you with the wrong kind of chocolate. You cannot put the chocolate back; you may, if you like, talk to the machine just to relieve your feelings; but you will produce no effect on its iron substance. You are even more powerless before the State machine; it is the only machine that supplies education, and it supplies only one kind.

The iniquity of a monopoly in education is fully admitted by M. Combes and his friends. During the campaign against the congregations we were continually being told that Catholic schools held a privileged position, a monopoly.⁷ We may point out, however, that the monopoly enjoyed by them was the result not of privilege, that is, of special laws passed in their favor to the exclusion of other teaching bodies, but of the excellence and up-to-date character of their teaching, which filled their schools and emptied those of the State. Let us suppose, for the sake of a parallel, that tobacco manufacturers found their trade rapidly dwindling because another firm by fair and open competition had succeeded in winning most of the trade for itself; and supposing the injured firms began to complain to the public and to cry "monopoly," the public, we take it, would not be disposed to sympathize with them. The protests of anti-clericals against what they are pleased to call the monopoly of congregationist schools are quite as unreasonable. Parents sent their children to these schools because the best article was to be got there; and, be it said in a whisper, many of the Deputies who vote with the ministry followed the example of these parents, just as Lord Byron chose a convent as the most suitable place in which to have his daughter educated. The will of the people as manifested by this popularity of the congregationist schools constitutes a plebiscite infinitely more valuable for the purpose of estimating the merits of the rival teaching bodies than the vote of a group of interested politicians. No, it is not the French Government that has the right to cry "monopoly." Their one object is to secure a complete control of education. And when they have realized their object, what use will they make of their privileged position? No doubt children's heads will be made the receptacles into which a number of "ologies" and "ographies," some useful, some useless, will be packed according to the latest methods of pedagogy and psychology. But what of their moral training? What of their religion? Truly the prospect is not a cheering one; for what can we expect from men whose only religion is the hatred of all religion, who have formally abolished the name of God, and who, by a refinement of insult, chose Good Friday as the most suitable day for removing the emblem of our redemption from the law courts? We may gather from an article in the *Revue Universitaire* (March 15, 1903) what kind of moral training the children will receive. The writer of the article, M. Adam, ex-professor at the Lycée Buffon, thinks it well to talk to children betimes

⁷ *e. g.*, "Loin de représenter la liberté de l'enseignement, les congrégations ne représentent qu'une des formes du monopole."—M. Combes in the Chamber of Deputies, March 18, 1903.

of the mystery of life; they must begin early their preparation for marriage, just as youths begin early to prepare for the baccalauréat or the école polytechnique. We do not care to quote much from the article, but the following will be sufficient to show M. Adam's drift: "I spoke this evening to the boys of the huitième:⁸ 'The chaplain tells you that you must go to heaven; all I tell you is, prepare to live on earth, to be first of all good sons, and later on good fathers. Your, Jourdan, will be the father of a family; and you, too, d'Houdt. Just think that you will have a wife and children, like your papa.'" The reader may make his own comments.

We may resume all we have said by asking a few questions:

Who are the breakers of the moral unity of France?

Who are the sowers of discord?

Who are the enemies of progress?

Who are wanting in patriotism?

Who are the destroyers of liberty?

Who are the monopolists in education?

M. Combes answers all along the line—the congregations. Is he forgetting himself?

We cannot close this article without paying a generous tribute of praise and thanks to the Deputies who spoke in defense of the congregations. They were fighting in a lost cause; it was lost before a single word had been heard in discussion. But they were never disheartened. With magnificent tenacity they disputed every inch of ground, and before they fell, overwhelmed by sheer numbers, they succeeded in showing that the victory was due to injustice and hatred of religion.

OSWALD KELLET, S. J.

Jersey Islands, British Channel.

THE TOTAL SUPPRESSION OF THE FRENCH CONGREGATIONS.

THE REAL REASON.

THE ministry of M. Combes continues its measures against Catholic schools and religious orders, especially those engaged in the work of teaching. A large number of establishments which were not touched by the first legislation against "unauthorized congregations," including many of the Christian Brothers, have been ordered to close their doors at the next commencement of the scholastic year. The present French

⁸ In this class the boys are about eight years of age.

Executive appears determined that Catholic parents throughout the Republic shall have no alternative in the schooling of their children between giving it themselves personally or trusting it to the paid employés of the State.

The motive, in a purely political point of view, is not obscure. Patronage in France, as in other countries, is a valuable thing for retaining power even under representative governments. The larger the number of pupils in the State schools, the greater the number of teachers, and consequently of functionaries, dependent more or less on the administration. The administration on its side holds power as long as it can keep a majority of the Chamber of Deputies on its side, and a skillful distribution of patronage is a powerful means to that end. It is true the cost has to be borne by the population, the electors who choose the Deputies, but even that does not lessen the desire of the representatives, when elected, to pile it on when its expenditure brings profit to themselves.

The first legislation against the unauthorized congregations would, it was reckoned, add about two hundred thousand pupils to the public schools and about five thousand teachers to the list of places at the disposal of the administration, more or less directly. What the additional number will be in consequence of the second measure we cannot exactly say, but it will in all likelihood be double that quantity. The cost of the new schools and teachers will be larger, it is not denied, than that of the suppressed religious schools. So far it will be a heavy strain on the already enormous public taxation of France, but as a matter of practical politics it will increase the facilities of the Combes administration for securing a working majority in the Chamber. Public opinion moves much more slowly in ordinary times than government administration, and Republican officials with a majority to keep are as willing as Louis XV. to take chances of the deluge after their own term of office.

As M. Combes makes no claim to any higher principle of action than the necessity of a majority in the existing Legislature, it is likely the crusade against the religious orders and Catholic teaching in schools will go on until time brings a change in the composition of the Chamber and Senate. At present "le bloc," the combine formed by his policy among three or four sections of members, each distinct in its own objects, seems likely to hold together until the membership is changed by new elections. As the Deputies are elected for four years and Senators for nine, that change will not be immediate. Outside events like a great war are possible, which might cause a sudden overthrow of the ministry and reversal of its policy; but such need not be reckoned on with any assurance.

The growth of schools under religious congregations since the fall of Napoleon's empire was remarkable in France up to the legislation of Combes. In the colleges and *lycees* of the whole country in 1876 there were seventy-nine thousand students in the public and forty-six thousand in the religious establishments. In 1899 they had increased to eighty-four thousand in the State colleges, but in those of the religious orders they reached sixty-eight thousand. It was a difference in growth between six per cent. and fifty. In the primary schools under religious management there were four hundred and forty thousand pupils at the former date and one million two hundred and forty-five thousand at the latter. Those figures indicate the choice of the people of France as individuals in the matter of teachers. The interests of the public teachers were threatened by that choice and the ministry has made them its guide. It has, of course, found a formula less bald than the need of increasing patronage. M. Combes declares that Republicanism is threatened by the desire of the population to choose teachers for their children at will. The Dreyfus case, on which some credulous Catholics in England and America bestowed such sympathy, appears to have been, in fact, a mere intrigue of politicians to prepare the way for an attack on the growing numbers of Catholic schools and consequent increase of those others which serve as aids to political power in an administration.

There is a strong likeness between the present movement against the body of Catholic teaching orders in France and that of Choiseuil, the Minister of Louis XV., against the Jesuits in the middle of the eighteenth century. Hostility to their colleges as rivals had been kept up as a tradition by the old University of Paris and its fellow corporation, the Parliament or Supreme Court. The public opinion, however, sustained the Jesuits as instructors for nearly two centuries in monarchical France, as public opinion has been supporting the Christian Brothers and other teaching orders under the third Republic. During the reign of Louis, however, the ruling courtier class became as hostile to religion as any class of modern politicians from various causes. Choiseuil shared the sentiments of Voltaire and the Encyclopædia towards Christianity, though calling himself publicly a Catholic, even as M. Combes occasionally professes his respect for the national cult, while crippling its operation. The Royal Minister formed a combine among various parties of the courtiers and permanent officials of the Catholic kingdom, as Combes has formed his "bloc" from different factions among the elected Deputies. Choiseuil's supporters were made up from the public writers of the Encyclopædia, the Parliament and the University with the friends of each at court. His combination was

completed by the mistress of the King, Madame de Pompadour. That lady had been deeply offended by the refusal of a Jesuit to act as her confessor, which she desired as a mark of character to offset her relations with Louis. The ruling minister assailed the society as disloyal to monarchy, as M. Combes pronounces them enemies to Republicanism. The courts in the shape of the Parliament of Paris were utilized to give a form of legality to the expulsion of the most important body of public teachers in France without act of their own. It was, in some respects, like the policy of holding Catholic educators generally responsible for the alleged injustice of army officers to Captain Dreyfus, and then forbidding them to teach any longer.

In the case against the Jesuits the proceedings were based on a simple suit for debts contracted by the rector of a college in Martinique. The creditors sued the Provincial of Paris for the amount, on the claim that all members of the Order of St. Ignatius were liable for claims against any individual among them. The French Parliament, it should be remembered, was neither an elected nor an appointed body. It was a close corporation of lawyers, and its judgeships and offices were private property, open to sale and purchase like commissions in the English army, and even transmitted by inheritance. This body of judges further claimed repeatedly the power to make the laws as well as to declare them, and though not recognized by the government, this power was suddenly put in practice when the West Indian suit was laid before it as a judicial body. The Parliament, after hearing the statement of the debt of the rector of a college in Martinique, proceeded to try the orthodoxy and general character of the order, one of whose members had been called before it. The President ordered the constitutions of St. Ignatius to be submitted for examination by his court two hundred and twenty years after their formal approval by the Head of the Catholic Church. The court read the document and gravely pronounced it, by a majority vote, contrary to the law of France, the principles of the Catholic Church and those of the natural law. In consequence it pronounced the Order of St. Ignatius "inadmissible in any civilized State as against the law of nature and dangerous to both temporal and spiritual government." Its teachings, though sanctioned by several Popes in succession during two centuries, the Parliament judges declared "blasphemous, insulting to the Blessed Virgin, destructive of Our Lord's Divinity, dangerous to the safety of Princes and favorable to murder and parricide. They included the heresies of Luther, Calvin, Wiclif and Arius, and were contrary to the decrees of the Catholic Church and to natural and divine law."

They did not stop at this strong condemnation of the rule of St. Ignatius. They pronounced all its members guilty of a grave crime against the laws of France by joining the society and provided an appropriate penalty by the Parliament's own authority. All property held by French Jesuit communities was declared forfeited to the Crown. The members of the order were forbidden to live in community, to wear any religious habit, to exercise any priestly functions or to correspond with any other member. They were further ordered to take an oath not to follow the Jesuit rules and to maintain the Gallican theories of Church government as set forth in the four articles of the time of Louis XIV. Finally they were required to endorse the decree of Parliament itself and publicly acknowledge as true its charges against their own body. Failure in any of these conditions was to be punished by exile from the dominions of the King.

Such was the verdict on which the greatest teaching order of the Church was actually expelled from France as soon as the persuasions of Madame de Pompadour could induce the indolent King to give it his approval, as he ultimately did. "Those fools," wrote D'Alembert to Voltaire in comment, "who think they are working for religion are working for reason and don't know it. They are the hired hangmen of philosophy, and they don't suspect what they are."

Reason and philosophy are not the terms used at the present day as formulas for persecution of Christian belief or practice. Progress and Republicanism serve the same purpose for Combes as they did for Choiseuil. The Jesuits have survived the French monarchy and the Bourbon League. There need be no fear but the Catholic orders will outlive Combes and his "bloc," however France and its people may have to suffer for his policy.

In the modern suppression action of the legislature has been substituted for a royal decree, but in both the right of the individual to live according to his vocation is equally denied. The name republican is as little a guarantee against tyranny as that of modern enlightened government so generally used by the philosophers of the eighteenth century.

The bloc which enables M. Combes to carry out his policy is made up of three or four parliamentary elements. The Left and Right are the general names, which correspond to Liberal and Conservative in England. In French politics, however, there is more freedom of party than in England or the United States, and each great division is subdivided practically into Extreme and Moderate. Combes' actual party is the Extreme Left, and he holds the Moderate Left mainly by sharing the offices. The Socialists,

who repudiate the existing form of republic, are a strong body, and they have cast their lot with the ministry, in defiance of their own theories. The spoils of office and a special desire for confiscation of property, which has been partly gratified by seizing that of the congregations, are the ties that make them vote solidly with the ministry. The Masons in the Chamber, though not a numerous body, reckon thirty or forty. They are credited with giving a support which many of them would not give except for general dislike of the Catholic Church. The Masonic body, it should be said, is very much smaller in France than in the United States or England. Its membership is scarcely a twentieth of the lodges of this country, so that in proportion to population there are ten Masons in America to one in France. The association is not looked on favorably by the working classes, and still less by the Socialists. The peculiar feelings of its members towards the Church, however, help to make an alliance between Masons and Socialists for support of the ministry in its war on Catholic schools.

On the other side, some sections of the Chamber oppose the Combes ministry on other grounds than its proscriptive policy. They regard it as unnational and incompetent for any but bureau work and office holding. Henri Rochefort belongs to this class, and none is more bitter in his denunciations of "le petit defroque" than he. Rochefort is anti-Catholic, but also anti-Combes.

Combes' own abilities are considerable, but more in the line of manipulation of parties than national statesmanship. He is no orator and his personality is unsympathetic. The national expenses are swelling fast under his administration, and both the army and naval service appear to be deteriorating. He is unpopular with both classes, and the army in France means a majority of the young men of military age. His talents are rather like those which have made men like Mr. Platt, of New York, or Morton, of Indiana, powers in politics. They have their limitations, and M. Combes knows them, but scruples are not among the number, and it is doubtful if even strong anti-religious feelings are. He is a politician anxious to keep office and skilled in the manipulation of public men who can keep him there, and he is little more. His Cabinet is made up of mediocrities, with the exception of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who showed much tact in the rapprochement with Italy.

The resemblance in character between Combes and Choiseuil, though the first rules under republican forms and the last as the loyal subject of an indolent King, is curious. Choiseuil was thoroughly skilled in the arts which made ministers in his day, but had no ability for national administration like Colbert or Richelieu. To

please Madame de Pompadour, whose indignation had been stirred by caustic epigrams of Frederick of Prussia, Choiseuil continued the Seven Years' War. Its incapable management cost France the loss of Canada and Louisiana. The best officers, like Montcalm and Lally Tollendal, were treated as Combes has served Marchand and the chief of the French squadron in the Chinese seas. Montcalm was left to die unsupported at Quebec, and Lally and Bourdonnais abandoned in India. The French influence in India was greater than England's when Choiseuil became ruler of France. It was annihilated at the same time that France's share in the American Continent was thrown away as a mere tract of swamps and snow. The gallant Lally was sentenced and executed on the Place de Greve after a trial like that given the Jesuits. The accumulation of national debt to a crushing point was another feature of Choiseuil's administration which is closely paralleled by that of M. Combes. It is remarkable that the fall from power of the former was not caused by either the peace of Paris, the execution of Lally or the dissolution of the French Parliament. It came from an intrigue among the court politicians like that which raised him to power. Maupeou, the royal chancellor, and the Duc d'Aguillon, with the help of another royal mistress, upset Choiseuil in 1770, after eleven years' ministry.

The action of Combes towards the Holy See recently on the Concordat has also a striking likeness to that of Choiseuil to force the suppression of the Order of St. Ignatius on the Head of the Church. Through the French envoy to Rome the threat was made of a schism like that made in England by Henry Tudor, and it is significant that it was conveyed through a courtier Archbishop, Bernis. Combes threatens the abolition of the stipends of the clergy through France and a possible seizure of the churches as public property. The execution of such a measure would certainly entail much injury to public worship and suffering to both clergy and Catholic laity, but the result which followed a similar policy at the time of the first Republic may well make the present rulers fear to do more than threaten. The attitude of the great majority of the French hierarchy to-day is notably bolder than that of their predecessors in Choiseuil's time. Combes does not expect to find another Bernis among its members to plead for the sacrifice of religious orders when they had become displeasing to his national government.

A personal experience of France to-day does not show any growth of irreligion or hostility to Church authority as a motive for the attack on Catholic schools. Like other nations, the popular mind in France is liable to periods of excitement, for causes more or less

reasonable, in which violent prejudices against particular classes may be developed. Such was the case in the first revolution against aristocrats and the Church, and to a less extent against Charles X. in 1829. There seems no evidence of such popular feeling behind the legislation of M. Combes. It comes entirely from the class of professional politicians and is directed mainly to strengthen the hold of the party in power on office. The social history of every nation long Christian shows periods of ebb and flow in its religious sentiments and practice. The France of St. Louis in the thirteenth century was more devoted to the Church than either France of the Albigenes before or France of the Huguenots after. The French people were more Catholic and better grounded in their religion in the seventeenth century than in either the sixteenth or eighteenth. The national religion as a whole was the same all through those variations of popular feeling. The nineteenth century, on the whole, has been marked with greater evidences of religious growth in France than its predecessor. As calm an observer as Cardinal Newman declared that the French people in 1860 were more thoroughly Catholic than at any time since the regency of Philip of Orleans, which marked a beginning of decay that culminated in the suppression of public worship by Robespierre and the convention. The fate of the Paris Commune in 1870, when it attempted to repeat the work of the Jacobin committee, showed that Newman was not mistaken. At the general election which followed the Prussian War the nation elected an overwhelming majority of members professing devotion to religion. The growth of Catholic schools since would seem to point to no reaction since in popular sentiment. It has been pointed out already that the motives of the late anti-Catholic legislation have been the political exigencies of the ministers and their majority in Parliament rather than the popular will, reasonable or not. It remains to examine how a people predominantly Catholic in open profession, religious in practice for at least a majority and electing its rulers by universal suffrage should find itself under an anti-Catholic administration.

Similar conditions, it should be remembered, have occurred at other times and in other countries. Both King and people were Catholic in Spain of the last century when the Aranda ministry was able to expel seven thousand Jesuits without charge or trial by a stroke of despotic authority, and without resistance of any kind. The same was the case in Portugal when Pombal as minister acted the part of Henry VIII. in Catholic England. Belgium established its national existence largely on the grounds of the religion of its people and their unwillingness to submit to measures against it of the Dutch Government. The Belgians are more completely

Catholic in profession than the French, as there are less than twenty thousand claiming different creeds in a population of seven millions. Nevertheless, under representative institutions this Catholic nation was ruled for several years by an anti-Catholic ministry even more hostile to religion than the Combes administration. Diplomatic intercourse with the Holy See was also long suspended by the rulers of Catholic Belgium.

It is clear from these examples that neither absolute monarchy, constitutional monarchy nor republican institutions in themselves furnish any sure guarantee against legislation hostile to Catholic interests even in countries where the State is distinctly Catholic and the population actually believers in the Church. Much less do they give it under non-Catholic governments where Catholics form but a minority. One sometimes hears comparisons between the condition of the Church in Catholic countries and those under Protestant rule. The *Kulturkampf* of Bismarck in Germany and of the Protestant majority in Switzerland may show what such are really worth. The Sultan's rule merits at least equal credit as far as toleration goes with those of England or Germany. It has nothing in its dealings with its Catholic subjects at any time to match the penal laws of the former down to late in the last century.

Before assuming that the anti-Catholic legislation of the present French Chambers expresses truly the sentiments on religion of the majority of the French people, a glance at the nature of the political parliamentary parties is necessary. At the formation of the third Republic after the war the legislative bodies divided themselves into Right and Left. The former was in overwhelming majority and was largely formed of Catholics devoted to their religion and some with inclinations for a constitutional monarchy as the eventual form of government. The Left included most of those who had been professed Republicans under the empire and who claimed a special right to the name even in a nation already republican. A certain number of its members, like Gambetta and Challemel Lacour, were hostile to religion, and they brought their hostility into their political action. The Left as a party aspired to control a majority and gradually won it in the course of years, much as power has been turned back and forward from Republicans to Democrats in the United States. Somewhat strangely the conservative tendencies of the French peasant proprietors was the chief cause of the change. The country population has an instinctive dislike of changes in form of the national government. It had been imperialist under Napoleon, and when the Republic was established by the fortune of war it transferred its sympathies to republicanism as the safeguard of stability. The leaders of the Left utilized

the conservative temper skilfully to win election for their nominees as the representatives of republican ideas, which they claimed were not held by the party then in control of the Republic, though they had actually framed it. It need not be denied that the politicians of the Left have showed more skill in what are familiarly known here as practical politics than their opponents. The members of the Right, who in the commencement had been mostly chosen for their character, under pressure of the calamities which the war brought on France were gradually displaced by more ambitious and more active men who struggled for election with the zeal of office-seekers. On securing control of the administration under Grevy the victorious party strengthened its hold by the extensive official patronage. It retains power by its use and by the fear of change of government among the country population, which condones details of administration for stability of its actual form.

Such are the circumstances which have put the French Government to-day under the control of professional politicians. As a matter of fact there are not many men of strong religious faith or devotion to principle in that class in France. We citizens of the United States can answer if there are many in our own country. There is a further element in French institutions which gives more sway to the purely professional politicians there. The French Presidents since MacMahon have been little more than figure-heads. They are elected, not by the people, but by the Legislature, and the present incumbent plays almost no part in the government. He is an imitation of an English parliamentary King without the weight which traditions and custom give the latter. A Prime Minister who can secure a majority of the Chambers has no check on his action, and nearly realizes the saying of young Louis XIV., "I am the State."

A bad feature of this condition is that the position of the ruler, thus absolute, is essentially unstable. He has no term of office and administrations may, and have often been, changed under the republic at a week's notice and on some question of mere party importance. The lack of stability in their parliamentary institutions is a constant theme among thinking Frenchmen. The desire of stability above all things is, moreover, exceptionally strong among the electors in France. Three-fourths of them are owners of real estate and more than four-fifths property owners. This condition is not paralleled anywhere else in Europe or America. It helps to explain the support which so many give in voting to candidates whose principles they dislike, but who have shown a capacity to retain power in the struggles of the Legislature. The same temper maintained the first Napoleon as Emperor when he had shown his

ability to overthrow the unstable Directory. It may not be commendable, but its existence is undeniable and this conservative spirit at present helps M. Combes.

It is not that French electors do not vote, as is sometimes supposed. Fully three-quarters of the registered voters usually take part in elections. The timidity about turning out a representative with administration influence, however, is very marked. There are nearly four hundred thousand officeholders among the ten or eleven million of electors, and the trained politicians of the Left use their influence strenuously. One feature of the activity of the party now dominant is shown in the rapid growth of debt and taxation since they came into power. It is most marked where the radical element is strongest, as in Paris, but it is enormous in all branches of the administration. In the ten years from 1889 to 1899 the debt of France was increased by over seventeen hundred million dollars. The taxation for general purposes only had grown twenty per cent. in the same time. The debt at the fall of Napoleon stood at two thousand four hundred million dollars. It reached six thousand millions in twenty-seven years of republican institutions and peace. Paris in 1899 had a debt of four hundred and forty millions. Last year it stood at a thousand millions. The methods of the practical politicians seem exceptionally costly in France. The fears excited on that head may more than balance the fears of the electoral majority to disturb the administration at the next elections. It is quite possible that the feeling excited by the measures of Combes may also find expression at the ballot-box, as the Catholic sentiment of the Belgians upset the Masonic Cabinet of Frere Orban in that country after tolerating it a longer period than any French ministry under the republic has endured.

The abolition of the Concordat and suppression of the salaries of the parochial clergy now paid by the State is spoken of as the next measure to be taken against the Church. If the Prime Minister decides on it, there is scarcely a doubt but it will be voted by his majority in the existing Chamber and Senate. The probable consequences at the next elections, however, are of a kind that may make even the most reckless administration pause. The sum now paid for support of the clergy, repair and maintenance of churches and other necessities of public worship is about forty-one million francs, or, roughly, eight million dollars annually. As the national budget reaches seven hundred millions, public worship figures for about one per cent. in the list of public expenditures. More than five times the amount is devoted to schools and the fine arts. The gain to the treasury from the suppression would be not worth counting to a practical politician and would be accompanied by a loss of the right to nominate candidates for the dioceses and higher church

dignities now held by the President under the Concordat. The right of nominating the Bishops has been held by government in France since the time of Louis XI. It was granted that shrewd monarch by Nicholas V. to prevent the danger of reopening the schisms which had been rather common after the close of the disputed Papal succession in the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is doubtful whether M. Combes will consent to give it up, even for the sake of saving the budget of public worship.

On the Catholic population the first effect would be to require it to make up by private and unequal assessments the sum which is now divided among all as a general tax. There is no doubt it could be done, though the effect would be probably to dry up many charities now existing. Some of us in America are inclined to think that Continental Catholics give less to charities than ourselves, but a study of the numerous works of benevolence and religion kept up in France by private gifts tells a different story. We may compare to that end the amount per head given to foreign missions by French and American Catholics respectively. It may also be recalled that there are, or were before the Combes legislation, a million and a quarter of children taught in Catholic schools supported by free contributions. There is no serious doubt felt in France that the parochial clergy will not be supported if the State salaries are suppressed, but the organization of methods to meet the change will cause an enormous disturbance of customs among the many millions of church attendants. The effect will be much the same as if in this country the children attending the public schools were required to pay individually for support of teachers and buildings instead of these being provided for by general taxation. Any one of political experience can tell what the effect of legislation compelling such a change would have on the public future of its authors in any American State. The suppression of the Budget of Public Worship would have the same, in all likelihood, on a French administration that tried it.

The subsidy for public worship, moreover, is not in the nature of ordinary grants for other purposes. It is a fixed sum allotted by the Consular Government of Napoleon as a compensation for the large church property seized by the Revolutionary authorities in 1792 and dissipated by sales among many hands. It is thus on a similar footing to the payments of interest on the public debt, and its suppression would be a step of repudiation. The popular sentiment throughout France owing to the wide distribution of public securities is more sensitive on the subject of repudiation of the debt than in any other country. It will be keenly excited by any measure which appears a beginning of it, and such the suppression of the

Budget of Public Worship undoubtedly will be held by a large part of the country. To array the financial fears of the population as well as its religious sentiments is a prospect which may make any administration pause.

In France, further, the lessons of history are more widely appreciated than in our new country, and the general repudiation which closely followed the first confiscation of church property is a familiar subject to all classes. Napoleon's provision of a State subvention by way of compensation for the property seized was not, it is well known, dictated by any scruples of conscience. It was entirely with him a matter of public expediency, and the reasons which swayed Napoleon's action are all in existence to-day. The Convention and Directory had tried the experiments of prohibiting Catholic worship in France and of leaving the worshipers to support it if they could. The hidden forces of society avenged themselves by sweeping one administration after another to rapid downfall. It was as a necessary element of social stability that the First Consul restored public worship in France and framed his Concordat with the Holy See. Stability of institutions is by no means yet too firmly assured in France, with its growing debt and fast fluctuating political parties. The sentiment of patriotism for the country is likely to be on the same side as religious feeling and financial timidity, and that side will not stand by the ministry which excites all three.

If it were possible to separate the purely religious interests of French Catholics from their general welfare, it may be that the complete separation of Church and State would eventually be more good than bad in its effects. The cessation of nomination of Bishops by the temporal rulers would be a distinct gain for the Church. The instinct of any Catholic population tends to the selection of its pastors by the spiritual authority which they represent exclusively. The Irish Catholics, even under the Penal Code, rejected spontaneously the offer of State support for their worship if connected with an interference of the State in the election of Catholic Bishops. The sentiment was fully as strong among the laity as the clergy, though the former had to bear all the burdens imposed by the independence of the latter from State control. Some Bishops, English and Irish, were even inclined to accept the veto had not public sentiment of the whole Catholic body pronounced so strongly against it. Catholics in France to-day feel scarcely less repugnance to nominations suggested by M. Combes than the Catholics of Ireland did to a like power in George IV. They naturally dislike the effects which may arise from a sudden change in the methods of providing for public worship so long established, but they are uncertain whether it would not be better to risk them than tolerate

the intervention, even to a limited extent, of statesmen hostile or indifferent to the Catholic Church in the selection of its Bishops. On the whole, the more zealous among the Catholics of France are much more ready to try the effect of a complete separation of Church and State than M. Combes seems to be.

One effect of the war on Catholic schools will be a revival of energy in public action among French Catholics. Whether it will be strong enough to overcome the habit of routine voting can only be told by experience. Here in America we are not exempt from the same habit. When a wave of open hostility like the Know-Nothing movement sweeps over the country American Catholics know how to cast their votes according to the dictates of conscience; but in ordinary times let any one ask himself how many Catholic voters pay attention to the moral principles involved in platforms or the personal character of party candidates for whom their votes are cast. The condition is not dissimilar in France. There is general confidence in the security of the Church and its power to outlast all foes. The sentiment is based on historic recollections as much perhaps as religious conviction, and it exists among many even of those indifferent or hostile to religion. There is hardly a city where some church building does not tell of the war waged on Catholicity by successive parties once all powerful, but now passed away, while the Church still lives on and shelters its worshipers as it did in the days of St. Bernard and St. Louis. In Amien's Cathedral the spot is pointed out where the triumphant Huguenots slaughtered Catholic prisoners within the sanctuary. In Orleans the Cathedral itself still bears the marks of Huguenot rule in the mutilated images of saints on its portals. Half the churches of Paris are daubed with the marks of Robespierre's Reign of Terror and the ten years' suspension of public worship that followed. Men point out how the cross which crowns the Pantheon has remained there on the present attempt to make that church a mere secular museum, and recall how twice before it was similarly seized by stronger hands than those of Combes, and after each it returned as by irresistible force to its original purpose. Huguenot and Jacobin have gone down to dust, but the material buildings of the Church they assailed so fiercely still stand. With such object lessons before the eyes no class of Frenchmen can indulge in the wild talk so common in the American and English press about the ruin of the Church by any legislative enactment. One does not read such predictions in either the Catholic or anti-Catholic journals of Paris or Lyons. The one point out the injustice and probable consequences of the Combes measures and the others defend or excuse them, but neither gives them the importance the sensational correspondents clothe them with in the foreign newspapers.

The confidence of French Catholics in the ultimate victory of the Church has a certain effect in lessening the energy of their resistance to individual attacks on its liberty or the rights of certain bodies within it like the religious orders. In this they are more like American Catholics than are the Catholics of Germany, Holland or the British Islands. In the latter men feel themselves called to more strenuous and open action in behalf of their religion. The Catholics of Prussia, Holland or Ireland have been trained by penal legislation of past years to see that their share in elective powers shall mean actual representation of themselves in the legislative bodies. In the German Reichstag the number of Catholic members is approximately a third corresponding to the number of Catholics shown by the census in the whole population. In the British Parliament the Catholic members are about seventy among six hundred and seventy, or about eleven per cent., while the Catholic element forms about sixteen per cent. in the whole population. In France at present, though fully five-sixths of the people profess themselves Catholics, not over forty per cent. of the elected Deputies claim the name. In our own country Catholics form only five per cent. in Congress and two per cent. at most in the Senate, though Catholics must reckon from twelve to twenty millions, or from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. of the electorate. In representation the German Catholics get nearly the proportion of Deputies that they have voters; the Irish Catholics practically the same; the French Catholics have scarcely a half, and the Americans a third of theirs. The English and Scotch Catholics, it may be added, are practically unrepresented in Parliament, though forming about six per cent. of the voters.

Some of the causes that lead French Catholics to allow their representation to remain in the hands of those hostile or indifferent to religion have been already pointed out as easily intelligible to Americans. They may be at least for a time removed by the stimulus of persecution of the religious orders. The next elections will show whether this is the case. It is remarkable that no question has been yet raised in Congress on the action of our own administration in the Philippines, which has been as extensive a suppression of Catholic teaching among a Catholic people as the first Combes measure. According to Mr. Taft's reports over two thousand Catholic schools have been secularized, and, further, a thousand Catholic priests refused for several years the right to return to their parishes. This deprivation of rights guaranteed by public treaty has not been done by legislation, but simply by administrative action. At the present moment seven millions of Catholics under jurisdiction of the United States are left with less than a thousand

priests because the present Secretary of War, an estimable Protestant gentleman and member of the Masonic society, thinks that the rest of the clergy who formerly conducted public worship among them "have not the slightest sympathy with the political principles which the American Government represents."

It is precisely the pretext which M. Combes has put forth to justify his proscription of Catholic teaching orders in France. He at least had no treaty obligations to restrain him from carrying his hostility into execution, and he gave it legal form by vote of his majority in the Chambers. Governor Taft ignored the treaty with Spain, which guaranteed the clergy of those islands the right to remain and continue their ministry there. He did so, as he has himself stated, because "if the friars were not sent back the political question would be eliminated." His action has been endorsed by the administration and himself called to a place in the Cabinet of President Roosevelt as a reward for it, and no voice that we know has been raised in Congress to protest against his proscription of the Spanish friars in the Philippines. Deeply as we may regret the apathy of French Catholics in political action, it is well for ourselves to remember the warning to cast the beam out of our own eye before we undertake to remove the mote from that of our neighbor.

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San Francisco, Calif.

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE POPES OF AVIGNON.

THERE is probably no period in the history of the world in which the attitude of the Papacy towards art and letters has been so misrepresented by non-Catholic writers as that of the Italian Renaissance. If one takes up the works of such well-known historians of this period as Pastor Burckhardt and Symonds the conflict of opinion is so great that one almost despairs of getting at the real truth.

The charm of style in the work of Symonds is so seductive that for the moment misrepresentation and contradiction pass unheeded and one is swept along a current of rhetoric, dazzled now by the coloring of thought, now by the very atmosphere which rests upon the art headlands and uplands of this transition period.

The Italian Renaissance flowered during the fifteenth century, but it drew its nutrition from the soil of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The spirit of free inquiry and delight in beauty which are especially credited as belonging to the Italian

Renaissance had a place in the life and art of Italy as well as France long before the fifteenth century.

The Catholic Church has during no century prohibited free inquiry on questions that pertain to science, art and letters, and the expression of her life as represented in art and literature is but the reflection of that beauty which emanates from the source of all beauty—God.

It is not only unjust to the Catholic Church, but it betrays as well a superficial knowledge of the basis and genesis of Christian art to maintain that all great poetry, painting, architecture, sculpture and music had first soil in the wilderness of the world rather than within the sanctuary of God. So it is that non-Catholic historians, for example, turn their faces in every direction seeking causes for the great awakening of life and art in Italy during the fifteenth century, but are absolutely blind to the light and influence which streamed from the centre and headship of Christianity.

Non-Catholic historians would fain have us believe that the Popes of the Renaissance set their faces like flint against the revival of letters—that they feared it would emancipate the human intellect from the power of the Church. Indeed, Putnam, in his work dealing with the making of books during the mediæval centuries, states in two paragraphs in successive pages that the Pope had a certain work burned “because it was contrary to faith;” and again “because it was only obscene and contained nothing against faith and morals.” The real truth is that the Catholic Church was the greatest factor in the Renaissance movement, and he who would understand the forces that contributed to this great awakening of the human intellect and the development of art and letters which followed logically in its train must understand the beginnings of the Renaissance in the fourteenth century and the share which the Popes of Avignon—then in exile—took in its promotion and extension.

The poet Petrarch is justly styled the “Father of Humanism,” but were it not for the influence, kindly offices and patronage of the Papal Court of Avignon, the sweetest of Italian sonneteers might have lived unheeded—obscure in a lonely villa of Parma or Verona.

Let us then examine the share which the Popes of Avignon justly have in this great movement which filled the world of Italy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as with the glory of a new and dazzling sunrise.

It should not be forgotten that the revival of classical learning in Italy really began early in the twelfth century with the revival of the study of Roman law. Italy was heir to the mid-day splendor of Roman literature, with its Virgils, its Horaces, its Ciceros, its Quintilians. Not only this, but as Carducci says, “By the fall of Constan-

tinople Italy became sole heir and guardian of the ancient civilization of Greece."

But it is a mistake to consider that it was the discovery of some manuscripts by Petrarch at Verona, or the appointment of Manuel Chrysoloras to the chair of Greek at the Florence University in 1396 that set aglow the skies of the Italian Renaissance.

A writer tells us that the growth of civilization is as gradual and imperceptible as that of an oak tree. It does not suddenly pass from night to day, not even from night to twilight. So was the Renaissance in Italy ushered in slowly, and the factors which contributed to this great intellectual awakening were indeed many.

Now not the least of these factors was the Papal Court, whether its influence went out from Rome or Avignon. It seems to me strange—nay, absurd, that historians of the Italian Renaissance eagerly gather up every vagrant straw that may contribute to their theory as to the cause of the great intellectual awakening of Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but absolutely ignore the influence of the Catholic Church as a potent force in the Renaissance movement.

Non-Catholic historians are fond of quoting the Latin poet's words: "*Nihil humani est mihi alienum*," and hold that it was out of this spirit—this attitude towards the world and mankind—that the Italian Renaissance was born. This is quite true, but as Guiraud points out in his admirable work, "*L'Eglise et Les Origines de la Renaissance*," the need of simplifying and generalizing—of studying man in himself rather than any man in particular—could find recognition in the classical spirit only because it already existed in the spirit of the Renaissance.

One thing is quite certain, that it was the relation of the Papal Court to the Greek Church at Constantinople and the religious controversies that took place during the fourteenth century between Avignon and Constantinople that gave an impetus to the study of the Greek Fathers, a large number of whose works were in the Papal library at Avignon. In fact, relations of friendship bound together the men of letters of Avignon and Constantinople in such manner that there was often an exchange of manuscripts between the East and West. The life of Petrarch furnishes examples of this.

From the very beginning of the Papal occupancy of Avignon the Vicars of Christ enriched the library of the Holy See with numerous copies of the works of the Latin and Greek writers—now the works of Seneca, Pliny, Sallust, Suetonius and Cicero—now the Ethics of Aristotle and the Poems of Virgil.

As to theological works written in Greek, it was most natural that at a time when theology reigned incontestably as the chief of the sciences the Papal Library was well supplied.

It is true that the great masterpieces of Greek literature, such as the works of Homer, Hesiod and Pindar, the great tragedies, and the Latin writers, Horace and Tacitus, were not as yet well represented in the Papal Library in Avignon, but it is equally true that on the eve of the great schism the Popes had collected together an important number of manuscripts in which Latin literature was well represented, so that in the number and quality of the volumes the Apostolic Library was second only to the ancient libraries of the Sorbonne and Canterbury.

In several of his letters the poet Petrarch has shown himself very severe towards the Popes of the fourteenth century, who, in his eyes, were guilty of the double crime of being French and of having left Italy. Meanwhile the very literary reputation and glory which Petrarch loved so much were due in no small measure to the protection accorded him by the Popes of Avignon. Was it not, too, at the Papal Court of Avignon that Petrarch's father, an exile from Florence, had sought an asylum and in the sunshine of whose favor the poet himself had grown in peace and security?

It should not be forgotten, too, that it was from the Papal Curia of Avignon that the order first went out to search for the Latin manuscripts which were of so great service in the study of the ancient literature and language of Rome. The work of copying also went on, so that a manuscript copy of nearly every valuable Latin work was soon to be found in the Pontifical Library.

In collecting thus the scattered literary remains of antiquity, the Popes gave proof of an enlightened taste for letters, while at the same time they favored the movement born of humanism. As in our own day the Apostolic Library was thrown open to scholars, and the poet Petrarch, in several passages of his familiar letters, testifies to the fact that he himself had full access to the books and manuscripts of the Pontifical Library at Avignon.

Again, the missionary work carried on in Africa and Asia during the residence of the Popes at Avignon did much to bring in contact the mind of the Orient and Occident. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, before the Papacy had yet removed to Avignon, the Franciscan Jean de Montecorvino had established flourishing Christian missions in China, and in 1306 Pope Clement V. erected for him the see of Pekin. Numerous missions were also established in the Barbary States, in Northern Africa, as well as in Tunis.

If then the discovery of new worlds, the fall of Constantinople and the invention of printing were factors in the development of the Italian Renaissance, assuredly the mission work of the Papal Court of Avignon in its propagation of the gospel in distant countries contributed indirectly but incontestably to this great awakening of

the human mind. Indeed, "humanism" may be said to have had birth at Avignon within the Pontifical Court, with him who has been justly designated the first of "Humanists"—the poet Petrarch.

As to the study of Greek in Italy long before the dispersion of Greek scholars consequent on the fall of Constantinople in 1453, long, too, before the appointment of Manuel Chrysoloras to the chair of Greek at the Florence University in 1396, the monk Barlaam, a Greek scholar of great repute, a Calabrian by birth, who had passed his youth at Salonica and at Constantinople, where he became, thanks to his literary and scientific culture, a favorite of the Emperor Andronicus, was sent by the latter to Avignon to propose to Benedict XII. a reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches.

On his return from Rome in 1342, where he had received the laurel crown of poetry, Petrarch found Barlaam at Avignon and requested from him lessons in Greek. Another instructor of the poet Petrarch in Greek was Nicolas Sigeros, also a Byzantine envoy to the Court of Avignon. When the latter had terminated his negotiations with Clement VI. and had to return to Constantinople, Petrarch made him promise that he would search for manuscripts of Cicero, which might be hidden in the libraries of the Bosphorus. Sigeros, however, found none, but to show his good will he sent to his friend of Avignon a copy of the poems of Homer.

It was Petrarch's different visits to Rome that inspired in him a love for antiquity. His first visit to the Eternal City was on the invitation of his friend, the Bishop of Lombez, in 1337, and it is from this year that his Roman patriotism dates, which henceforth inspires all his works and in particular his Latin poem "Africa," and which, too, made him the enthusiastic friend of Rienzi.

A study of the life of Petrarch reveals the fact that it was the good offices of the Papal Court of Avignon which placed him in touch with the eminent Greek and Latin scholars of the day and made it possible for him, in the seclusion of Vancluse, to pursue his studies of the great masters of Greek poetry and philosophy.

Petrarch also prevailed upon his friend Boccaccio to publish in Latin the Iliad and Odyssey. It was Leontius Pilatus who took charge of this work a little time after and thus began the great work of translating Greek authors which Pope Nicholas V. was later to bring to so successful an end.

But the works of the nature-loving Greeks would never have inspired in the heart and mind of Petrarch a love of the beauty of life around him—Hellenism was but a factor—were it not that his own beloved Provence revealed its charms to his eyes and filled his soul with poetic dreams. In his garden at Vancluse among his trees and vines he found the inspiration which Nature never

refuses to the open and responsive heart, whether the votary at her altar be a Wordsworth, amid the lakes and cliffs and scenes of Cumberland; a Burns, treading the hillsides of his native Ayr, or a Whittier, dreaming amid his Berkshire hills.

Many historians do an injustice to the character of Petrarch on the moral side. Petrarch, in the moral gospel of his life and living, was far from being either a Poggio or a Machiavelli. Much as was his respect for the master geniuses of antiquity, his love for the sacred writings of St. Jerome and St. Augustine was more profound, and it is said that on reading for the first time the works of the latter, he thought of abandoning altogether the frivolous study of the classics, with a view of consecrating himself entirely to Christian meditation and reading. Petrarch's respect for the Christian ideal is to be found in the marginal annotations of his manuscripts. We have the poet's own word for it that he took the "Confessions of St. Augustine" for his model when he wrote his "De Contemptu Mundi." Practices of scrupulous piety marked his whole life. Each night he arose to pray to God and on every Friday he practiced a rigorous fast, while his devotion to the Blessed Virgin was most ardent and sincere.

It is true that, like all men of the Renaissance period, Petrarch was intense in his character. He hated with a Renaissance fervor and he was not free from jealousy and vainglory which belonged especially to the spirit of his times.

In estimating the character of Petrarch one must remember the spirit of the times in which he had birth—that it was an age of great virtues and great vices and that excessive liberty to sin followed in the wake of the Renaissance in every land. In England it is reflected in the lives of such men as Green and Marlowe and in Marlowe's play of Dr. Faustus, while in France the courts of the House of Valois and the camps of the Huguenots were marked by the greatest wantonness and license. In Germany men like Ulrich von Hutten were anything but moral.

Petrarch was certainly "the morning star" of the Italian Renaissance, but it was the Papal Court of Avignon that made possible his light—it was the Pope as representative and head of a universal Church that quickened by contact the mind of the East with the West—in a word, it was the enlightened scholarship of fourteen centuries illumined by the rays of Divine Faith and speaking through the lips of the Vicar of Christ in exile at Avignon that led the way in that greatest of intellectual movements—"The Italian Renaissance of the Fifteenth Century."

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IRISH CATHOLICS, ENGLISH DISSENTERS AND THE
EDUCATION ACT.

IT WILL be understood that the English Catholics have not a particle of independent political influence. There are among the old Catholics—we do not use the term in a South German sense—men of ancient ancestry, but they are with one exception lost in the Tory party. Their boasted descent, their fidelity to the Church, about which they are by no means silent, are assumed to give them a political importance in the eyes of the Irish representatives. It must be understood once for all that Irish Catholics are keenly alive to Catholic interests in England, in the army and navy and in the dependencies of the Crown. They are not moved in this direction by social ties or any ties connecting them with those of English Catholics. While helping Catholic interests, they distrust those excellent gentlemen, from the Duke of Norfolk down to a Mr. DeLyle, whose occupation a few years ago in the House of Commons was to behave with rudeness whenever an Irish member rose to speak. With regard to the noble Duke we can only say of him everything that is good in character and disposition. But even the head of the Howards should have been convinced the other day that he did not possess a shred of influence in the House in which next to the Lord Chancellor he is the first temporal peer. His motion to relieve the future sovereign from the necessity of swearing to declarations which many members of the Established Church regard as blasphemous was rejected at the instance of the successor of Dr. Cranmer and of the whole bench of Bishops. Indeed, we should be greatly disappointed if the Bishops could be found on the side of liberty and reason. Ever since the English Church became the creature of the State she has been the persistent enemy of the masses of the people; her Bishops have been faithful in every instance in the denial of justice to men outside her fold. Not an act of tyranny at home, not a war of aggression upon weak peoples, not an alliance entered into with the despotisms of Europe to crush the aspirations of subjects, not a combination of the powers to maintain the rule of the Turk and his pachas over Christian men and women, not one of these crimes against mankind and civilization but has had the support of the Bishops of England. From these observations our readers will perceive that we ask their attention to what we are about to offer concerning an alliance proposed on behalf of the Dissenters of England to the Irish members with respect to the recent Education Act.

The Dissenters have bound themselves to leave the Catholic

schools untouched if the Irish members aid them in obtaining a repeal of so much of the measure as endows the schools of the Establishment; or at the least if the Irish members do not support the Tories in defending their act. We readily allow that honest minds could be misled by pretences put forward in opposition to the proposed repeal. The measure when it was going through Parliament was described as a religious one; its introducer and his supporters declared that it was brought forward in the interests of religious education in opposition to a policy which would banish religion from the schools of all ranks and from the life of the State itself. To what extent this conception of the relations of Church and State had seized upon the Tory mind we cannot say; how sincere it was we cannot estimate, but it is the Catholic idea in normal relations of Church and State, and consequently calculated to win body and soul those Catholics who hold that the Tories are their natural allies. We may say in passing that English Catholics have not proved themselves conspicuously loyal to Holy Church on the temporal side; they were anxious that the Minister of the day might have a hand in the selection of the Bishops, and they were the first to adopt the Ecclesiastical Titles Act in refusing to the Irish episcopate their titles.¹ They discount the passionate devotion of the Irish to the Holy See as an expression of enmity to England. This, of course, is the stupidity of malice. When the Belgians, French and Irish sent men to fight for the independence of the States of the Church against the King of Sardinia and the outlaws and assassins of Europe, who were to be rewarded with the spoils of the Church and the revenues and offerings of political corruption when the new State should be established, we are not aware that a single English Catholic was among the volunteers. The only English Catholics who displayed courage at any time in Rome were converts or their sons, like young Noel, who shouted back defiance to the brigands after the occupation by the Revolution King on an occasion not to be forgotten.

The political outlook so far as the Dissenters and some Liberals who are churchmen is that on a change of ministry the attack on the Education Act must be made. Their reason is that it endows the primary schools of the Establishment at the expense of the taxpayers without distinction of creed or opinion. Another way to present their view is that it favors one form of Protestantism at the expense of the whole kingdom. It may be said that Parliament, representing the whole kingdom, passed the act, and it argues a

¹ A very interesting incident is that of a correspondence between the Lord of Shrewsbury of the time and Dr. MacHale who, in defiance of the act, signed himself John, Archbishop of Tuam.

contempt for the people to seek to set aside without a fair trial a measure they are supposed to have approved. On the other hand, it is contended that the majority were not speaking the public mind on the matter; and those who so contend appear to be right from the result of the by-elections, which have been a series of Liberal victories, and from the most recent intelligence from the constituencies. The last news from every part of England is that the condemnation of the government is more decided, the hostility of the electors more intense than could be inferred even from the by-elections.

It is hardly fair to describe the determination of the Dissenters as a policy of vindictiveness and exasperation disentitling the Opposition to support. It is true the Opposition in their place in Parliament are charged with responsibilities only second to those of the administration and in a degree closely approximating to the responsibilities of the administration. But it must be remembered that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, expressed no opinion on the course to be taken when the party should return to power, and his lieutenants imitated his reserve. The party are not committed, therefore, to an attack upon the Education Act, notwithstanding the threats of the ablest and most earnest men among his supporters.

There are questions affecting England of incomparably more importance than this one. Since the government obtained power they have been moving at a constantly accelerated pace from the control of the House of Commons and the nation. They have embarked on undertakings of moment without the knowledge of the House; they have gone out of their way to seek entanglements with foreign and friendly powers in contempt of the criticism of the Opposition and the few independent and conscientious men among their own supporters.

These are matters demanding the attention of Parliament on a change of ministry. There is another grave offense against public liberty for which the government is responsible. Meetings were broken up, it is not too much to say by the contrivance of their agents—meetings expressly convened for the purpose of ascertaining the people's will as to the continuance of the war in South Africa after the government had declared that the war was over, and for the purpose of directing the public mind to the method of securing a real peace and its result in the establishment of a just government in the two republics.

The mere fact that the government had deceived the people as to the termination of the war and the fact that they preferred a policy of *vae victis* to winning the allegiance of the Boers are not

in themselves sufficient to show that the meetings in question were unlawful assemblies. Indeed, the government did not treat them as unlawful assemblies; the law is strong enough and clear enough to suppress assemblies of that character. Instead the government, through persons who knew their wishes, employed the bludgeons of rioters to prevent the censures that they feared from going forth to England and the world as the judgment of honorable men anxious to absolve themselves from an acquiescence in acts of injustice and cruelty.

It is seldom that the student lights on the instance of a government in England for two centuries carried on in defiance of the people and in violation of the privileges of Parliament. When Walpole held office by purchasing members of the House of Commons and the court manipulated the House of Lords, and particularly the Lords Spiritual, to assist him, there was some appearance of excuse in the intrigues believed to be carried on against the new dynasty by a large part of the clergy of the Establishment and by no inconsiderable number of the country gentlemen. Yet it was at this very period, when so many manor-houses and glebes were looking to the exiled Stuarts, that the Catholics in England were disappearing under the pressure of the laws and religiously minded men were leaving the Establishment to hear preachers in barns and to follow them into the fields. This was the time when English jealousy, as we shall show presently in a word or two, was killing the industries of Irish Protestants and legislating against their commerce. Why English Catholics should entertain so much suspicion of the Dissenters, who were for a long time fellow-sufferers with themselves from the Establishment squires and parsons, needs some explanation; but because it needs such explanation there is a *prima facie* in favor of an alliance between the Irish members and the Dissenters.

When Lord North, as the London alderman said, "was sleeping amid the ruins of his country" there was an administration to which in many respects the present government can be compared. Like this, that government stood on a plane of its own, above the thoughts, the fears, the hopes and needs of the nation. It is unnecessary to speak of it to an American, but we may say there is throughout a remarkable parallel between the two. Both drew the sword against the wishes of the best and wisest men in England and with a like lightness of heart; and both entailed upon their countrymen the like results of immense financial loss and loss of life, and on the Empire a loss of prestige the consequences of which, with regard to Egypt, India and the East, it is impossible to estimate.

Looking at the matter calmly we cannot perceive how the measure proposed to be repealed is of so urgent a character that such pressing questions as we have in view should be postponed until that repeal. There is the Irish question, one of the first importance. The situation in Ireland is bad, as Mr. Gladstone said of higher education there, "scandalously bad." The Land Purchase Act has not touched the essential point, the nature of the government and the social and political proscription of the Catholics in consequence.

Mr. Redmond and some of his colleagues have been recently in this country to obtain material and moral support for a conflict which he deems to be one of the most arduous character since the election which preceded Emancipation. The spell of Mr. Gladstone's eloquence and control over the masses in England and over the people of Wales and Scotland is wanting. We think the battle must be fought in Ireland, and it would be nothing short of a distraction to the Irish electors leading to disaster if they had reason to believe a cause which means everything to them should yield place to a question which is far from being the most important of English questions.

We have already suggested that the responsibility of the House of Commons to the country and of the government to the House are subjects of a more urgent nature than the repeal or amendment of the Education Act. We think that the right of public meeting should be placed in such security that meetings shall no longer be at the mercy of mobs. Even if the government were not implicated in the suppression of the meetings to elicit opinion concerning the transactions in South Africa, no one can deny that the first duty of the executive is to preserve the peace. There is too great a resemblance between the policy of the government in England and that of the Irish government, if we may abuse the word by such application, to permit us to think that the immunity of the English rioters was altogether accidental.

There are other questions: We cannot think the conditions affecting the representation of the people satisfactory. The servants of a Tory gentleman are electors from their dwellings by virtue of office; his household may conceivably swamp the dissenting village outside his gate. The protection of the ballot is perfect so far as its secrecy is concerned, but it affords no shield against suspicion on the one hand or fear upon the other. Again, there is the right which confers upon one man the privilege of voting in every constituency in the three kingdoms if he could physically accomplish the distances within the time. It is a survival of the tradition which made land and houses everything, man without them nothing.

Again, there is the question of higher education in Ireland, which the leaders of both parties have over and over again agreed should be settled. The Education Act by endowing the Establishment schools may have been the worst victory ever gained by the Tories. That institution was already laden with many burdens of unpopularity without the addition of this one. The cynical violation of the laws against simony, daily practised by English churchmen, could hardly have been an argument for entrusting them with so much control over the coming generations as the Education Act confers. Scorn and contempt will not be wanting to those who dislike the English Church and appreciate the anomaly.

Another matter is some change concerning the closure. The House is dishonored by making the guardian of its privileges its tyrant under the pretence of the dispatch of public business. One regrets to see that great office with which the growth of the constitution is so closely connected so changed that not one of the historic characteristics survives; nothing remains but the chair and the trappings. We think of the day when Charles I., with his guards, his court gentlemen and his braves of Alsatia, proceeded to the House and surrounded it to intimidate the speaker; but in vain, for then the speaker was the servant of the House. He is now its master and the instrument of the government.² We think that a recasting of the rules and an amendment of the procedure of Parliament generally would be more germane to the matter when the Liberals return to power than an onslaught on the Education Act. At present the House of Commons can be dispensed with. The clerks can continue to register the decrees of government on the bare will of the Treasury bench. The presence of representatives of the people is a mockery. Cromwell and the army were clumsy in their methods to deprive the Commons of power as compared with the men of to-day. Pride's Purge was a poor officer in comparison with the appropriation of unofficial members' days. The mace is no longer the "bauble" Cromwell called it; the bewigged figure to which it is attached as emblem of the power and

² The history of the closure is a striking argument in favor of a separate legislature for Ireland. It had its origin in what was impudently characterized as the "obstruction" of certain Irish members to the business of the Commons. The Tories in opposition demanded at a time of intense public excitement that stringent personal measures should be taken against a few Irishmen who were charged with abusing the forms of the House to the purpose of factious delay. This Mr. Gladstone was too conscientious to attempt; for in all they had done the Irishmen were technically within the privileges of members. We moved that the rules should be amended to confer on the Speaker the power to summarily close debate on the motion of a member. This power was not exercised against the Tories on the Home Rule bill of 1893, though their tactics were factious if the epithet has any meaning.

authority of the Commons of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled we hold to be the "bauble." At any rate, if the Opposition evinced an ungarded disrespect of the majority in their anger and disappointment by threatening to repeal the education measure, they were clearly within their rights in insisting that the government had not gone to the country on that issue, had distinctly repudiated that and all other domestic issues and had only asked its confidence on the war in South Africa. The contention is legitimate that the government received no mandate to endow the schools of a wealthy Establishment out of the pockets of small shopkeepers, small professional men, clerks and artisans who believed that good, sound Protestantism was to be found in chapels and meeting houses, where no surplice offended their eyes and no coat-of-arms over a squire's pew, with its griffins and boar heads "*dentatis gulis*," recalled to stern and thoughtful men the images on Pilate's ensigns which roused the Jews to madness verging on rebellion.

In the few words we are about to say it must be understood we are dealing with an alliance and a policy and not at all with the question of religious education. For Catholics the nature of education to be accepted is settled by authority. As for education for the children of churchmen and Dissenters, we respectfully submit that that is their own affair. The Dissenters and such Radicals as belong to the Church of England acknowledge that Catholics have proved out of their poverty they will accept no education for their children save a religious one. It would be contrary to their principles if Radicals and Dissenters refused to recognize the supreme claims of conscience. It may be true that formerly the sectaries, as they were called, opposed religious education for Catholics; it may be true that at one time they were more intolerant than the Established Church itself towards Catholics. Still we think that with regard to their feelings towards Catholics in the distant past there is some misconception. We are not by any means clear that any appearance of more favorable feeling on the part of churchmen towards Catholics can be referred to a spirit of toleration or to any sort of constant and intelligent policy. The laws that plundered Catholics and proscribed their priests, that would not allow Catholics, as such, one particle of civil rights, were passed in Parliaments in which Bishops voted as Lords Spiritual, but in which Dissenters could not sit owing to disabilities that made them aliens.

The idea has been prevalent that churchmen were at all times more friendly than the Dissenters to the Catholics. This we deny, and we could explain our denial if our space permitted. We may content ourselves with pointing out that certainly since the Revo-

lution the Dissenters had no power to oppress the Catholics; that all power was in the hands of the churchmen, and that they did not let it slip. They exercised it with a strength and vigilance which compelled the diminishing number of Catholics to hide themselves out of sight. There would have been hardly a Catholic in England at the close of the eighteenth century only for the Irish immigrants who began to find their way thither and the Frenchmen who fled from the Revolution in their own country. These last were received hospitably for reasons not far to seek. They were looked upon as martyrs for the cause of their King and for aristocracy, with which, most unfortunately for its highest interests, the cause of religion in France was supposed to be identified.

It must be apprehended in the spirit of fair play that the alliance proposed between the Irish members and the Liberals and Dissenters is not for the purpose of dealing with a single measure in no way affecting the interests of Irishmen or the rights of the Catholic children when the schools of the latter are safeguarded against attack. Such an alliance is clearly based on the consciousness of identity of aims over the whole field of political and social reform. So far as such an alliance would be seriously entertained as one offensive and defensive, one to a degree merging the Irish members in the Liberal party, it could be only on the revival of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy and in the pursuit of what may be described as a democratic policy generally. We express no opinion as to the way the Education Act affects the Dissenters. It may be there is something they have to complain of, but it is allowable to suppose that the main injury is on the point of honor. It cannot be to any extent on the ground of oppressive taxation, and this so strikingly and injuriously burdensome that repeal cannot be allowed to wait until the burning questions of social amelioration and political liberty are solved. The union of Irish Catholics with the Dissenters is not to be confined to a small matter like the repeal of an act endowing State Church schools or to rest upon such a movement. The first question is Home Rule; all others are auxiliary or subordinate to this. Is this a dictation by a superior interest to the inferior with regard to the conditions of alliance? It means nothing of the kind; it is simply a revival of the policy of the party when it was last in power—its policy when Mr. Gladstone spoke as the embodied spirit of the English democracy.

What we say is very plain. If there be any degree of enlightened patriotism among Englishmen, anything like the intentions of self-interest in private business, the Radicals of all kinds, including all the Dissenters, now must see that justice to Ireland means the

advancement of civil and religious liberty in England and the end of privileged classes, lay and clerical.

We repeat that the principle on which fair play to Ireland stands embraces also the policy of liberty and justice for the masses in England. Opposition to Home Rule can offer no justification for itself, if this be indeed a justification, but that Ireland must be governed by a minority of the inhabitants for their own exclusive benefit. This describes the servitude of a nation to a class, the people to an oligarchy, a conquered race to a few tyrants and their guards. It was the rule in Peru and Mexico under Spain, in India under the East India Company when British subjects exercised unlimited and irresponsible power. When we feel we are in presence of a question so awful in the far-reaching elements that compose it, a subject so deep in its tragedy as to touch the line dividing the tortured reason from despair, we are forced to ask what is an Education Act in England to Irishmen? What have they to do with churchmen's children and Dissenters' anger at the special care for them by the State? Such interests, all interests beyond the channel and over the seas that gird the Empire which Irishmen have done so much to build up, are as nothing to the ebbing life of their nation.

We can assure the Dissenters that Irish Catholics will never be wanting to their cause; it is that of liberty and reason; but before all rights, before the thought of redressing inequalities and injustices sustained by Englishmen is the almost lifelessness of Ireland lying there now that she has emerged from the valley of the shadow. Irishmen must, by their own inheritance of contumely and wrong, by the high discipline of pain endured, give their sympathy and when practicable their aid to the victims of injustice and oppression in every form and degree, whether a sentimental survival like the Dissenters' grievances for the most part, or an unspeakable tyranny like that suffered by the Poles under Russian satraps; but such sympathy and aid are subordinate to the claims of the pale mother lying on the sands of time, her powerless arms flung as when first she fell on reaching the sea under the rising stars.

The fact is, if Irishmen were not to labor for the cause of man, in due subordination of course to their country's claims, one would look upon them as a people of slaves, who suffered because the lash was their birthright and contempt their inheritance. But theirs has been a struggle that saw the rise and disappearances of States, the settlement and unsettlement and resettlement of every power in Europe. They have been faithful to the rights of freedom, not as the enemy of Britain, as Catholic Tories say, but in our poor mind because Britain has been in so many places the enemy of freedom.

We ask our friends the Dissenters to bear in mind that, as we write, a few of the inhabitants enjoy all social and political power and influence and have their hands on the pulse-beats of commercial enterprise in all its classes;⁸ and asking this we lay down to them the fundamental condition of the compact, that such a government as that in Ireland must be sent to join the dead tyrannies in the Inferno reserved for the social hypocrisies and lawless codes that have killed men's minds and broken their hearts since the beginning of institutions for government.

That is the situation in Ireland, in appearance at least, despite the Land Purchase Act. There is a good deal of excitement about this measure between the popular leaders. There is one thing very certain, that it has proved what we anticipated, that the landlords were not to be reconciled until the establishment of a native legislature compelled them to seek their own advancement in promoting the general interests of the country.

What we have in Ireland is political and social degradation of the masses, coupled with a theoretical power of the agricultural interest among the masses to acquire the ownership of a considerable portion of the soil. But beneath this conditional ability to buy the land is the conviction from which the mind cannot free itself that possession of the land will not bring with it what it always carried as its concomitant in every other country, the enjoyment of political power and social esteem. This consciousness is wrought into the texture of the soul, it is strengthened by the air around, it is whispered, it is echoed, it is thundered by the chorus of nature animate and inanimate. It is as if the nation were dying, despite every legislative improvement "conceded" by the Imperial Parliament.

Some such image of the dying nation lay before the eyes of Grattan when speaking the last words for freedom in the Irish House of Commons; but with that sanguine temperament united to the energy of genius he foresaw the day of her returning life. To him she was only in a swoon and the beauty of life was on her lip and cheek. To us the swoon is as death; we see it in the nerveless hand, the fallen discrowned head, a sight more rending to the heart than a requiem echoing and sobbing in the gloom of cathedral aisles. This thought of our nation, child of the imagination and the heart, is no fantasy; it is a feeling as of the passing away of kindred nearest in love; it belongs to all of us, high and low; it is our union with the ideal and sublime, and feeling this way it is no wonder we should be impatient of little policies and the intrigues of wire-pullers.

⁸ This is substantially true with regard to business, and absolutely true with respect to office under the Crown.

It is necessary that all sections of opinion in England should understand that Irish interests cannot be postponed or sacrificed to the theories or views of men who have no place with us in thought or feeling. There are English Catholics who expect the Irish members will deem themselves the unintelligent delegates of their will. If they wish Irish members to take their orders they must qualify themselves by adopting the principles which lifted the policy of the illustrious Manning to a height and comprehensiveness worthy of his great predecessor, St. Thomas, worthy of the great ecclesiastical statesmen to whom justice was the law of public life and because it was this, enabled them to harmonize the human and divine in the movements of society. If they cannot do this, let them go to such Irish members as Colonel Saunderson and the Ulster kettle-drummers. There are too many painful memories to permit us to approve of the influence over Irish members of these very respectable gentlemen who are not shocked because legislation for a Catholic university was consigned to the limbo of pretences or good resolutions at the ukase of Lord Londonderry.

When we find these gentlemen and their Tory allies raising hands of virtuous indignation because an alliance between Catholics and Dissenters has been proposed, we must ask is it with their approval the Crown in a prosecution involving public passions and interest will order Catholics to "stand by," as the phrase goes? This is a token that the Emancipation Act has not emancipated; that the lives and fortunes of Catholics are at the mercy of an insolent faction as much to-day as when they were sent to the fleet or to the American settlements if a French ship appeared upon the coasts, or compelled to make good out of their chattels and effects the losses sustained by Protestants from an Algerine corsair or through preparations for a defense against a rumored invasion, too often the invention of those to be compensated by the levy.

The system still surviving in Ireland is, in principle and inspiration, the work of a conquest that secured its power by the policy of dividing the people through a separation of their interests. Misgovernment is all it has been, except that over its more hideous features a mask has been drawn in deference to world-wide opinion and the force of events. Irishmen must look to the men who adhere to the principles of Burke and Fox and Gladstone for national regeneration. They are branded with inferiority over the entire range of administrative wherever the Irish government, through its bureaus, can exercise influence or control; and they are so branded with the assent and, we fear, the active approval of English Catholics of position. The system pervading public and social life in Ireland is unlike anything spoken of in books of

history. It is a despotism, not of an individual, but of a body professing a form of religion, and the form itself vague and wavering as a finely textured cloud. It cannot be compared with any oligarchy of the past, so indefinite and shifting is it, but reaches all beneath it as effectually as if armed men did its bidding and spies and informers watched its interests. The leases of its life, the fundamental principle, cannot be discovered; it is simple and invisible as a spirit and so escapes analysis; as a famine, as a pestilence, so it can be seen only in its effects.

Hence the doctrinaire and the economist, with like wise men or French philosophers of the eighteenth century, say: What the Irish need is more "stick," more disarming acts, insurrection acts, curfew acts, life and property protection acts and added to these the loss of representation in Parliament and the suppression of their press. If the country were a prison from which no complaint or groan could issue to the civilized world, things would be fairly well, not quite so well as if the wish of an English member of Parliament were realized, that the island should be submerged in the Atlantic for twenty-four hours.

It is rather trying to one's patience that the unfortunate people of Ireland should be subjected to a monstrous tyranny, to an unexampled social oppression for the benefit of England, or what was regarded as that, and then maligned because they are discontented with and impoverished by the connection. It is true that Englishmen admit much of their iniquitous legislation and the ferocity of the wars that from time to time converted parts of Ireland into wildernesses. The elaborate system of laws which prevented the growth of trade and manufactures is now looked at with a shaking of the head; but it is ancient history, and no longer of interest and effect. There were navigation acts of which we seldom hear, but they were measures of exclusion of Irish exports and of protection of English exports to the North American colonies and the West Indies, skillfully conceived and ruthlessly carried out, to the detriment of the colonies as well as the extinguishing of every attempt at commerce between Ireland and them. Let us see how English legislation worked when almost the entire land of Ireland was in possession of the men Mr. James Anthony Froude loved to call the English in Ireland. We are speaking of the eighteenth century, when the landlords and moneyed classes in Ireland, the men engaged in trade, if we can call the paltry exchanges between England and Ireland by that name, and the men engaged in the exportation of wool,⁴ black cattle and sheep were the sons or grandsons of the

⁴ It was an indictable offense punishable by fine and imprisonment to manufacture fabrics into which wool might be woven as a mixture even.

adventurers and soldiers of the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth.

Wool could not be manufactured in Ireland. It was a crime to attempt it. It would be safer to be a Catholic layman—provided one was not an Irish gentleman within the meaning of the 10th statute of Charles I. and the other statutes embodying the same—than a Protestant daring to make a yard of woollen cloth. It could only be exported to England, and to certain seaports in that country. Meat could not be exported thither in consequence of an objection by the English cattle dealers, who were great butchers as well, unless it was corned. Corned meat could not be exported because the English developed a capability of producing a supply of it to their own markets and the army and navy. All this is delectable reading, but some Irishmen have had the impudence to start a movement in Ireland in support of Mr. Chamberlain's policy of protection, and this with the history of English Parliamentary action towards Irish industries in our knowledge. A more important thing infinitely than the taxation of the English public for the State Church schools to the Dissenters and their Irish allies is the utter routing of Mr. Chamberlain and the classes who follow him because his new scheme will drive needful reforms from the mind of the masses.

In a future article we shall reiterate our faith in the necessity of education based on religion. While insisting that certain English Catholics shall not address the Irish representation as though they had authority or right to dictate to them, we are sure those members will never forget the claims and interests of the Catholics of England in those respects belonging to general justice or in the special matters with which as Catholics they are entitled to be heard. We do not consider the Tory Education Act one of these matters, when there is security from those who will be the chief element of the next administration that whatever it has done for Catholic children shall be respected and confirmed.

We are not enthusiastic, indeed, about a measure which entails upon a small minority of the inhabitants of England, and they the poorest, an expense of over a million sterling before they can receive one farthing from the taxes in aid of education. This, as our readers understand, is the position of the Catholics under the act. If their schools are not in a condition to satisfy the local authorities, not only will they not receive aid from the State, but in their place secular schools shall be and are authorized to do the work of education side by side with those of the Establishment. It is in the highest degree probable the entire money will not be raised in time; and so there is a danger that many of the Catholic schools may

disappear. We mention this particularly to repudiate the notion which certain English Catholics have put forward against the alliance spoken of above, that Catholics should be so grateful to the Tories as to have lost the right to enter into such an alliance, as though the Tories had acquired a mortgage on their support.

It has been stated, too, by the Tories and certain English Catholics that the security offered to the Irish Catholics with regard to the schools in England is for the purpose of beguiling them. Good Catholics inform us that the Dissenters when assisted by the Irish members in overthrowing the Establishment schools will then turn round upon the Catholic schools and secularize them. We refuse to argue with prophets. We simply declare we do not believe them. We can see excellent reasons for a distinction in the view of Dissenters between Catholics deferring to a supreme authority in matters of faith and morals and Protestants who base their religion and principles of conduct on reason simply. In this respect they cannot see any difference between themselves and the episcopate and clergy of the Established Church; and we ourselves are a little curious to know in what respect English Catholic laymen and their clergy can discover a distinction between the private judgment of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ripon on the one hand and the private judgment of a Dissenting divine upon the other. The lawn sleeves and the black gown or ordinary walking coat are not matters of judgment, public or private, so much as of taste. But the garb, plus the loaves and fishes of the Establishment, is the distinction. Many churchmen and all Dissenters will say which can be most clearly ascertained. In any case we are not concerned in the doctrinal differences between them, but we have a most important political interest to ourselves in this, that the Dissenters are our friends; a great political duty in this, that the Dissenters, who are admittedly as good Protestants as churchmen, are kept in a state of religious subordination, of social inferiority by the latter and that they must be elevated from the one and freed from the other degradation. We need not insist on an inequality that is obvious, but we do on an insolence borne with singular patience, namely, that the clergy of the Establishment will not allow the status of clergy to the Dissenting ministers. But this is not all. The cruelty exercised at parish burial places when the parson and his servitors will not permit the dust of a dead Dissenter to mingle with the kindred dust of parents or near relatives is a crime which calls for the axe of the woodman.

We had intended to speak at more length about the subtle and invisible influence which defeats reform acts, jury acts, land acts, making the Irish Catholic a freeman, indeed, in the eye of the law,

but powerless to confer upon him the rights and privileges of freedom. The spirit of the ascendancy pervades every institution—government, arts, industry, public charity and religion. It rules the mart, the camp, the court, the ordinary intercourse of man and man. This may seem astonishing if not incredible. Why, if two men, strangers to each other, meet in Ireland the first question to be asked is: "What foot do you dig with?" The answer tells whether the speaker is a Catholic or Protestant as he replies right foot or left. Yes, the Catholic, though a free man in name, is worse than a slave in this respect, that he is a freed man without a portion, that is, degraded and unprotected in a social system which refuses him recognition.

We had intended to show that as between the Dissenters and churchmen there was no conceivable reason why the private judgment of the latter could claim a higher sanction than that of the Dissenters. We had in view to point out that Catholics, resting on divine authority for present guidance in faith and morals, had no power to hand over the education of their children to a secular or hostile control; that they stood apart from the churchman and the Dissenter, stood apart from each and all the shades of dissent as they do from the variations of opinion that find shelter within the Establishment; but enough has been said to indicate what we hold should be the policy of the Irish Catholics in Parliament. In a word, we do not believe it can ever be the policy of the Tories to remove the incubus of the old ascendancy from the Irish Catholics. They would cease to be Tories if they attempted this. This was the meaning of Mr. Wyndham when he spoke at the introduction of his Purchase Act of the oligarchy in Ireland as men who had borne the racket of dynastic wars; but he failed to add, wars the memory of which is made the justification of the riots of Orangemen acting with the consciousness of high countenance behind them. To us this oligarchy, this strange, amorphous, abysmal product is not a class so much as an evil and ominous influence, doing its deadly work on the people through a press in Ireland and Britain that defames them and through bureaus in Ireland which, possessing all the powers of administration, exercise them to perpetuate distrust and indignation. This being our view, we can only conclude that the place of the Irish Catholics is by the side of those with whom they have stood shoulder to shoulder in all the struggles for the rights and liberties of both and with whom they broke through the first great barriers to freedom in 1893, when the Home Rule bill was passed by the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland.

GEORGE McDERMOT, C. S. P.

New York.

CHATEAUBRIAND.

ONE of the most fascinating things for the human mind is the revelation to it of a splendid specimen of the human kind. When a man, superior to his fellows in his gifts, strips the veil from himself and one sees the springs of his soul and is admitted to a knowledge of their most intimate activity, this self-exposure adds to the charm of such revelation. Lastly, if the transcription of such a life evidences the closest connection with and influence upon his times and contemporaries and the term of its existence is so lengthy as to have been in touch with many generations and with basic changes in government and society; to have made acquaintance with widely separated regions of the earth and to have had personal contact with those most famous in them, then there remains one mere excellence which such an autobiography may possess, viz.: to be set forth in a style which in itself is a delight to cultivated persons.

An autobiography which is unique in comprising all of these grounds for interest is the "*Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*," by François René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand. It is one of the most interesting of romances, and its charm, while it cannot fail to affect all, will be most strongly perceived and enjoyed by the Catholic. This brilliant piece of literature by one who created that romantic school in which shine Victor Hugo, Lamartine and George Sand, as well as many lesser yet scintillating luminaries in letters, was first published more than half a century ago; but, singularly enough, when one considers its worth, only within the last two years has it been translated into English. Hence it will appeal to the generations of the present day as a new thing.

The translator of these six plethoric volumes from the original French deserves high praise for the excellence with which he has accomplished his task. Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, Dutch by birth, has resided in England for the last thirty years and received his education there, first at the hands of Mgr. Capel and then at Beaumont College, conducted by the Jesuit Fathers.

In an introductory note he explains how he came to undertake so arduous a task, which engaged him for three years. He once asked M. Pierre Louys, that exceedingly modern French writer, if there was any nineteenth century author whom he read and approved of. To which the other animatedly replied: "Chateaubriand. His '*Mémoires d'Outre Tombe*.' That is monumental. That will live forever." The ardor of Louys' affirmation roused a keen desire in Mattos to read the work in question, which he did

some months later, having run across a "poor little pirated edition" in several volumes at the house of his uncle, in Amsterdam. He says: "I carried them to my room, spent three weeks in their perusal, and came back to London determined to find a publisher who would undertake the risk of an English translation. I found one almost at the first asking, and it will ever remain a mystery to me why no complete translation of this admirable work has seen the light in England during the more than fifty years that have elapsed since they were first published." They have found that "complete translation" now, thanks to Mr. Mattos.

In an appendix to the sixth and last volume Mr. Mattos avows his sentiments toward the author of these prodigal "*Mémoires*," while he, too, modestly deprecates the praises accorded to his gracious rendering of them into English. He says: "The reviewers of the first four volumes have done more than write universally favorable notices; not only have they appraised at its true worth what is, perhaps, the greatest prose work of certainly the greatest prose writer of nineteenth century France; but they have spoken of the translation in generous terms of praise which I cannot feel that I have deserved. But I thank them for their kindness and I only wish that I could have earned it by devoting as long a time to the translating of these 'Memoirs' as Chateaubriand did to the writing of them. That would have been thirty years; but I should have known scarce a dull moment."

Mr. Mattos is far too humble. Not only has he made this record of Chateaubriand's life seem quite as if originally set down in English, but he has patiently annotated it, adding his own foot notes to those of M. Edmond Biré, editor of the latest French edition of the "*Mémoires*," from which Mattos made his version. Those which Chateaubriand appended are very properly retained. Each of the three is distinguished by an appropriate letter, A., B. or T.—"author," "Biré," "translator."

Materially and in point of taste the publishers, Freemantle & Co., London, and G. P. Putnam's Son, New York, have treated this important literary production with due consideration. The paper and letter press are excellent; the portraits, selected by Mr. Frederic J. Simmons, are judiciously chosen, and the purple and gold of the binding is in happy accord with Chateaubriand's aristocratic lineage. Almost the first words with which he really begins the "*Mémoires*" are: "I am of noble blood." The family name was originally written "Brien," softened into "Briant," then "Briand." "About the commencement of the eleventh century the Briens gave their name to an important Breton castle, and this castle became the burgh of the Barony of Chateaubriand." There is a Keltic flavor

to "Castle Brien" which breathes from the author in this work. Geoffrey Baron of Chateaubriand accompanied St. Louis to Palestine, and that monarch in reward for his services granted to him and his heirs in lieu of his old arms (fir-cones with the motto, *Je seme l'or*) an escutcheon "gules, strewn with fleur-de-lys, or without number." This proud souvenir of the saintly Louis stands in gold on the cover of each volume of this edition. *En passant*, Chateaubriand lived up to the motto as a "gold-sower!"

Chateaubriand began his "Mémoires," "this 4th day of October, 1811, the anniversary of my saint's day (St. Francis of Assisi)," at the Vallée-aux-Loups, a small country house seven miles south of Paris, near Châtenay, which he had purchased four years before with money derived from the sale of his writings. "I have bought it with the price of my dreams and my vigils; I owe the little wilderness of Aulnay . . . to the vast wilderness of Atala." As Chateaubriand was born in Saint Malo, Brittany, on September 4, 1768, he was forty-three years of age when he thus began the transcription of a career already regarded by him as concluded, so far as great achievements were concerned. He finished its revision and corrections September 25, 1841, at the age of seventy-three. He died on the 4th of July, 1848, seven years later. So he began writing his life when he was little more than half through it, and the prosecution of this congenial pastime, or duty, as one may choose to consider it, occupied him for thirty-one of the thirty-seven years he was still to live. This splendid edition of it, the only worthy one in English, and for which thanks are due to M. de Mattos, was brought out forty-four years after Chateaubriand had taken possession of that solitary tomb from which it pleased his mournful fancy to date these fascinating "Mémoires." It is a work which demands serious consideration by virtue of its literary value as well as for the renown, somewhat faded in our day, of its author.

In the preface to his "Mémoires" Chateaubriand gives a summary of their content and unpremeditatedly sounds the note which is their dominant one throughout, one full of revelation of his character. He says: "I tell the story of my childhood, my education, my youth, my entrance into the service, my arrival in Paris, my presentation to Louis XVI., the early scenes of the Revolution, my travels in America, my return to Europe, my emigration to Germany and England, my return to France under the Consulate, my employment and work under the Empire, my journey to Jerusalem, my employment and work under the Restoration, and finally the complete history of the Restoration and of its fall.

"I have met nearly all the men who in my time have played a part, great or small, in my own country or abroad; from Washington

to Napoleon, from Louis XVIII. to Alexander, from Pius VII. to Gregory XVI., from Fox, Burke, Pitt, Sheridan, Londonderry, Capo d'Istrias to Malesherbes, Mirabeau and the rest; from Nelson, Bolivar, Mehemet Pasha of Egypt to Suffren, Bougainville, Le Perouse, Moreau, and so forth. I have lived successively through the empty years of my youth and the years filled with the republican era, the annals of Bonaparte and the reign of the Legitimacy. . . . I have carried the soldier's musket, the traveler's cudgel, the pilgrim's staff; I have been a seafarer, and my destinies have been as fickle as my sails; a halcyon, and made my nest upon the billows.

"I have meddled with peace and war; I have signed treaties and protocols and published numerous works the while. I have been initiated into the secrets of parties, of court and of State; I have been a close observer of the rarest miseries, the highest fortunes, the greatest renowns. I have made history and I could write it. And my life, solitary, dreamy, poetic, has gone on through this world of realities, catastrophes, tumult, uproar, in the company of the sons of my dreams, Chactas, René, Eudore, Aben-Hamet; of the daughters of my imagination, Atala, Amélie, Blanca, Velleda, Cymodocée. Of my age and not of it, I perhaps exercised upon it, without either wishing or seeking to do so, a three-fold influence—religious, political and literary." This last sentence is a just epitome of himself and of his career.

"From my early youth until 1800 I was a soldier and a traveler; from 1800 to 1811, under the Consulate and the Empire, my life was devoted to literature; from the Restoration to the present day it has been devoted to politics.

"During each of my successive careers I have always placed some great task before myself. As a traveler I aimed at discovering the polar world; as a man of letters I have striven to reconstruct religion from its ruins; as a statesman I have endeavored to give to the people the true system of representative monarchy, accompanied with its varied liberties. . . ." This last is the key to any seeming inconsistencies in Chateaubriand's political career.

"Of the modern French authors of my own period, I may be said to be the only one whose life resembles his works. A traveler, soldier, poet, publicist, it is amid forests that I have sung the forests, aboard ship that I have depicted the sea, in camp that I have spoken of arms, in exile that I have learned to know exile, in courts, in affairs of State, in Parliament that I have studied princes, politics, law and history.

"I have found myself caught between two ages as in the conflux of two rivers, and I have plunged into their waters, turning regret-

fully from the old bank upon which I was born, yet swimming hopefully toward the unknown shore at which the new generations are to land.

"These 'Memoirs,' divided into books and parts, have been written at different times and in different places. . . . In this way the various events and the changeful circumstances of my life enter one into the other; it happens that, in moments of prosperity, I have to tell of times of penury, and that in days of tribulation I retrace my days of happiness. . . . My cradle bears the mark of my tomb, my tomb of my cradle; my hardships become pleasures, my pleasures sorrows, and one no longer knows whether these 'Memoirs' proceed from a dark or a hoary head.

"A year or two spent in solitude in some corner of the earth would suffice to enable me to complete my 'Memoirs;' but the only time of rest that I have known was the nine months during which I slept in my mother's womb. It is probable that I shall not recover this antenatal rest until I lie in the entrails of our common mother after death.

"Several of my friends have urged me to publish a portion of my story now. I could not bring myself to accede to their wish. In the first place, I should be less candid and less veracious, in spite of myself; and then, I have always imagined myself to be writing seated in my grave. From this my work has assumed a certain religious character which I could not remove without impairing its merit. It would be painful to me to stifle the distant voice which issues from the tomb, and which makes itself heard throughout the course of this narrative. None will be surprised that I should preserve certain weaknesses, that I should be concerned for the fate of the poor orphan destined to survive me upon earth. . . . Life does not suit me; perhaps death will become me better."

With which words the preface concludes. These extracts from it will give the reader a good idea of how the "Memoirs" read; for the writer, despite his passion for rhetoric and the metaphor, speaks truth in his assertions, and the flavor of a finely strung, strongly egotistic nature, tintured with melancholy almost from its birth, lends poetic and sympathy-inspiring charm to all the personal and abstract reflections of François René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand. There is a tendency to amplification which at times is almost simple reiteration; but this is the fault of one whose imagery is a bubbling font and whose love of the phrase would have found vent in the Thebaid.

It may seem excess of good measure to give in addition to the preceding extracts the concluding paragraph of the "Mémoires;" but as it is the last stroke of the pen, it is worth transcribing here.

Chateaubriand was seventy-three years of age when he wrote this final sentence to his monumental work. "As I write these last words," he says, "on the 6th of November, 1841, my window, which looks west over the gardens of the Foreign Missions, is open; it is six o'clock in the morning; I see the pale and spreading moon; it is sinking over the spire of the Invalides scarce revealed by the first gold ray from the east. One would say that the old world was ending and the new commencing. I behold the reflections of a dawn of which I shall not see the sun rise. It but remains for me to sit down by the edge of my grave, and then I shall descend boldly, crucifix in hand, to eternity."

The reader reflects that he has fulfilled this prediction half a century ago. Yet the vivid actuality of this voice from the grave is absolute.

The incidents, variety and protracted span of Chateaubriand's life are as fascinating as a novel apart from himself as the centre of them, while his strange Ego, so full of delicacy, passion, strength, weakness, melancholy and romance, lies like a violet mist over all that he did, or suffered, or wrote. His ardent and enduring regard for Madame Récamier, and that extraordinary woman's soulful and utter allegiance to him have set radiantly in the history of human nature the very paradigm of friendship between man and woman. This one feature of their lives would suffice to enshrine them both in the memory of all their human posterity as rare example of a relation of the sexes as unusual as it is beautiful and exemplary.

If Chateaubriand were not the willing and felicitous commentator that he is upon the events and phases of his own existence, an intelligent and sympathetic reader of them could in most instances supply as acute and correct a commentary. Chateaubriand was more versatile than complex in his make-up of heart or brain. He is in the order of genius, but rich and winning rather than great. He is almost as self-conscious and overt as that rascally braggart, Benvenuto Cellini. He is more spiritual than carnal, more persuasive and imperious than coercive and masterful; rather the sensitive creature of circumstances than their subjugator or moulder. He is the René of his own pen, melancholy as the whip-poor-will's note, persistently, almost electively, sadder than a single star

That sets at twilight in a land of reeds.

Chateaubriand gives at the beginning of his "Mémoires" quite a detailed account of his forbears and the antiquity and genealogy of his line. Then he says: "I ask pardon for being obliged to stoop to this puerile recital in order to account for my father's dominant passion, which forms the key to the drama. As for

myself, I neither boast nor complain of the old or the new society. If in the first I was the Chevalier or the Vicomte de Chateaubriand, in the second I am François de Chateaubriand. I prefer my name to my title. Monsieur my father would readily, like a certain mighty land-owner of the Middle Ages, have called God 'the gentleman on high.' "

All this recalls Cicero's caustic pleasantry about philosophers writing little books on the contempt of glory and inscribing their names thereto. Yet Chateaubriand's suave hauteur, which would mask itself as humility, is positively engaging.

One family tax due to nobility of birth is strongly evidenced by the laws of inheritance in Brittany. Through them the eldest son received two-thirds of the property, while the remaining third was distributed equally among the other sons, how numerous soever they might be. Chateaubriand's father, René, was a younger son, and took in the situation with such practical appreciation that at the age of fifteen he bade farewell to home and his mother to strike out for himself and make his fortune. He did so in the merchant service. This is the author's description of his gloomy, stern, haughty sire: "M. de Chateaubriand was tall and spare; he had an aquiline nose and thin, pale lips; his eyes were deep-set, small and of a bluish or sea-green color, like the eyes of lions. I have never seen an expression like theirs; when inflamed with anger each flashing pupil seemed to shoot out and strike you like a bullet."

This pleasant gentleman whose sole passion was that of his name, was silent and deliberately avaricious, solely with view to restoring the family to its pristine splendor. He married at thirty-five and brought his wife to Saint Malo. Each of them had been born within a few leagues of this Breton town on the sea. She was so opposite in character to her husband that her naturally gay if religious temperament was crushed out of her. "For piety my mother was an angel," writes René, her youngest and most gifted child.

Chateaubriand was the last of ten children. The first four died in their earliest infancy. The fifth was a son, Jean-Baptiste, who later married the granddaughter of M. de Malesherbes. Then came four girls, "all four endowed with rare beauty." Here follows a naïf declaration on Chateaubriand's part which is very characteristic: "Probably my four sisters owed their existence to my father's desire to assure the perpetuation of his name through the arrival of a second boy. I resisted; I had an aversion to life." Poor René! how much he got of it both in years and vicissitudes. But he could feel that it was through him his terrible father realized his ambition. Never has any other Chateaubriand become world-known. He

was christened on September 5, 1768, the day following his birth, receiving the name of his paternal grandfather, François, and of his father, René.

"My Christian names are François René and not François Auguste," writes Chateaubriand, and Biré supplies this foot-note, explaining why "Atala," the "Génie du Christianisme," the "Martyrs" and the "Itinéraire" are signed François *Auguste* de Chateaubriand: "The author's object in suppressing the name of René on the title pages of his early books was to avoid a false interpretation on the part of those who might have been tempted to identify him with the immortal episode in his works which has René for its title."

In a house in a dark, narrow street of St. Malo, while the winds that preluded the autumnal equinox shrieked so rabidly that the wails of the poor baby, "almost dead when he first saw the light," were rudely silenced, François René was born to a name "which I have nearly always dragged through misfortune."

Some four years before Chateaubriand's birth his father realized one of his ambitious desires by the purchase of Combourg, an old chateau built in 1016, and which had been held by various branches of his family through their intermarriages with the Coëtquens. It suited his feudal pride to possess as his an old ancestral seat.

The little François was left to the care of the servants. He speaks feelingly of his old nurse, Villeneuve, but as he grew a little older he and his youngest sister, Lucile, four years his senior, became playmates, and throughout life she was his favorite. They filled thoroughly the rôle of neglected children. "Saint Malo is a mere rock," attached to the mainland by a causeway called the "Furrow." The young ones used to play on the sands and little islets, one of which, the Grand-Bé, is now the glorious tomb of that little wistful Breton boy.

When he was seven his mother took him to Llancoët "to be released from his nurse's vow to the patron of the hamlet, Our Lady of Nazareth," to wit, that he should wear blue and white in her honor for seven years. "If ever I have known happiness it was certainly in that house of my grandmother de Bedée," he exclaims fervidly. At ten o'clock on the morning of Ascension Day, 1775, the whole family went to the Church of Our Lady of Nazareth, the little François dressed in a white surtout, with hat, gloves and shoes of the same innocent color, while a blue silk sash encircled his slender waist. The white coat was hung up as an *ex voto* beneath a picture of the Virgin, and the prior spoke to the demure little chap of his crusading ancestor who had fought with Saint Louis of France. It is a pretty picture. Then he returns to St.

Malo, the small bleak town he compares to Venice, which from the days of Henry IV. had distinguished itself by its devotion to France. Jacques Cartier, who discovered the St. Lawrence river, is one among the many brilliant seafarers who were natives of St. Malo. There, too, was born the unhappy Abbé, Félicité de Lammenais, whom Maurice de Guérin used to speak of as "Monsieur Féli" with enthusiastic tenderness.

"The children's meeting place is the strand of the open sea, between the Castle and the Fort Royal. Here I was reared, the companion of the waves and winds. One of my earliest delights was to fight with the storms, to play with the waves which retired before me or chased me across the beach. . . . The ragamuffins of the town had become my dearest friends. I resembled them in all things." At home, however, the training was very severe. The children had to eat what was set before them; they were not permitted to go near the chimney; they hadn't a sou to spend. His old nurse and the devoted Lucile helped to mend his torn clothes at night. On the days of the village fairs François would sit aloof and solitary on the rocks in penniless rebellion and watch the sea-gulls, stare at the wide blue sky, gather shells and listen to the refrain of the sea among the ledges. A sailor's hymn to the Blessed Virgin was one of the first things he learned by heart. He inserts it in his "Mémoires" and adds: "To this day I can repeat these bad rhymes with as much pleasure as Homer's verses." As soon as he had a past it became his favorite mental diet.

In the spring of 1877 the Comte d'Artois, afterward Charles X., paid a visit to Saint Malo, and the little Chateaubriand watched the young prince from the bastion of the powder magazine. "In his splendor and in my obscurity how many unknown destinies lay hidden." In view of their later relations with one another this touch is picturesque.

This first book, which gives the picture of Chateaubriand's childhood, is especially interesting. To these "empty years" of childhood may be traced the melancholy which is the constant food of Chateaubriand's soul and his poetic sensitiveness. The lonely child, strangely reared, sucked in from the sea and the sky and the rocks the nourishment of his genius. He says: "What is certain is that it imbued me with ideas different from those of other men; what is still more certain is that it impressed upon my sentiments a character of melancholy which arose from the habit of suffering acquired in the age of weakness, improvidence and mirth." So far from feeling resentment against his stern parents, he declares that "their sternness is almost pleasant to me. . . . From my mother I derive the consolation of my life, since it was she who

taught me my religion. . . . Would my intelligence have received a greater development had I been set earlier to my studies? I doubt it; the waves, the winds, the solitude which were my first masters were probably better suited to my native disposition. Possibly I owe to these wild tutors virtues which might have remained unknown to me. . . . What God does is well done; it is Providence that guides us when it destines us to play a part upon the world's stage."

All of which is preëminently Chateaubriandesque—that is, charming, self-centred and tunefully triste. It breathes the ever pervasive egoism, but it also speaks of the tender acquiescence which is endearing if not very exalted. It is the first chapter of René's life.

Among the influences which chiefly helped to determine the character of this forlorn, impressionable boy was that of his youngest sister, Lucile, like himself neglected and given to "long, long thoughts." She was a tall, thin, loose-jointed girl, dressed in the ill-fitting, cast-off frocks of her sisters. "No one would have suspected in the puny Lucile the talent and beauty with which she was one day to shine," adds Chateaubriand, after describing the sister who had a jealous devotion for him and toward whom he entertained the feeling of a protector. Throughout her tenebrous life he seems to have cherished her with greater regard than he entertained toward any other member of his family. One is prone to feel the undue estimate of affection in his appreciation of Lucile.

In the spring of 1778, when Chateaubriand was ten years old, the entire household migrated to the sombre old chateau of Combourg in a huge old-fashioned berlin, with eight horses to draw it, bells at their collars and bright colors in the housings. It was a proud day for Chateaubriand père and an exciting one for the younger René. "While my mother was sighing and my sisters talking themselves out of breath, I looked with all my eyes, listened with all my ears, was wonderstruck at each turn of the road: the first steps of a Wandering Jew who was never to stop. Even then, if man only changed his surroundings! But his days change and his heart." Though Chateaubriand writes of this trip when he was forty-four years old, he says: "I have been obliged to stop; my heart was beating so violently as almost to push back the table at which I am writing. The recollections awakened in my memory overpower me with their force; and yet, what are they to the rest of the world?" They are the touch of nature which makes the whole world kin.

One will quickly become used to this blend of humility and egoism which René exhibits repeatedly, and it is eloquent of his charm that it does not become tiresome. Happily, it did not deter

him from this task of minutely and elegantly setting forth for "the rest of the world" the full four-score years of his existence.

The Castle of Combourg was a severe solid mass of masonry, softened slightly by the towers with their conical tops. The elder Chateaubriand was human enough to be a little brighter over the arrival of his family. "A supper served in the guard room, at which I ate without constraint, ended the first happy day of my life. True happiness costs little; when it is dear it is not the true metal." But Combourg was a solitary, dead spot and the child who had nurtured his poetic soul on the sea and the winds which blew about the gulls was to find more melancholy aliment in the tranquil woods and country stretches in which it was set.

After a fortnight he was taken, not without tearfulness, to Dol to college by the Abbé Porcher. Although the boisterous life of a boarding-school did not appeal to him, the lad took promptly to his studies, developing rapid progress in mathematics and in Latin. The latter shaped itself so facilely into pentameters for the young scholar that his teacher dubbed him the "Elegist." His memory also proved phenomenal. During the "*Mémoires*" Chateaubriand alludes gratefully to its reliability. In the third year at Dol an unexpurgated Horace and a history of "*Confessions mal faites*" fell into his hands. Also Masillon's sermons and the *Æneid*. These produced great perturbation of ideas in his sensitive and innocent soul. But he says that as antidote "there was born in me the sense of honor, an exaltation of the soul which preserves the heart incorrupted in the midst of corruption." This sense of honor made him refuse to be caned by the prefect at Dol when he was caught bird-nesting. Chateaubriand admits that haughtiness was the fault of his family. "In my father it was hateful; my brother pushed it to a ridiculous length. . . . I am not sure that I myself, in spite of my republican inclinations, have entirely shaken it off, although I have been careful to conceal it." In truth, he has not done so.

These artless touches reveal the man more than he intended, and the astute reader will form his own estimate of him above or below that of his statements.

One may imagine what his First Communion was to a boy of this extreme sensibility. The child's future condition in life is decided on by a French family at this event. His confessor could not reconcile the boy's distress over his sins with their triviality as confessed. "All the vain renown that has since attached itself to my name would not have given Madame de Chateaubriand one moment of the pride which she felt as a Christian and a mother on beholding her son prepared to participate in the great mystery of religion." On Holy Thursday he "was admitted to the sublime and

touching ceremony which I have vainly endeavored to describe in the 'Génie du Christianisme.' I trembled with veneration, and the only material thing that occupied my thoughts was the dread of profaning the sacramental bread."

Then follows this remarkable sentence, which would appear to have been written by the inexperienced boy of seventeen years instead of the middle-aged man who really penned it. Chateaubriand, neither by his own showing nor by the testimony of others, suggests a passionate man. Yet he says with almost puerile importance: "Those who compare these ardors with the transports I shall presently depict, who see the same heart experiencing within the space of three or four years all that is sweetest and most wholesome in innocence and in religion and also all that is most seductive and most baneful in the passions, will choose one of the two forms of joy; they will see in which direction to seek happiness and, above all, peace."

Soon after this he left Dol and went to Rennes, where he was to prepare for his entrance into the French Naval Guard, from which the officers of the navy are drawn. Rennes College, one of the most important in France, was founded by the Jesuits in 1607, but was a commercial college when Chateaubriand studied his mathematics there. He met here Limoëlan, who through his complicity in the explosion of the infernal machine (December 22, 1799,) was obliged to fly to America. When he reached New York he wrote to his betrothed to join him. But M^{lle} d'Albert had vowed to devote herself to God should her lover escape, and she urged him to do likewise. He took the name of Clorivière, entered the seminary in Baltimore, became a priest and devoted the whole of his fortune to pious works; one, the reëndowment of the Convent of the Visitation in Georgetown, D. C. Oddly his betrothed, who survived him many years, never became a religieuse through lack of a vocation, but always led a life of virginity devoted to good works. Despite these interesting facts regarding Limoëlan, some of which he must have known, the one recollection Chateaubriand preserved of him in these "Mémoires" was that he painted the only portrait then extant of Lucile!

One more quotation concerning this period may be permitted as illustrative of the author's talent and bland exploitation of it. He speaks with no niggardly laudation of his success in his studies. Then he adds: "This intellectual suppleness was again apparent in matters of secondary importance. I was good at chess, handy at billiards, a good shot, an expert swordsman; I drew tolerably; I should have sung well if my voice had been trained. All this, added to the manner in which I was brought up and to the life I led as a soldier and traveler, produced the result that I have never played

the prig nor displayed the stupid self-sufficiency, the awkwardness, the slovenly habits of the men of letters of former days, still less the conceited assurance, the jealousy and the blustering vanity of the new authors."

To the judicious reader of these "Memories from Beyond the Tomb" this naïf blast of self-praise is indeed descriptive of their distinguished author quite aside from consideration of the somewhat varying ones which his cotemporaries have given. M. de Chateaubriand was only five feet four inches high! But from what a height he regarded men and things!

After two years at Rennes he left for Brest. His cadet's commission had not arrived, and he waited for it. One day, while sleeping upon the beach, pompous reverberations awakened him. The French squadron was filling the harbor with detonating men-of-war on their return after the Peace of Versailles, 1783. Everybody hastened to meet the officers and men when they landed, and Chateaubriand suddenly found himself embraced by a sturdy youth. It was Gesril, the boy bully of his Saint Malo days, destined to die heroically at Quiberon. "Gesril's sudden appearance and departure made me take a resolve which changed the course of my life." On seeing his friend depart Chateaubriand dropped everything and left for Combours. The reader is quite prepared for the statement which follows:

"I am to this day astonished to think how, in view of the terror with which my father inspired me, I could have dared to take such a resolve; and what is quite as astonishing is the manner in which I was welcomed. I had every reason to expect transports of the most furious anger, and I was gently received. My father was content to shake his head, as thought to say, 'Here's a pretty trick!' My mother embraced me with all her heart, grumbling the while, and my Lucile kissed me in an ecstasy of joy." Chateaubriand's three sisters were now married, and the lone Lucile must indeed have rejoiced at the return of her old-time companion.

These unique "Mémoires" are like the game of "Bridge," where one has to be careful not to play from the wrong hand. The simile is suggested by the manner in which Chateaubriand connects the present, in which he wrote, with the past, about which he wrote, all of it now a half century ago, for the reader of to-day. This blend of periods is most notable at the beginnings of the books of the "Mémoires." His return to Combours, after throwing up his prospects in the navy, ends Book Second. He begins the third thus: "Three years and six months have elapsed between the last date attached to these 'Mémoires,' Vallée-aux-Loups, January, 1814, and the date of to-day, Montbossier, July, 1817. Did you hear the Empire fall? . . . The previous chapter was written under the

expiring tyranny of Bonaparte and by the light of the last flashes of his glory. I am commencing the present chapter under the reign of Louis XVIII."

He is writing from the chateau of Malesherbes' granddaughter, and the twittering of a thrush on a birch tree swept his mind back to Combours, where he had, forty years before, so often listened to like notes from one of the Breton brothers. He compares the sadness of these days with the sadness of these later ones. "That was of the kind which springs from a vague longing for happiness, at a time when we are without experience; the sadness I now feel comes from the knowledge of things appreciated and judged. . . . The hours fly and drag me with them; I have not even the certainty of being able to complete these 'Mémoires.' Let me make the most of the few moments left to me; let me hasten to depict my youth while I am still in touch with it."

Chateaubriand had declared a desire for the ecclesiastical state on his return from Brest, thereby forswearing a naval career. He went to the College at Dinan to study to that end. "The truth is," he confesses, "I was only seeking to gain time, for I did not know what I wished." The life at Combours was dreadfully dreary. The father and mother, Lucile and René were the entire family, and the sister and brother were each others great consolation; both of them melancholy, poetic, eager, affection-starved children. "I grew up by the side of my sister Lucile; our friendship was all our life." Their chief pastime was walking in the Great Mall. Hearing René discourse eloquently on solitude and nature, Lucile would say: "You ought to write all that down." "These words revealed the muse to me; a divine inspiration passed over me."

Chateaubriand ascribes Lucile's melancholy to a secret passion for a young friend whom her elder brother brought with him to Combours on the occasions when he made short visits there. During the Terror Combours was turned into a gaol, and Lucile was imprisoned in the Convent of the Good Shepherd. After her release she married a M. de Cand. He was nearly seventy and she thirty-one. Even this poor protector was lost to her within less than a year.

At this period in Combours Chateaubriand chanced to be thrown into momentary contact with a pretty woman. "From that moment I was aware that to love and be loved in a manner quite unknown to me must be the supreme happiness. . . . For want of a real object I evoked, by the strength of my vague longings, a phantom which never left my side." This ideal woman was a composite, whose eyes, hair, complexion, graces and lure were borrowed from the village maidens he had seen; from the portraits of *grandes dames*

of the time of Francis I., Henry IV. and Louis XIV., which adorned the funereal salon at Combourg, and—proof of the clean and religious character of this young Catholic soul in the bewildering thralldom of awakening passion—even the pictures of Our Lady in the village church were levied on by his eager heart for the last refinements of spiritual charm. The invisible companion which a lonely child so frequently evokes was here to the life. This first affection of the heart is of interest when one recalls that last friendship of this same man with the most beautiful woman of her age which endured for thirty years; in fact, until this exquisite woman stood at his death-bed and with the failing vision of her own old eyes saw René's, which had looked so long upon the world and men, close forever. She was more than the embodiment of his young imagination's eclectic fashioning, and their friendship was the most soul-stilling joy the restless, sensitive Breton ever knew.

With such a triumph in the difficult realm of ideal friendship as the crown of his life, this paragraphy in the "Mémoires" is not without its own pathos. "On emerging from these dreams, when I found myself once more a poor, little, obscure Breton lad, without fame, beauty or talents, who would attract the looks of none, who would *pass unknown, whom no woman would ever love*, I was seized with despair. I no longer dared lift my eyes to the dazzling image I had attached to my steps."

This delirium lasted two full years, and as one reads the description Chateaubriand gives of his soul, his communings with nature and the eloquent phases of earth and sky which swayed him then, the truth of what has been said of him by Chenedollé is demonstrated: "Chateaubriand is the only writer in prose who gives the sensation of verse; others have had an exquisite feeling of harmony, but it is an orator's harmony; he alone has the harmony of poetry."

If these early phases of Chateaubriand seem immoderately dwelt upon, it should be recalled that from these youthful psychic travails his soul was actuated with the melancholy and intense poetic subjectivism which exhaled itself so unctiously in "René," "Atala," "Les Natchez" and those exquisite prose poems which gave him a world-wide reputation in literature and have exercised a notable influence on nearly every French writer of distinction who has come after him, even down to our own day.

Any engine whose force is beyond its own resistance is doomed to explosion. The human soul is not an exception. One almost marvels that Chateaubriand in his forty-fourth year, recalling this period of youthful hyperexaltation, should have chronicled the malign culmination of this soul-fever in the boy. He actually made an attempt upon his life! "I owned a fowling-piece whose worn

trigger often went off when uncocked. I loaded this gun with three bullets and went to a remote part of the Great Mall. I cocked the gun, placed the muzzle of the barrel in my mouth and struck the butt-end against the ground. I several times repeated the ordeal; the charge did not go off; the appearance of a keeper stopped my resolve."

It is not surprising to learn that the outcome of this high-tension period was a severe bodily illness, in which for six weeks his life lay in the balance. The physician prescribed a perfect change of life. The excellent advice which his mother gave to him at this crisis is admirable: "It is time for you to take a decision, but before going to the seminary you must take good counsel with yourself; for although I wish you to adopt the ecclesiastical state, I would rather see you a man of the world than a scandalous priest."

Happily, since he so clearly divined the lack of anything like a religious vocation in himself, Chateaubriand declared against the Church, as he had against the navy. Military service remained, and he loved a career in arms; but the thought of the discipline, the loss of his personal liberty, made him balk here. Only one who knows what it is to be possessed of an almost morbid sensitiveness to responsibility and consequences and endowed with an imagination and conscience which make the need of an all-important decision a soul-wracking torment can appreciate the trial all this proved to Chateaubriand. He declared he would go to Canada and clear forests, or to India and serve in the army of a native prince.

He was sent to Saint Malo, where an expedition to Pondicherry was fitting out. He found little in his birthplace to remind him of his childhood days. His old nurse, Villeneuve, had died in a room in which stood the little wicker go-cart in which he had learned to stand upright; the house of his birth had been converted into an inn; he met few that knew him. He strayed along the shore and headlands and waxed melancholy again, when a peremptory command recalled him to Combourg. His stern father declared he must put an end to his follies; that his brother had procured him a sub-lieutenant's commission in the Navarre Regiment. Then the severe, ailing, worn old man gave him his veteran sword and dismissed him with the words: "Conduct yourself as a good man and never disgrace your name." It was advice that Chateaubriand followed to his death. He embraced his father for the last time. He saw Combourg again, after his father's death, later, when he accompanied his mother there to arrange it for the arrival of his brother and his sister-in-law—the brother who never came. "He was soon, with his young wife, to receive at the hands of the execu-

tioner a different pillow from that prepared by my mother's hands." The last sight of Combours was when he passed through it *en route* to Saint Malo, where he was to embark for America. "The castle was abandoned; I had to put up at the steward's lodge."

When he beheld the deserted steps, the closed windows, the empty house he fainted away. He left Combours forever in the middle of the night.

His valedictory is exceedingly characteristic and touching. Fifteen years later, prior to his trip to the Holy Land, when he found himself in the neighborhood, he had not the courage to revisit it. "It is in the woods of Combours that I became what I am, that I began to feel the attacks of weariness which I have dragged with me through life, of the sadness which has been my torment and my felicity. There I sought for a heart that could beat in touch with mine; there I saw my family united only to disperse. My father there dreamt of his name restored, of the fortunes of his house revived—another illusion which Time and the Revolutions have dispelled. Of six children that we were, we remain but three: my brother, Julie and Lucile are no more, my mother died of grief, my father's ashes were snatched from his grave."

Chateaubriand's oldest sister, the Comtesse de Marigny, lived to be one hundred and was the survivor of all the Combours family circle. She died in 1860.

As Chateaubriand penned these lines it may well have occurred to him without undue pride that in him and through his individual merits the family name was destined to survive and become world-known beyond his haughty father's dreams. It is his merit that such a thought finds no expression here beyond this remark: "If my works survive me, if I am to leave a name behind me, perhaps one day, prompted by these 'Mémoires,' some traveler will come to visit the spots I have depicted." It is certain none who has read these eloquent personal revelations could visit Saint Malo or Combours without sympathetic recollection of the unhappy genius whose name reflects glory upon them and drew in from them his first inspirations of glory and of melancholy.

This is the end of the Third Book. The next was written in Berlin in 1821, when Chateaubriand was fifty-three years of age, and revised twenty-five years later, two years before his death. It begins: "It is a far cry from Combours to Berlin, from a young dreamer to an old Ambassador." Four years had elapsed between the writing of the Third and Fourth Books. "A thousand things have happened. A second man has shown himself in me, the politician. I care very little for him. I have defended the liberties of France, which alone can secure the duration of the lawful throne.

With the aid of the *Conservateur* I have set M. de Villèle in power; I have seen the Duc de Berry die and done honor to his memory. In order to reconcile everybody, I have gone away; I have accepted the Berlin Embassy."

Book Third showed the young Breton leaving Combours for Paris. Aristocrat though he was, René was a rustic and a *gauche* young innocent when he made this first trip to the capital. His brother called for him on the evening he arrived and took him to their sister Julie, Madame de Farcy, who had been there some time to consult physicians. She was a *mondaine*, remarkably attractive, with quite a pretty talent for poetry, and when he saw her in Paris "she was set in all the luxurious pomp of worldliness. She appeared covered with those flowers, adorned with those necklaces, veiled in those scented fabrics which St. Clement forbids the early Christian women." Julie was fond of late evening parties, at which she recited "with marvelous euphony" her own verses. Her *type* was that of the three daughters of the Duc de Mortemart. Chateaubriand says Julie had more elegance than the most celebrated of them, Madame de Montespan, successor to poor Louise de La Vallière as the object of the *Grand Monarque's* favor. She received her *ingenu* brother with demonstrative affection, but when he got back to his little hotel he spent the night regretting the moors and trembling before his shadowy future.

Shortly after he joined his regiment at Cambrai, and then his father died. Soon after his brother, to further his own ambition, secured René's presentation at court, from which he shrank with all the aversion of his melancholy shyness, yet went. He saw the door of the King's bed chamber open and the King complete his toilet, *i. e.*, take his hat from the first lord in waiting. As he passed René on his way to Mass the Maréchal de Duras said: "Sire, the Chevalier de Chateaubriand." Louis XVI. paused, returned the new courtier's (?) bow, and thinking of nothing to say, passed on. The incident is interesting as Chateaubriand's first contact with those Bourbons toward whom he was to evince such fidelity from then on to the Comte de Chambord, whom he toiled to London to see when he was disabled with the infirmities of nigh four-score years, the aged subject posting laboriously to the monarch whom he had known as a little boy, with the fervor of his unalterable loyalty.

He was also favored with sight of Marie Antoinette, who was returning from chapel with a brilliant retinue. She made them a stately courtesy and seemed enraptured with life. "Those beautiful hands," comments Chateaubriand, "which at that time carried with such great grace the sceptre of so many Kings, were destined before

being bound by the executioner to mend the rags of the widow in the Conciergerie!" But the young Breton declined to remain and assist at the Queen's cards that night. Such was his presentation "at the first court in Europe, to make the most brilliant start in life." It was the forest wilds of America which were to supply that, and not the glittering glory of Versailles.

Humor plays small part in these "Mémoires." Their author's melancholy temperament, dissatisfaction and self-absorption allowed scant play for this peptic quality. When he describes an incongruity which appeals as the basis of such joyous effervescence, it is with no mirthful enjoyment in it. Irony or a sort of weary sarcasm supplies its place. The intractable Breton was not through with the court yet. The four *débutants* were to attend a royal hunt in the forest of Saint Germain, their mounts being supplied from the royal stables. The Duc de Coigny, the King's First Equerry, thoughtfully told the young men that they were not "to interrupt the hunt, as the King flew into a passion if any one passed between him and the quarry." L'Heureuse was the ill-discovered name of the skittish mare who fell to Chateaubriand. She refused to let him mount, and when he finally leaped upon her back she galloped wildly off and brought up against the horse of a fair equestrienne so violently that the animal was nearly bowled over. This was not enough. Half an hour later, at the sound of a shot, the mare again lowered her head and bore her powerless rider straight to the roebuck which had been killed, just as the King appeared, to find the *débutant* forestalling him at "the death." To the credit of Louis XIV., be it said, he only laughed heartily and exclaimed good-naturedly: "He did not hold out long." It was a fit epitaph for Chateaubriand's first introduction to a court. As soon as the party returned to Versailles he bolted for Paris. He concludes this book with the words: "Good for everything where others, good for nothing where I myself am concerned; there you have me." The only joyful recollection he bore away from this brief court life was getting an idyll printed in the "Almanach des Muses." The author was already sprouting in him.

The beginnings of the different books are tid-bits. He says at the commencement of the next one: "I have returned to Paris for the christening of the Duke de Bordeaux" (Comte de Chambord, son of the Duke de Berry, who was son of Charles IX., brother of Louis XVI.), "and have resigned my embassy through political loyalty to M. de Villèle, who has left the Cabinet. Restored to leisure, let me write. The more these 'Mémoires' become filled with the years that have passed, the more do they remind me of the lower bulb of an hour-glass which marks what has fallen from

my life. When all the sand shall have passed through I would not turn over my glass clock if God gave me power to do so." Certainly, after what he went through in his eighty years, one may well fancy that he could quit life resignedly.

This book chronicles the most lurid page of his life—that fearful boiling over of French blood, the French Revolution. Chateaubriand was in Paris during the beginning of those stormy days, having gone there with his sisters Julie and Lucile. "It was the sweet partnership of the three youngest birds of the brood." His brother was married to the daughter of the President de Rosanto, granddaughter of Malesherbes, and they settled near him in the Faubourg St. Denis.

Chateaubriand met, for the first time, a man of letters, Delisle de Sales, and through him others: Guingené, Chamfort and M. de Fontanes, whom he came to know much more intimately in London, and who was an invaluable life-long friend to him in his writing. Through his brother they were thrown with another set concerned with politics and the troubled affairs of State. "At that time men's minds and manners were in every way unsettled, a symptom of a coming revolution. . . . The Revolution would have carried me away had it not started in crime. I saw the first head carried on the end of a pike, and I drew back. Murder will never to my eyes be an object of admiration or an argument in favor of liberty." His political education was beginning with visits to Brittany during 1787 and 1788. The Provincial States furnished the model of the States-General. Local troubles in Brittany and Dauphiné heralded those of the nation. He says: "The transformation that had been developing for two centuries was nearing its termination. France had passed from feudal monarchy to the monarchy of the States-General; from the monarchy of States-General to the monarchy of parliaments; from the monarchy of parliaments to that of absolute monarchy, and was now tending toward representative monarchy across the struggle between the magistracy and the royal power."

In 1788 Chateaubriand received the tonsure, merely as a condition to his entrance to the Order of Malta, as he might thus amass certain moneys from that source. It was his brother who persuaded him to this, "which has caused ill-informed biographers to state that I had at one time entered the Church." He did not return to Paris until after the opening of the States-General, the constitution of the Third Estate into a National Assembly, the oath of the Tennis Court, the royal speech of the 23d of June and the joining of the clergy and the nobles to the Commons.

Camille Desmoulins was coming to the front; the defection of

the army was commencing; Mirabeau was bullying the court; M. Necker was ordered to resign and Versailles was proportionately rejoiced. Chateaubriand took a young Breton visiting Paris out to Versailles and they saw Marie Antoinette with her beautiful children, Marie Therese of France, then eleven, and Louis, Duc de Normandie, the Dauphin, four years of age, under the proud little girl's protection. The tutor called the Queen's attention to Chateaubriand and she gave him a gracious bow and smile. "I shall never forget that look so soon to be extinguished. Marie Antoinette when she smiled outlined so clearly the shape of her mouth, that the recollection of that smile (O, horror!) enabled me to recognize the jaw bone of the daughter of Kings when the head of the unhappy woman was discovered in the exhumations of 1815."

On the 14th of July Chateaubriand was present at the fall of the Bastille, as a spectator of "this assault against a few pensioners and a timid governor; if the gates had been kept closed the mob could never have entered the fortress." "The keys of the Bastille multiplied; they were sent to all the important simpletons in the four quarters of the world. How often have I missed my fortune! If I, a spectator, had only inscribed my name on the list of the victors, I should be in receipt of a pension to-day." One of these keys of the Bastille is in Mount Vernon to-day.

There was a general dispersal of the courtiers after this to Bâle, Lausanne, Luxemburg and Brussels. The King's brother and his sons, the three Condés, emigrating, drew the higher clergy and nobility after them. The King and his family remained. Shortly after the 17th of July, when Louis XVI. affixed a tricolor rosette to his hat and the people saluted him as "Father of the French, King of a free people," Chateaubriand and his sisters were at the windows of their lodgings. A crowd of tatterdemalions came roaring down the street with two heads stuck on pikes, which they displayed triumphantly. They pushed the grisly things toward Chateaubriand's face. "'Brigands!' I cried, filled with indignation which I was unable to contain. 'Is that how you understand liberty?' Had I had a gun I should have fired at those wretches as at a pack of wolves. . . . These heads, and others which I saw soon afterwards, changed my political tendencies. I held the banquets of cannibals in abhorrence and the idea of leaving France for some distant country began to take root in my mind."

This testimony of Chateaubriand as to Louis XVI. at this time when he was engaged in Bourbon alliance with the Paris rabble is interesting: "Louis XVI. was not insincere; he was weak. Weakness is not an insincerity, but it takes its place and fulfills its functions. The respect with which the virtues and misfortunes of the

sainted and martyred King must needs inspire us render any expression of human judgment almost sacrilegious."

Chateaubriand confesses that "the Revolution would have carried me away had it not started in crime. The generous sentiments which were at the root of our earlier troubles appealed to the independence of my character; my natural antipathy to the court gave strength to this inclination. The severest blows struck against the ancient constitution of the State were delivered by noblemen. The patricians began the Revolution, the plebeians completed it. Just as old France owed her glory to the French nobility, even so does young France owe to it her liberty, if liberty there be for France." In 1831, in his "*De la Restauration et de la Monarchie Elective*," Chateaubriand declared: "I am a Bourbonist in honor, a Monarchist on grounds of national conviction; but in natural character and disposition I am still a Republican." At sixty-three years of age his opinions should have been settled.

Chateaubriand makes another observation which answers a doubt arising in many minds as they fain would picture what living in Paris meant when the Revolution was gathering to a head and still more when it broke into a cyclone of blood and disorder. He says: "When, before the Revolution, I read the history of public disturbances among various nations, I could not conceive how it was possible to live in these times. The Revolution made me understand the possibility of existence under such conditions. Moments of crisis produce a reduplication of life in men. Passions and characters, when at liberty, display themselves with an energy they do not possess in the well regulated State. . . . The Palace of the Tuileries, a great goal filled with sentenced prisoners, rose erect amid these festivals of destruction. . . . The year 1790 brought to completion the measures outlined by the year 1789. The property of the Church, first placed in the hands of the nation, was confiscated, the civil constitution of the clergy decreed, the nobility abolished."

At last even the Navarre Regiment felt insurrection in its ranks. Its officers emigrated. "I had neither adopted nor rejected the new opinions. I resigned my commission." His political impartiality pleased nobody. This apologetic (?) remark of his may not satisfy all: "I attached importance to the questions then raised only through general ideas concerning the liberty and dignity of the human race. Personal politics bored me; my real life lay in higher regions.

"One idea governed me, the idea of going to the United States. A useful object was wanting for my voyage. I proposed to discover the Northwest passage. I was at that time, like Bonaparte,

a slim sub-lieutenant, entirely unknown; both of us emerged from obscurity at the same period, I to seek renown in solitude, he to seek glory among mankind." M. de Malesherbes was a factor in stirring up this Polar ambition, declaring that if he were younger he would accompany Chateaubriand on the quest.

Things were getting worse for anybody with an "aristocratic" name in 1791, and this determined Chateaubriand. The Marquis de la Rouërie, who as "Colonel Armand" had distinguished himself in the American War of Independence, gave him a letter to Washington, and he selected Saint Malo as his port of embarkation that he might embrace his mother. After two months in his old birthplace he sailed in a craft whose port was Baltimore. The Abbé Nagot and several seminarists were his companions. The abbé established St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore in September, 1791. "These traveling companions would have been more to my liking four years earlier. From being a zealous Christian I had become 'a man of strong mind; in other words, a man of weak mind.'" He ascribes this change to reading philosophic works and fancying that religion paralyzed the mind! Perhaps the most potent agency was that which he mentions last—"the groundless despair I carried at the bottom of my heart."

At the beginning of the following book we have one of these graphic statements of striking contrasts. In this lengthy and minute revelation of his life Chateaubriand surely has the merit of candor and unreserve. He does not glaze over the things which reflect in his character; but, under the appearance of mere artistic appreciation of masked antitheses in his life, a whiff of past glory from his censer of memories is patently fragrant to his nostrils. Thus at the beginning of this book he says: "One-and-thirty years after embarking as a simple sub-lieutenant for America, I embarked for London with a passport conceived in these terms: 'Pass His Lordship, the Vicomte de Chateaubriand, Peer of France, Ambassador of the King to His Brittanic Majesty,' and so on.

"No description; my greatness was such as to make my face known wherever I went. A steamboat chartered for my sole use conveyed me from Calais to Dover." The next morning he posted to London in a carriage drawn by four horses driven at full trot by two smart postillions. The staff followed in other coaches, and couriers in his livery accompanied the party to the Embassy in Portland Place. He contrasts this pomp with his obscure landing at Southampton in 1793, when his passport was thus couched: "François de Chateaubriand, French officer in the emigrant army, five feet four inches high, thin shape, brown hair and whiskers." That certainly does not sound imposing. He was lodged then in

a garret in a little street off Tottenham Court Road, at \$1.50 a week! He makes another reflection that is tinged with bitterness. "My political position casts into shade my literary fame; not a fool in the three kingdoms but prefers the Ambassador of Louis XVIII. to the author of the 'Genie du Christianisme.' I shall see how the matter turns after my death, or when I shall have ceased to fill M. le Duc Decazés' place at the Court of George IV., a succession as incongruous as the rest of my life." All this is characteristic and is only another form of worldly pride; but when he recalls the exile of the émigrés and of their mutual bond of sympathy in poverty and hardship it is a trifle forced to have him add: "All these things constitute true happiness!"

He sought escape from the melancholy engendered by his splendid environment in the Embassy to the less weighty melancholy of a walk in Kensington Gardens, where he would brood over those old days. Here occurs the first mention in his "Mémoires" of the woman who was to play such a long and dominant part in his sensitive, brooding life. "It is no longer even the fashion to meet there (Kensington Gardens) as in the days when the loveliest of Frenchwomen, Madame Récamier, used to walk there, followed by the crowd."

It was in these gardens he projected the "Essai Historique sur les Révolutions," his earliest publication; there, that in reading the diary of his travels in America, the romance of "Atala" came to his hand; there that he jotted down in pencil the first sketch of the passions of "René."

Fortunately the Embassy afforded ample leisure for the "Mémoires." "So many hours are wasted in Embassies! . . . My secretaries ask leave to go to picnics in the morning, to balls at night; by all means! The men in their turn, Peter, Valentine, Lewis, go to the ale-house, and the maids, Rose, Peggy, Mary, for a walk through the streets. They leave me the key of the hall door; *Monsieur l'Ambassadeur* is left in charge of his own house; if any one knocks he will open the door. I am alone; let us get to work. . . . The Ambassador of the King of France will be able to tell the story of the French Emigrant in the very spot where the latter spent his exile."

All this is very effective. Like his great friend, Mme. Récamier, the force and fascination of his personality lay in his personal lure. Chateaubriand and Napoleon were both noted for a smile whose charm was irresistibly captivating. Saint Beuve while admitting this in Chateaubriand, significantly adds: "But he was not always smiling." None could suspect the writer of these "Mémoires" of that.

Chateaubriand's voyage took nearly two months. Two days before arriving in American waters he was nearly drowned while taking a swim in the sea on a terribly warm day. The evening after they steered into Chesapeake Bay a boat was sent on shore for provisions. Chateaubriand went, and as he stood on American soil indulged in a surging swell of emotions. They found a farmhouse, and the first soul they met was a young Negress. "I gave my silk handkerchief to the little African; a slave welcomed me to the soil of liberty." Baltimore was "a pretty little Catholic town, neat and lively." He gave a dinner to the captain, and went on to Philadelphia in the stage, which ran there every three weeks, starting at four in the morning. Philadelphia struck him as "a fine town with wide streets, which had not yet (1791) spread as far as the Schuylkill." "Philadelphia presents a monotonous aspect." He was somewhat surprised to find luxury, frivolity, inequality of fortunes and gambling, theatres and balls in the infant Republic.

George Washington was not in Philadelphia, and he was obliged to wait a week for him. When he saw him go past in a carriage drawn by four horses, this scandalized him a little, for he was thinking of the American leader as he did of Cincinnatus and his plough. But Washington's "small house, like its neighbors, no sentries, no footmen even," was simple enough to satisfy him. A maid came to the door. He presented his letter, was asked in and sat down while she went to call Washington. "I felt no agitation; greatness of mind or fortune in no way overawe me.

"After a few moments the general entered the room; tall in stature, of a calm and cold rather than a noble bearing, he resembled his engraved portraits." Chateaubriand handed the letter in silence. They sat down then and the young Breton explained that he had come over to discover the Northwest passage. Washington naturally betrayed some astonishment at the placid assurance of this slender, undersized Breton of twenty-three. "I remarked this and said to him, with some little animation: 'But it is less difficult to discover the Northwest passage than to create a people, as you have done.'"

This amazingly youthful remark did not elicit the caustic rejoinder it might well have called forth. Washington simply said: "Well, well, young man!" shook hands and invited Chateaubriand to dinner. There were only five or six guests, but their names are not mentioned. "The general showed us a key from the Bastille. These keys were rather silly toys which passed from hand to hand at that time. . . . If Washington had seen the 'victors of the Bastille' disporting themselves in the gutters of Paris he would have felt less respect for his relic. The seriousness and strength

of the Revolution did not spring from these blood-stained orgies. At the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, the same mob from the Faubourg Saint Antoine demolished the Protestant temple at Charanton with as much ardor as when it laid waste the Church of Saint Denis, in 1793." This "Key of the Bastille" is solemnly conserved at Mount Vernon to-day.

Here occurs one of those interesting digressions in the "Mémoires" which yet have a logical reason. Chateaubriand wrote this portion of his life at the Embassy in London in the months between April and September, 1822. Napoleon had died at St. Helena the spring of the preceding year. So that when he writes about Washington, whom he had met thirty-one years ago, the thought of Bonaparte, whom he had known so much better and whose inglorious death had occurred so recently, arose and he makes a fine comparison between the two men, just, acute and impartial. The reason he gives for doing this here instead of waiting until he gets to Bonaparte's death in the "Mémoires" is very naïf. "Should I happen to sink into the grave before reaching the year 1814 (Napoleon's abdication) in my chronicle, the reader would never know what I had to say on the subject of the two mandatories of Providence." He recalls Castelnau's Memoirs, a French Ambassador to England, like himself. "On the last page of Book VII. he says to his son: 'I will treat of this fact in the eighth book,' and the eighth book of Castelnau's Memoirs does not exist. That is a warning to me to take advantage of life while it lasts."

All this is *seriously* said and written, which proves how scant was his sense of humor and how seriously he took himself; nay, prized himself, despite frequent self-deprecations. The substance of the comparison is that Washington was not such a great man as Bonaparte, but that he was far nobler and did incomparably more good to mankind, which is beyond question.

"Washington's Republic is in existence; Bonaparte's Empire is destroyed. Washington and Bonaparte issued from the bosom of democracy; both were born of liberty; the first was faithful to her, the second betrayed her." Chateaubriand's eloquence, clearness and cogency are well evidenced in these simple but clever appreciations, which are too long to be quoted.

But he was eager to get on—to discover his Northwest passages. As he says: "I burned to throw myself into an enterprise for which I had nothing prepared except my imagination and my courage." He then blandly sets down his route. "I proposed to strike the Northwest coast above the Gulf of California; from there, *following the outline of the continent and always keeping the sea in sight*, I intended to explore Behring's Straits, double the northernmost cape of America, descend on the east *along the shores of the*

Arctic Ocean and return to the United States by way of Hudson's Bay, Labrador and Canada." There is in all this the artlessness of an imaginative child making voyages of discovery in the nursery. "What means had I to carry out this prodigious peregrination?" Chateaubriand asks, and frankly replies: "None at all." No wonder Washington had contented himself with his "Well, well, young man."

He sails up the Hudson to Albany to see a Mr. Swift, for whom he had been given a letter. Mr. Swift was a trader in furs and had enough sense (it required only a modicum!) to intimate to the young man the physical impossibilities of his wild plan. He suggested that he should begin by acclimatizing himself; that he should learn the Sioux, Iroquois and Esquimaux languages, live among the *coureurs des bois* and Hudson Bay Company agents, and thought, with this preliminary experience, he might, in four or five years, with the assistance of the French Government, proceed on his hazardous mission.

Chateaubriand was "annoyed" by the advice, though he perceived its reasonableness. That he should have felt thus and confess it with perfect composure is quite characteristic. He secured a guide, bought two horses and set out for Niagara and Pittsburg, intending then to go down the Ohio and "gather ideas for future plans." He soon saw his first savages. When one recalls his "Natchez," "René" and "Atala," it seems too absurd that this maiden vision of these children of nature should have shown them taking dancing lessons of a little powdered Frenchman in an apple-green coat, who had been General Rochambeau's scullion!

As he describes woodland things and the emotions he experiences one does not need his assurance that "during those nights an unknown muse appeared to me." Especially when, through the stillness of the virgin forest rumbled the solemn roar of Niagara's distant waters. He got his first glimpse of the Falls from above them. In the "Essai sur les Révolutions" and "Atala" are to be found descriptions of the scene. He was poet enough and sufficiently a child of nature to drink in the spectacle with throbbing delight. He is also filled with the thought of the French who had penetrated to these wilds, and exclaims: "The whole genius of France lies in the double army of our camps and of our altars." Chateaubriand nearly fell into the cataract, and his account of this smacks not a little of Munchausen. He fell forty feet, but "by an unparalleled stroke of good fortune I found myself upon the pointed back of a rock upon which I ought to have been smashed into a thousand pieces. And yet I felt no great hurt." He later dis-

covered that his left arm was broken above the elbow. Even this was getting off easily. In the meantime the lure of the wild woodland trail was such that he scarcely gave further thought to his designs on the Polar regions. Instead—*les extremes se touchant*—he joined a party of traders going to the Floridas.

Chateaubriand here conceived a romantic *tendresse* for two beautiful young Indian women. They were at least useful in supplying him with the ideals of Atala and Celuta. They are carried off by a "Burnt-Wood" and a Seminole, who were jealous of the fascinating little Frenchman. One has the feeling that Chateaubriand is very young and more intoxicated by his own poetic tides than he is the victim of passion, as he would seem to insinuate in his narration of this episode. But he hies back to beyond the Blue Mountains. There at a farm-house he chanced to read in an English newspaper lying crumpled on the floor the words "Flight of the King."

Again an instantly conceived impulse crystallized the dreamy, drifting Breton into action quite alien to that upon which he had embarked. "I abruptly interrupted my travels and said to myself, 'Go back to France.'"

Some of the reflections which Chateaubriand then proceeds to make on the United States are remarkable for their justice and insight. What he said over eighty years ago is even truer to-day in application. He coined a word to express the sort of aristocracy he felt would rise in this infant nation whose corner-stone was man's equality. Every one to-day must recognize its exquisite but bold adequacy of characterization. It was "gold-born." "A *chrysogenous* aristocracy is ready to appear with the love of distinctions and the passion for titles." A "gold-made" "best-people." It is a paradox, but a truth.

When he got back to Philadelphia he was disappointed not to find the remittances he expected. "This was the commencement of the pecuniary difficulties in which I have been plunged ever since," writes France's Ambassador to England. He embarked December 10, 1791, for Havre, voyaging on credit. They were nearly shipwrecked, but escaped the peril with a cheer and a shout of "Long live the King!" "God did not hear it for Louis XVI.; it benefitted none save ourselves. . . . On the 2d of January, 1792, I once more trod my native soil, which was soon again to slip from under my feet. I brought with me no Esquimaux from the Polar regions, but two savages of an unknown species: Chactas and Atala." Happily! His Esquimaux he could not have shared with the world with such profit to himself and delight for mankind.

This is the end of the first of the six volumes. None of the others is comparable to it in biographical interest. In its unique pages the reader sees the making of a human character, disclosed by the man himself. Shelley said that "no matter how long a man lives, the first twenty years of his life are the longer half." Saint Malo, with its breezy, cheery seaport setting for a neglected little boy; Combours, with its depressing solitude, sombre life and heart famine; the dissatisfied sortie to Parisian existence; the gathering gloom and disintegration of the dissolving French society, the ebullition of the people and the crumbling of thrones; the wild, poetic region of the new Republic of the virgin Western world—all these in turn sank into, modified and gave idiosyncrasy to the soul of Chateaubriand as did no other influences throughout the three-score remaining years of his life. Not a breath of fame had touched him as yet. But the germs of the writer were already springing up in his being, ready to tremble into leaf and flower, and it is his writings that have made Chateaubriand known to the world, their influence and beauty which have perpetuated his name. He has scarce begun his life as yet, despite the French Revolution and the voyage to America. He has not found himself, but destiny is moulding him for his *métier*. The charm of this stage of his career and the melancholy sweetness of his reflections upon life surpass all that is to follow. The exquisite friendship with Madame Récamier is to crown his last years with a glorious, poetic light as of the sunset; but those who are not subjugated by the René of this first volume are little likely to feel their sympathies go out to him more readily through events of his later career, far more important in themselves, but not comparable in their narration as affects to the personal and touching charm exhaled by his unsettled, panting and yearning spirit as boy and young man.

It is for this reason that they have been drawn on so amply. The reader already knows the real Chateaubriand. In substance, what he is as a young man he persists in being to the end. The other five books deal with trials, triumphs—literary, political and social—close connection with crises in French history and the principal actors in them, and lastly retirement not unaccompanied by soothing influences. But the René that has been bodied forth already, sensitive, a spiritual epicure, a gentle egoist, a delicate poet, an aristocrat by blood, a brother of humanity through his love of liberty and independence, an embodiment of loyalty to the Bourbons, a man whose passion was spiritualized and in whom sentiment reached its apogee, a genius, charged with melancholy from his birth, the prandiose, varied, vitally interesting panorama of whose life, projected by himself, is dated from "Beyond the Tomb." This

is Chateaubriand. The rest is but history affecting him. But those vicissitudes were extraordinary and move to wonder or to sympathy, while their novelty, dignity and brilliancy delight.

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THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

PUBLIC attention has of late been directed to Armenia on account of the fearful massacres of the Christian population in the close of the last century. We have seen members of a Christian nation of the same Aryan blood as ourselves suffering the most cruel wrongs at the hands of the Turks and their confederates, the Kurds, and dying a martyr's death rather than embrace the creed of Islam. At this juncture it may not be inopportune to inquire into the history of the Catholic Church in Armenia, and more particularly to acquaint ourselves with the circumstances attending the conversion of that country to Christianity, the foundation and growth of the Church and her status up to the time of the separation at the end of the fifth century. Previous to that unhappy schism, the history is one of which her children may well be proud; founded in apostolic times, her traditions reach back to the earliest ages of Christianity, while her martyrology will bear comparison with that of almost any church in the West. It was, moreover, in Armenia that Christianity first became a State religion.

While great peoples have vanished from the face of the earth, the Armenian nation has not only continued to exist, but has maintained its individuality from the days of Nimrod and Semiramis up to our own times, and in a great measure has preserved its distinctive features, its customs, language and religion in spite of the fact that no nation, not even excepting the Hebrew, has been called to endure such sufferings. From time immemorial the Armenians have dwelt in the fertile and mountainous country which Holy Scripture describes as the cradle of the human race after the deluge; they assert that their tongue is the oldest in the world, being that spoken by Noe and his descendants when they emerged from the ark and settled in the province of Ararat, the land lying between Asia Minor and the Caspian Sea. Aram, the sixth descendant of Haik, the grandson of Japhet, of whom tradition speaks as a hero and a monarch, gave his name to the land. Ararat is the Hebrew name employed in Holy Scripture for the whole of Armenia (Jer. li., 27.) The inhabitants were an industrious race, workers in metal. Xeno-

phon speaks of them as being in his time self-governed and free, holding polytheistic beliefs. The earliest chroniclers and Christian writers state that they once professed the true, monotheistic, pre-Christian religion of the Jews, but through the cultus of their ancestors and intercourse with neighboring heathen nations they became idolators and set up golden statues of their gods. This led to moral degeneracy, pride, cruelty, intemperance; voluptuousness became characteristics of the nation, vices strongly opposed to the reception of Christianity.

At the time of our Lord's birth Armenia was divided into two separate portions, called respectively Great and Lesser Armenia. Of the latter portion Abgar was king, or rather Roman deputy, as the Roman Government claimed suzerainty over the land, conquered in 69 B. C., in which he held sway. Abgar, being devoted to the service of the heathen deities, refused to permit the image of Augustus to be erected in the temples of his dominions. Being accused of disloyalty, and offended by the treatment his ambassadors received at Rome, he determined to revolt, and removed the seat of his government to Edessa. Just then the Parthian king died and Abgar marched into Persia to restore order. This expedition was overruled by Providence for the conversion of the monarch and the opening out of Armenia and Parthia to the light of the Gospel. Hearing that the Roman general Marinus was at Cæsarea with a large army, Abgar sent an embassy to him to prevent a breach between himself and the Emperor. While in Palestine his emissaries heard of the fame of Jesus of Nazareth, and, tradition states, were eye witnesses of some of His miracles. On their return they informed the king, who was stricken with a terrible malady, probably leprosy, which the court physicians could not cure, of the healing power possessed by the Jewish wonder-worker.

The whole world, as Suetonius and Tacitus inform us, was at that period anxiously expecting the Messiah, a statement corroborated by the pilgrimage of the Persian Magi to Jerusalem. Abgar, believing that the great prophet, the desire of the nations, had come, was desirous to profit by his miraculous power and sent messengers, bearing, some say, a letter from the king, to request Jesus to come and heal him. With them he sent a portrait painter, who, if the Saviour Himself would not come, should bring His likeness. They reached Jerusalem on the day of our Lord's triumphal entry, and being unable to approach Him, requested Philip to deliver the letter and procure for them an audience. This, we are told, is the meaning of the incident recorded in St. John's Gospel, ch. xii., vs. 20-24, the word Gentiles being used in the New Testament for all who were not Jews. Christ, seeing in them representatives of the heathen

world, predicted that His crucifixion would draw all things to Him (v. 32). Moses of Chorene, the oldest Armenian chronicler, mentions as an undisputed fact that our Lord sent a message, written or verbal, to Abgar, declaring him blessed for believing in Him, not having seen, and promising when taken up into heaven to send one of His disciples to Armenia to heal the king and preach the Gospel. A legendary account, which must be taken for what it is worth, states that the painter, failing to portray our Lord's countenance, Christ took a cloth and applied it to His face, the impression of His sacred features remaining imprinted on it. But whatever may be legendary, there is no reason to doubt the fact that in the first century Thaddeus, one of the twelve Apostles, made his way to Armenia, healed the king, baptized many, erected a church in Edessa, and was put to death by Abgar's son and successor, Sanatruk. Miracles were wrought at the martyr's tomb, which led to the conversion of a large number of persons. SS. Simon and Jude, the Apostles of Persia, are also mentioned in connection with Armenia, and Bartholemew, one of the seventy, is said to have accompanied Thaddeus. Sanatruk, himself an apostate from the Christian faith, restored the worship of the heathen gods and persecuted the converts cruelly, cutting off the feet of Zacharias, the Bishop appointed by Thaddeus as his successor. The probable reason of the persecution was that he owed his crown to the Romans, and at that period the Christians were persecuted in all the Roman dominions by command of the Emperor.

Doubtless, as has already been stated, at a remote period Jewish colonists in Armenia had prepared the way for the acceptance of the faith of which their creed contained the promise, for the number of converts increased so much in the reigns of succeeding non-Christian monarchs that the heathen temples were almost abandoned. Pliny the younger, writing to Trajan, says: "The pestilence of this superstition has not only invaded the towns, but infected the villages and spread over all the land." About the middle of the third century, through the influence of the Persians, which for about a quarter of a century in great measure superseded that of the Romans, with whom constant war was waged, Chrosov I. was placed on the throne; at that time the Christians had multiplied to such an extent that they were thought to endanger the religion of the State, and a general massacre ensued. Shortly after Chrosov, during an incursion into Persia, was treacherously murdered. With his last breath he commanded his officers to extirpate the family of his assassin, whose every child and relative was put to death, with the exception of one son, the youngest, who owed his rescue to his nurse, Sophia, and her brother, both Christians. This child, carried

by them to Cæsarea, became the greatest figure in Armenian history, St. Gregory the Illuminator, the Apostle of Armenia.

Chrosov's son, Tiridates, escaped out of the hands of Ardashir, king of Persia, and fled to Rome, where he was educated. When he was of age, the Romans, anxious for the sake of commercial interests not to lose their supremacy over Armenia, supplied Tiridates with a large army, wherewith he returned to his native land and regained the crown to which he was heir, being hailed by his countrymen as their deliverer from the Persian yoke (A. D. 284). Meanwhile Gregory had grown up in Cæsarea, where he was thoroughly instructed in the Greek and Syriac languages. Hearing that Tiridates had ascended the throne, he returned to the court and entered his service, hoping by faithful and devoted labor to atone to Chrosov's son for the crime his own father, Anak, had committed. Tiridates had learned in Rome to hate the name of Christian, and when he endeavored by entreaties and threats to induce Gregory to worship his gods, and found that he persisted in fidelity to Christ, he caused him to be cruelly tortured, bound and finally cast into an oubliette of immense depth below the castle of Ardashat, the living tomb of all criminals sentenced to death. It is said that on his way to this subterranean dungeon he healed thirty sick Christians who were placed in his path. Left in this awful place to die, Gregory was kept alive for the space of fifteen years by the compassion of a Christian widow who dwelt in the castle. Admonished by a celestial messenger, every day she baked a small cake of bread and lowered it into the dungeon where he was confined.

As the years went by Gregory was forgotten at court. Now it happened that Diocletian, desirous of obtaining a beautiful damsel for himself, was shown the portrait of Rhipsime, a maiden of noble family, famed for her extraordinary beauty, the work of an artist who, anxious to obtain the Emperor's favor, penetrated into the nunnery where she dwelt. Diocletian sent to take her by force, but Rhipsime, aware of his intention and jealous of her vows, had already fled from Rome with all her companions. Amid great hardships they made their way through Palestine and came to Armenia, where they took refuge in a cave. It is said that the Blessed Virgin appeared to Rhipsime and directed her steps thither. The Roman Emperor sent messengers in pursuit of her; the hiding-place of the community was discovered, but Tiridates, struck by her charms, instead of giving her up in obedience to the imperial behest, resolved himself to make her his wife. However, she successfully resisted his attempt to make her false to her vow, and the monarch, enraged at his defeat, caused her to be put to a horrible death, and her thirty-two companions as well. God's judgment fell upon Tiri-

dates; he became insane, his madness taking the form of lycanthropy, as was the case with Nebuchodonosor many years before him. He imagined himself a wild boar, and fled to the thickets, where he tore off his garments; his body became covered with bristles, his teeth resembled tusks, his face was elongated into a snout. His subjects, appalled at his awful condition, knew not how to deliver him from it; when his sister, Chassoviducht, had a vision, in which it was revealed to her that Gregory was still alive, and he alone could cure the unhappy monarch. Her assertion was at first treated with contempt, as more than thirteen years had elapsed since the confessor had been consigned to the subterranean dungeon, but on a repetition of the vision messengers were sent thither, who, in fact, found Gregory to be living, in a most pitiable condition, but mentally uninjured. By virtue of his prayers Tiridates was completely cured and restored to his former appearance. In reparation of his crime he caused the relics of the virgin-martyrs to be recovered and erected a costly chapel over the place of their sepulture.

Then Gregory began to preach the faith of Christ to king and people. They heard him gladly; Tiridates, not content with accepting personally the message of salvation, determined to establish the Christian religion in his dominions. The heathen temples were pulled down, the pagan worship was abolished. But Gregory was not a priest. As a layman he had not power to receive converts into the Church, much less to dispense the sacrament. All that he could do was to erect the cross on the site where the temples had stood. By the desire of the king and nobles he went to Cæsarea, where he received Holy Orders and episcopal consecration from Leontius, the Archbishop. At the request of the king he was nominated by the Episcopal Synod Metropolitan of Armenia, whither he returned, with relics of St. John the Baptist for the church he intended to build. On his way he stopped at Sebaste to solicit a band of monks to accompany him and aid him in the evangelization of the land. Tiridates went to meet him with a numerous retinue, and was, together with a large number of people, baptized in the River Euphrates. The title of the "Armenian Constantine" is given to this monarch, since by him Christianity, formerly the creed of a persecuted and despised minority, became the religion of the State, officially recognized as such. (295 A. D.)

The national literature of Armenia, as well as the writings of ecclesiastical historians in the West, speaks of the wonderful conversion of the land by the missionary activity of St. Gregory, surnamed the Illuminator. By him the Church in Armenia was not only founded, but organized and consolidated to secure its maintenance in a land where it would have to contend with heathen

fellow countrymen and Persian conquerors. He consecrated several bishops and ordained a great number of priests and deacons, introduced monasticism, founding many convents, which in great measure were filled with monks from Greece and Syria, who were acquainted with Armenian customs and the Armenian tongue, having been driven into exile in times of persecution. He took his seat on the throne of the patriarchate of Armenia in 302, and for thirty years he continued to preach, administer the sacraments, build churches and schools, serve the poor and ransom prisoners. All this he did not accomplish without violent opposition; military force had often to be employed to overthrow the pagan temples, and the Christian churches had to be protected by a surrounding wall. To ensure independence of action in ecclesiastical matters and the exercise of his ministerial functions, he would not have his episcopal seat in the city where the king had his court. In all things pertaining to faith or discipline he acknowledged the supreme authority of the Holy See, though the Syrian liturgy was in use, because the population of the southeastern districts were almost exclusively Syrian. The fact that Armenian bishops took part in the Council of Nicea proves that in Gregory's time the unity of the universal Church was recognized, and all idea of a national Church excluded. Gregory was himself a scion of a royal race; thus to the rank of the Christian high-priest he combined that of royal birth, and was in possession of considerable wealth. Towards the close of his life he withdrew into retirement and seclusion, although he retained the supervision of the Church. Whilst a youth in Cæsarea he had married a Christian maiden; after three years of wedded life they parted by mutual consent. Two sons were born to him; the younger, Arisdaghes, from his childhood embraced a life of solitude and austerity; he was ordained and consecrated bishop and succeeded his father as patriarch.

The testimony of ecclesiastical historians affords incontestable evidence that in Gregory's time all the articles of the Christian faith were taught and believed in Armenia in their integrity, and the sacraments administered conformably to the Church's rules. Baptism by immersion was administered to adults at Easter, after a preparatory season of fasting and penance, and confirmation immediately after baptism, according to the custom in early ages. Christian views and rules concerning matrimony prevailed, as is shown by the hatred evinced by polygamists and concubines towards Christianity. The celibacy of priests was not enforced, except in the case of monks; bishops were not allowed to marry, but a union previously contracted was not regarded as a bar to consecration. The liturgy, which is said to date from the first century, being

founded on that of Jerusalem, was remodeled by St. Gregory, who introduced into it the Nicene Creed, to which he added the following words, which are still said at the end of the Creed in Armenian churches: "Now let us praise Him who was before all worlds, worshipping the Most Holy Trinity and the Godhead of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and forever, world without end. Amen."

The peaceful conditions of the Church in Armenia under the rule of Tiridates, the first Christian monarch, who established the Christian religion throughout his dominions, ceased shortly after his death in 329. The bond between Church and State was an external one and the conversion of many persons was superficial and time-serving. Before long in some more remote districts not only were Jewish traditions and customs revived, but either overtly or covertly the cultus of the national deities and heathen practices were restored. Arisdaghes, murdered by order of a prince whose un-Christian life he had rebuked, was succeeded by his elder brother Urthanes as Catholicos,* who, in his turn, fell into disgrace for admonishing the king to observe and enforce the Christian laws. Like St. Ambrose, he forbade the king to enter the house of God on a solemn occasion; and the king, not resembling Theodosius in humility, caused the prelate to be beaten so severely as to occasion his death. The amicable political relations with Rome and Persia also came to an end, and amid internal factions and external strife the Church passed through many vicissitudes and crises, until, about the middle of the fourth century, Nerses, afterwards called The Great, was raised to the chief patriarchate. A descendant of St. Gregory, he had been brought up in Cæsarea and there had married. On the death of his wife he returned to Armenia and was universally chosen by the nation for their metropolitan. He entered the priesthood and was consecrated the next year. By his zeal, energy and activity he introduced reforms, inaugurated seminaries for the training of the clergy, provided hospitals for the sick and aged and raised the tone of Christian life in general. He was greatly beloved, but at last a breach occurred between him and Arshak, the king, because he was obliged to leave the court on account of the king's misdeeds. Banished to Edessa, he remained in exile for nine years, during which a bloody persecution took place. The destruction of the Greek manuscripts which were the spiritual nourishment of the Armenian Christians was a serious loss at this time. Many instances

* The term and title Catholicos is of Greek origin. In the Eastern Church it was given to Bishops sent outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire with full hierarchical powers over their flocks, yet subject to the authority of the prelate by whom they were consecrated.

of heroic fortitude and attachment to the faith were given by those who refused to conform to the Persian worship of fire and water. When the king had thrown off the Persian yoke, Nerses returned to his flock; the churches destroyed during the Persian invasion were rebuilt and their altars to the sun overthrown. But Nerses, venturing to reprove the king for his licentious life, was enticed to the palace under pretext of the monarch doing penance and was given a cup of poisoned wine at the royal table.

A period of storm and stress for the Church ensued. The charitable institutions Nerses had founded were suppressed, the convents violated and their inmates maltreated or compelled to marry, divorce and the marriage of divorced persons was permitted, the clergy were in a great measure robbed of their property. It was during these troublous times that S. Basil visited Armenia and restored order to the hierarchy and fortified the faith of the Christians. The Armenian Church was strong enough to weather the storm and render her independent of the royal authority. Her history in the fourth century affords an example of the interior vitality possessed by the Church of Christ, which, though always oppressed, is never suppressed. Yet, despite their general adherence to tradition and ecclesiastical authority, some of the faithful in Armenia were infected by Arianism, owing to the favor of the king showed for that heresy. It is related that a certain monk, a disciple of Epiphanius, never received the chalice (communion was then administered in both kinds) because he could not bring himself to believe that the wine was really converted into the precious blood of Christ. He openly contested the Church's doctrine, but was converted by a miracle. Whilst assisting at Mass, just as the priest offered a prayer that the unbelieving brother might have grace to believe, he beheld our Lord Himself above the altar, who showed him His side, whence drops of blood flowed into the chalice. The monk's unbelief vanished; in penance for his sin for seven years he abstained from receiving Holy Communion and lived in solitude in a cave. This anecdote is of value, inasmuch as it shows the belief in our Lord's presence under the Eucharistic veils to have been universal in Armenia. Other evidence to the same effect is not wanting.

At the close of the fourth century Armenia was divided between the Greeks and the Persians and the Church lived under foreign rule. The Persians, for the tranquillity of the nation, gave them a king of their own royal race, Artasher. He was the last of the Arsacide dynasty who sat on the throne; after his death, in 428, Persian governors ruled the land, and Armenia had to struggle for religious freedom, for the life of Christianity amongst the people.

At this time a man of energy and ability filled the post of Catholicos, Sahak (Isaac), the son of Nerses the Great. Individual bishops had been originally appointed by Gregory; subsequently it became customary for sons, born before their father's ordination, to succeed him in his spiritual office, as they succeeded to his property. Thus practically ecclesiastical dignities became hereditary, but not positively, as the metropolitan was empowered to reject candidates for ordination, or bishops elect who went to Cæsarea for examination and consecration. Isaac was about forty when he was raised to the rank of chief bishop, and though married previously, from that time forth he lived a strict monastic life. He gave a fresh impulse to religious life in Armenia, and to the spiritual blessings owed to him, a great advance in intellectual culture was added. The prohibition issued by the Persian governor in regard to the use of Greek harps and the study of Greek literature in Armenia, owing to the rivalry between the two nations, was a severe blow to the Church, since they only possessed the Holy Scriptures in Greek, and in that language or in Syriac, they were read in the churches. Until the time of which we speak, Armenia possessed no national characters for the purpose of writing. The Greek, Syriac or Persian alphabet was used, all of which were quite insufficient to give the Armenian pronunciation correctly. Isaac resolved to supply the want. He induced Mesrop, a man famed for erudition and sanctity, well versed in literature, who had spent the early portion of his life as secretary to the patriarch Nerses, to invent an alphabet suited to the genius of the language. A pious Syrian bishop, named Daniel, had by him an alphabet formed for the purpose of writing in Armenian; this was sent to Mesrop, who found on studying it that fourteen more letters were needed to express the sounds of his native tongue. He improved, arranged and added to it, and from that time forth it has been in use in Armenia. Immediately upon the formation of a script, Isaac and Mesrop sent disciples to Alexandria, Byzantium, Athens and other cities to learn the language and translate the Christian literature into their own tongue. First and foremost were the Holy Scriptures, the different books being, by the counsel of St. Chrysostom, assigned to the several translators. Next came ecclesiastical writings; the canons of the various Councils, treatises explanatory of the Bible, theological and scientific works. Moreover, Isaac summoned a synod of the bishops and clergy to confer upon the adoption of the Armenian language and the newly-invented script for the liturgy, which, since the prohibition of the use of Greek, had been solemnized in Syriac. It was decreed that it should be translated into the vernacular and revised for the better comprehension by the people. Isaac himself jour-

neyed into the Greco-Armenian portion of his diocese to prepare translations and to introduce the new alphabet to his countrymen in that district. In this he was, however, opposed by the Archbishop of Cæsarea, as that realm was under his jurisdiction. Isaac appealed to Theodosius, who issued an imperial edict to the effect that the metropolitan was not to be hindered in his work, that he was to receive the same honor as the Archbishop of Cæsarea and that the expense of teaching the Armenian students the use of the new script was to be defrayed from the imperial exchequer.

Before long, however, this prelate, who had done so much for the intellectual development and religious growth of his country, who had infused fresh life into the Church and rekindled the national spirit, was obliged to abandon his cathedral seat and wander about in exile, the victim of his patriotism. The Persian Satrap had determined upon the abolishment of royal rule in Armenia, and the Catholicos, who thought a professing Christian king, though his life was vicious, preferable to a heathen governor, had to be removed before the throne of the Arsacide dynasty could be finally overthrown and the country brought under the galling yoke of the Sassanidæ, the relentless enemies of the Christian faith. After a time he was permitted to return, but not reinstated in the post he had filled so ably. He continued his literary work up to the time of his death, in 441. A monastery was erected on the spot where he was interred; it became a place of pilgrimage, several miracles having been wrought there. Mesrop, his co-laborator, did not long survive him.

Hardly had the Persians established their rule in Armenia when they raised a cruel persecution against the Christians, many of whom displayed great heroism in shedding their blood for their faith. Amongst its brave defenders, Joseph I., Isaac's successor, greatly distinguished himself. He repaired to the camp of those who had deemed revolt indispensable for the maintenance of Christianity; divine worship was held in the early hours before battle, and the warriors received the sacraments before engaging in the conflict. This war of independence, national and religious, lasted long; finally the insurgents laid down their arms on condition that the free exercise of their religion should be granted them and the Armenian Christians should enjoy equal rights and privileges with the Persians. The temples of the fire-worshippers were overthrown and the cross once more shone brightly in the land illumined by Gregory. Divine Providence guided and protected the Church during those stormy and perilous years of struggle; though many fell away for the sake of temporal advantage, or conformed externally to the Persian cultus through human respect, yet Christianity

lived and retained strength for final victory owing to the zeal and example of its pastors, the disciples of Isaac, who maintained the spirit and teaching of their master.

The union of the Armenian Church with the rest of Christendom, her recognition of the supremacy of the See of Rome and of the authority of the Œcumenical Councils, the oneness of her belief with those of the Universal Church and the unbroken continuity of her hierarchical connection with the see of Cæsarea up to the close of the fifth century, are an indisputable fact, confirmed by the testimony of contemporary historians and the pastoral letters, still extant, of her bishops. The calamities of which we have just been speaking, in the latter half of the fifth century, prevented the Armenian bishops from taking part in the fourth Œcumenical Council, that of Chalcedon (as they had in the three preceding ones), and thence arose the unhappy rupture between Armenia and the Eastern Church at the close of that century.

The Council of Chalcedon condemned the heresy of Eutyches, who, whilst combating the erroneous teaching of Nestorius, fell into another heresy and denied the two natures in Christ. A report was spread by the followers of Eutyches in Armenia, which had unhesitatingly accepted and faithfully adhered to the decisions of the three previous councils, that the Council of Chalcedon had approved the doctrine of Nestorius. This false report was confirmed by the Byzantine Emperor with a view to allaying the religious disturbances. A somewhat ambiguous letter to this purport from the Emperor Zeno was introduced into Armenia and read before a large assembly of bishops in the cathedral. After anathematizing the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches, they assented to the letter, and formally rejected the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, through lack of true and correct information concerning it, for they admitted and gave proof of belief in the very doctrine, it in reality established. The Syrian dissidents, moreover, desirous to sow discord in the Christian Church, industriously propagated the statement that the council had approved the Nestorian heresy, and the Armenian prelates, deceived by their misrepresentations and engrossed by the troubles and conflicts of the time, made no efforts to ascertain the real meaning and purport of its definitions. Another cause of the unhappy alienation was the incorrect translation into the Armenian tongue of a letter of Pope Leo I., since in the explanation therein contained concerning our Lord's two natures, the human and the divine, the words: *The one and the other* were rendered by an Armenian expression applicable only to persons, not to things. Thus, whereas Pope Leo spoke of two *natures*, the Armenian understood two *persons*. This error was the

occasion of much disputation. The actual separation, however, whereby the Armenian Church was cut off from the rest of Catholic Christendom was gradual. Her bishops attended the fifth, sixth and seventh councils, held respectively at Constantinople, 553 and 680, and at Nicea, 788, and the decrees of each of those councils were acknowledged to be binding. In 647 the patriarch, Nerses III., held a council at Tovin, the object of which was to seek reconciliation with the orthodox Greek Church, but on account of mutual misunderstanding it came to nothing.

Cut off from the Universal Church, the Armenian bishops became all the more closely identified with their native country and kept alive patriotic feeling in times of great national distress. In spite of foreign domination the Armenian Church preserved its individual character, its doctrine and discipline, until the fifteenth century, when great dissensions arose. Since the separation errors had crept in; amongst others the monophysite heresy gained many adherents, and a fraternity was formed, called the Unionists, whose object was to reunite the Armenian with the Latin Church by adhering to the national rites and ceremonial, such as the custom of using wine un-mixed with water in the celebration of Mass; but unity of faith, not ritual, was the main point to be sought, and the only effect was to give rise to contentions. The Armenian Pontiffs had maintained an epistolary intercourse with the Holy See, with the sincere desire of preserving that union with the centre of Catholicism which they believed to be necessary. In 1541 the Patriarch Stephen V. went on a pilgrimage to Rome and was kindly received by the Pope, and his successor sent an ambassador, accompanied by a priest, for the purpose of settling religious differences. Furthermore, a number of young men were sent to be educated at the Propaganda in Rome; on their return to their country they endeavored to spread the principles they had imbibed, to combat the heresies that had found a footing there, and reassert the supremacy of the Holy See. But all efforts at reunion proved futile; the tyranny exercised by the Turkish governors prevented the Romanizing party from effecting their object; the priests, accused of being spies of the Latin powers, were forbidden to officiate or preach in Armenian churches. Persecution followed and an irrevocable schism was the result, the nation being divided into those who firmly adhered to the traditions and rites of the ancient Armenian Church and those who were Roman Catholics. The latter, a small minority, have since suffered much from the intolerance of their antagonists. More than once they have been banished from Armenia; as lately as 1827 the Sultan drove them out of the country under the plea that they were hostile to the government.

The Catholic Armenians now form a separate community presided over by a Catholic Patriarch of their own choice, independent of external control. They are free to build churches and to perform religious ceremonies according to the Roman ritual. There are on Mount Lebanon three Armenian churches with Armeno-Roman Catholic bishops and monks. The chief dignitary enjoys Pontifical rank, granted by Benedict XIV. The inmates of the monastery have no congregation, or scarcely any, to whose spiritual needs they minister, owing to the difficulty of access to that isolated spot, and are undisturbed by strife.

Since the eighteenth century all communication with the See of Rome with a view to reunion has been ended, for the Patriarch of the National Church of Armenia then placed himself under the protectorate of Russia and strengthened the Pontifical authority seated at Etchmiadzin. There are three orders of clergy in Armenia: Bishops, priests and deacons, and three degrees of episcopal rank: the Archbishop, or Catholicos, chief amongst the patriarchs; the bishops, and vartabeds, that is doctors or teachers of theology, who frequently have the charge of a diocese and exercise episcopal powers. The clergy are divided into the black clerics, or monks, alone eligible for the higher clerical offices, and the white, or secular, including parish priests and clerics of an inferior rank. Marriage is permitted before, but not after ordination; a priest's widow may not marry again. Ecclesiastical posts are for the most part hereditary; during his father's lifetime the son may follow a secular calling; this he must leave and enter the priesthood on the death of the priest to whom he is heir.

The Armenian Church has never accepted the filioque clause; on the contrary, the Holy Ghost is definitely stated to proceed from the Father only. Prayers for the dead are admitted, but not indulgences. It holds the seven sacraments; the Holy Eucharist is administered in both elements: unleavened bread is used and unmixed wine. The marriage service is almost the same as in the Greek Church. In administering extreme unction priests only, not the laity, are anointed. Christmas is celebrated on the Feast of the Epiphany, 6th of January.

Such are the present tenets and practice of our separated brethren in Armenia. We cannot do otherwise than admire the courage and constancy they exhibited in days of yore in preserving the faith and the work they had done for civilization and Christianity. All the more must we grieve that they are not one with us, and hope that they may be led to become again true children of the Catholic Church.

ELLIS SCHREIBER.

HISTORY IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

OUR school histories to-day are written with a higher appreciation of the purposes of history, with a more special insistence on its teaching power, and consequently with a more careful choice of materials and with a quite different management of them than hitherto. If history is to perform one of the many duties assigned to it by Cicero, it must be written, our modern historians think, in a new way. Not all of our nations are cultivating the ideals of Sparta, and not all of our children are to grow up Spartans. History, then, must cease to be the chronicle of wars; it must cease to be the biography of generals. Our modern ideas of commerce and civilization call for the treatment and emphasis of the facts of history that have built up and developed trade and education. History, then, must chronicle the bloodless battles of the market and write the life of the poet, the philosopher and the school-master. The battlefield may still occupy a place in the picture, but it must be in the background. The school and the workshop have come to the foreground. Alexander and Hannibal, Cæsar and Napoleon, the heroes of former school days, may still remain prominent, but as retarding or advancing the progress of civilization, and not as conquerors on the field of battle. The catalogue of heroes is vastly different to-day. Read the following noteworthy collection in James Harvey Robinson's "History of Western Europe" (p. 3): "The life and work of a few men of indubitably first-rate importance in the various fields of human endeavor—Gregory the Great, Charlemagne, Abelard, St. Francis, Petrarch, Luther, Erasmus, Voltaire, Napoleon, Bismarck—have been treated with care proportionate to their significance for the world."

The modern newspaper resembles the old histories. War and crime get the headlines and front page; trade gets the fine print in some out-of-the-way corner unknown to the people at large. Civilization is too heavy even for the Sunday issue, and has been relegated to the quarterlies, and virtues are recorded in heaven. Modern school histories have altered this perspective and have brought the annals of progress, of education, of labor, from the foot-note to the text and from the end of the chapter to the beginning. The change is a welcome one; it is a reasonable and excellent one, but our writers should look to it to make the recent method as interesting, if they can, as the former. Their task will not be an easy one. Human nature is a disheartening problem, and the modern press frankly acknowledges and caters to its ignoble tendencies.

To make peace as interesting as war, and virtue as good reading as vice is difficult, but we hope not impossible.

THE CHURCH IN SCHOOL HISTORIES.

The change in method has effected a change in the attitude of school histories towards the Church. If civilization is to be the all-important topic of historical treatment, then the Church must come to the front in the new order of things. Christianity has profoundly influenced civilization, and for sixteen centuries the Church was identified with Christianity. The influence of the Church has in consequence received such full discussion in recent text-books that some of them can be called without much exaggeration Church histories. Professor Robinson in the preface of the work already quoted says: "Institutions under which Europe has lived for centuries, above all the Church, have been discussed with a good deal more fullness than is usual." The author generously fulfills his promise, and no one can justly complain of a want of fullness.

The Church receives not only fuller but also fairer treatment. Modern history prides itself on its appeal to original sources, and although its practice does not always come up to its professions, the Church has benefited wherever such an appeal has been adequately made. The last days of the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages are no longer viewed through the prejudiced medium of writers of the sixteenth century and after. The myth that liberty, learning, civilization, holiness and every other good thing came into existence with the Reformation is not found anywhere recorded on earth now except in mouldering old anti-Popery tracts and a few modern reprints made by the A. P. A. The "Dark Ages" have improved immensely in the new order of things. An essay or even a volume could be written on the various meanings given to the adjective "dark" in that well-known expression. It has passed from the impenetrable black compound of profound ignorance, abject superstition, intense bigotry and irredeemable immorality which the word "dark" conveyed to the mind of the Scotch Calvinists and English Puritans to the almost daylight of the latest historians. Every shade of darkness has been traveled through, and each step in the passing of that darkness has been marked by a conflict. Besides, while the meaning of the adjective was bleaching out, the signification of the noun "ages" was shrinking in extent. The "Dark Ages" took in at one time almost every century from Constantine to Luther. Now they comprehend scarcely a century. Who will write us a history of the term "Dark Ages?"

When the darkness of past history grew lightsome in modern

histories, another great change occurred. The monk had been rehabilitated. The change is not known everywhere yet and will encounter opposition, but not for long. Monasticism now receives its due honor, and is even recognized as a benefactor. Fatness, indolence, sensuality no longer sum up the monastic life. The monasteries are seen to have been the homes of industry, learning and piety. Of course, all these concessions are made grudgingly, and after the panegyric a few parting shots in the good old style are still directed at the monks.

THE USE OF AUTHORITIES.

These good effects have come from the labors of Maitland, Drane, Gasquet, Montalembert and others, and the only reason why there is not greater improvement is that despite the elaborate lists of sources printed in modern school histories and despite the brave flourish of an occasional quotation from them, our historians still draw largely from the turbid stream of secondary authorities instead of going to the pure fountain-head. The current of history is still stained by the infidelity of Gibbon, the rationalism of Lecky and the wild, rhetorical ravings of Draper. If our writers would but critically test these authors, would verify their references whenever they give any, would follow them not blindly but prudently and carefully, they would not fall so often into ludicrous and long exploded errors.

Yet an improvement is manifest, and when modern histories give their lists of secondary authorities, Catholic writers are receiving mention. This practice, however, is not yet as full as it should be, and the Catholic authority very often has little influence upon the text. Yet it is something to have a place of honor among the references. Even here at times there is discrimination shown, and the Catholic writer is labeled with some parenthetical caution about Ultramontanism or the like. It may look oversensitive to remark these trifles, but why should books intended for the use of our public schools label De Broglie, "*L'église et l'empire*" with the parenthesis "*from Catholic point of view,*"¹ and leave such writers as Mosheim, Lea, Pressense without label? To mark a history as inaccurate or defective is something every one can understand, but to mark one history Catholic and to leave others unmarked is unintelligible except on the supposition that some doubt is cast on the accuracy of the one and not on the others, or that there is subconscious But in non-sectarian schools, if you begin to discriminate for one in that way, then you must discriminate for all. Besides in history,

¹ Andrews' "*Institutes of General History*," p. 62.

where truth is the supreme object, there is only one point of view, and sincere Catholic, sincere Protestant and sincere unbeliever are all alike in keeping in view that point. Theoretically history should be as undenominational as algebra, and it is absurd to say a Catholic history as it is to say a Catholic algebra.

Common fairness requires, too, that controverted points should receive impartial treatment or be omitted entirely. In books intended for use in public schools we do not ask that the Catholic side of any controversy be presented to the pupils exclusively, but we do not propose to allow the other side to be stated exclusively. Our platform is: neither side if the question can be waived, or both sides fairly and fully if the question must be taken up. In this matter a number of our recent histories offend, and we purpose to review some of the questions so treated and to discuss the character of some of the histories now used in our public schools. We could not mention all for obvious reasons. We hope those omitted will not regret the omission.

THE PRIMACY OF THE POPE.

One thing is taken for granted in many modern school histories. The Bishop of Rome was not from the beginning authoritative head of the Church, but came to be gradually. Emerton's "*Mediæval Europe*," p. 42, says: "During the Carolingian period the Roman Primacy was growing into the dominant institution it was to be for the next five hundred years. A very brief review of its history to the death of Charlemagne will prepare us to consider this remarkable development. The first point to be kept in mind is that there *was* a development and not something existing, as Roman Catholic writers would have us believe, from the beginning of Christianity. Doubtless from a very early period, say from about 200, the Bishops of Rome began to feel their importance as heads of the principal Church in the western world and to assert a kind of superiority over all other churches; but this superiority was acknowledged nowhere in the East and was admitted in the West only as a leadership of honor, not authority." The same author in his "*Introduction to the Middle Ages*," p. 105, says: "The name (Pope) and the power were of slow growth and had nothing to do with the original position of the Roman Bishopric." Professor Andrews in the work already quoted says, p. 90: "Yet its (Rome's) Bishop became sovereign only after a long evolution of opinion." Professor Robinson says, p. 52: "We shall hereafter refer to the Roman Bishop as Pope, although it must not be forgotten that his headship of the Western Church did not for some centuries imply

the absolute power that he came later to exercise over all the other Bishops of Western Europe." The same historian, p. 51, makes the astonishing assertion that in the works of Athanasius, Basil, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and in general of all the Fathers of the fourth and early fifth centuries, "there is no evidence to indicate that the Bishop of Rome occupied as yet the supreme and dominating position which the Popes later enjoyed." A similar assertion, but more astonishing still, is made by Professor Andrews, p. 93: "They (Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine) repudiated Rome's jural primacy."

Now it is not our business in this place to write a refutation of these statements. It would not be a difficult task to do, and any reputable work on the Primacy, Allies, Kenrick, Rivington, Bottalla, and a host of others, would furnish ample proofs to carry on such a refutation and to combat each and all of these statements. We ask, however, in surprise what reason have such statements for existence in histories made for use in our non-sectarian public schools. Nobody, of course, asks these good professors to accept the Catholic doctrine of the Primacy of the Pope, but everybody demands that in books intended for general use in the so-called non-sectarian schools, supported by the good money of Catholics, no doctrine of the Catholic Church or any other church be openly and flatly denied. Everybody demands that these topics be excluded from school histories, or if they are to be included, they are to be treated fairly. Facts are to be given and not theories; the best authorities on both sides of the question in dispute must be given; the arguments are to be impartially stated, and all offensive partisanship is to be rigorously excluded. This we believe to be a perfectly fair proposal. Nor can these writers urge that the course is too difficult. Professor Emerton in his "Introduction to the Middle Ages," p. 236, has a long note taking up nearly two pages of fine print, and in it he discusses fully and impartially the arguments and authorities for both sides of a "violent controversy" on the origin of feudalism. No doubt Professor Emerton would be justly indignant at the want of fairness and courtesy there would be in a writer who would begin a discussion on the origin of feudalism with the words, "The first point to be kept in mind is that there *was* no such origin of feudalism as writers of the Georg Waitz school would have us believe." Yet the origin of feudalism is a question that mainly concerns specialists and has no practical bearing on modern life, whereas the origin of the Papacy is a question that concerns every one, we may say, and has an immediate and profound bearing on the cherished beliefs of 250,000,000 people. Pro-

fessor Emerton discusses feudalism fully and courteously. He dismisses the Papacy unfairly and summarily. He is a historian when he writes of the former, a controversialist when he writes of the latter. We don't ask these historians to touch such questions, but if they do, we ask them not to forget the elementary duties of their profession.

ROME AND IRELAND.

On many other topics connected with the Church and vitally affecting her doctrine school histories are setting forth false statements and deducing false conclusions hostile to Catholicity. It is commonly asserted, for example, that the Irish Church was independent of Rome. "They (the Irish monks and clergy) knew little of the traditions of the Roman Church and did not regard themselves as subject to the Pope."² "The one thing that is fairly clear about it (the introduction of Christianity into Ireland) is that it did not come from the city of Rome itself."³

One asks in the face of all these statements, what about the mission St. Patrick received from Rome? Archbishop Healy, of Tuam, at the recent consecration of Armagh Cathedral gave an excellent summing up of the whole question in the following words: "Besides the extraordinary commission from God, St. Patrick had also the ordinary commission from the Pope, St. Celestin. All the ancient lives of the saint assert it; all our native annalists assert it; the book of Armagh, the official record of the primatial see, asserts it; the ablest Protestant writers, like Usher, have admitted it. In fact, the "Roman Mission" was never questioned until our own times, and then only for controversial purposes by certain scholars who had nothing to rely on but a purely negative argument—that if the Pope had sent him to preach in Ireland, Patrick would have certainly mentioned the fact in the "Confession." The Archbishop then went on to show why St. Patrick was silent. "He did not mention it because it was perfectly well known to those whom he addressed."

Again, we do not ask our non-sectarian historians to adopt our side of the question, but we do object to their adopting any side if they treat the question at all. Our position on all controverted subjects in public school histories is "both sides or neither." Perhaps some of these historians do not know that there are two sides. They are victims yet to some extent of the great Protestant tradition. We do not accuse them of being conscious of their unfairness. They are surprised often to hear that there is any

² Robinson, p: 62.

³ Emerton's "Introduction," p. 110.

other way of looking at the matter except the one that their reading and education has made familiar to them. Nothing, for example, could be fairer and more courteous than the tone of Professor Robinson's "History of Western Europe." His principles, his evident sympathy with other people and other conditions than ours, his praiseworthy attempt to judge facts in their original setting and not in the light in which they would be judged to-day, these and many other qualities are all admirable, and in pointing out statements which Catholics cannot allow to be made in an unqualified fashion in our public schools, we do not wish to impugn his motives or question the fairness with which he has written his work. We think, however, that he has been misled or not completely informed on some subjects. The statements we have pointed out and some inaccuracies with regard to the teaching of the Church on the necessity of the sacraments, and the assertion that the doctrine of Transubstantiation "gradually came to be" with the implication that it was not from the Last Supper, are about the only points with which a Catholic may fairly quarrel. Perhaps Professor Robinson has drawn some of his knowledge from what he calls "Lea's monumental contribution to our knowledge of the jurisprudence of the Church." We feel that his sense of justice will lead him in his next edition either to omit these objectionable statements or to give the evidence for the other side.

ANDREWS AND EMERTON.

Professor E. Benjamin Andrews' "Institutes of General History" does not impress one as favorably as the preceding. The style is hurried and gasping. Statements are hurled at one so quickly and breathlessly and so absolutely that one begins to think the judgments and decisions are just as hurried and abrupt. One is surprised sometimes among many statements against the Church to find occasionally a very favorable one cited, as a rule, from a Catholic authority. The impression grows on the reader that Professor Andrews is guided in great measure by the book that happens to be uppermost on his desk when some period of history is under discussion. We hope we are wrong, but we state our impressions. At any rate, Professor E. Benjamin Andrews' "Institutes of General History" will have to be pretty generally overhauled before any conscientious Catholic or fair-minded opponent of Catholicity can allow it into our public schools.

Professor Emerton has written two works from which we have quoted, and he appears to us the only hopeless case so far. Courtesy and fairness will finally save Professor Robinson; a good

supply and a right arrangement on his desk of the proper authorities will save Professor Andrews, but we believe Professor Emerton is beyond salvation, and we proceed to give the reasons for our belief. Professor Emerton is in that blissful state of mind in which he cannot be taught anything about Catholicity. He knows all about it already. He won't go to Catholic authorities because it is simply unnecessary. In his "Introduction to the Middle Ages," which is written in a loose style for fifteen-year-old pupils, he is constantly referring his youthful readers to the pages of the New Testament to refute the absurdities of Catholicism. On page 98 he says to his young theologians, in order to convince them of the absurdity of religious councils and controversies in early days: "If you will go back again to your New Testament and read ever so carefully the four different stories of the life and teaching of Jesus, you will see that He nowhere lays down a definite form of belief which He demands of all His followers." The guileless simplicity of this fatherly advice is really charming. If Professor Emerton had in mind the Boston boy or even Macaulay's English school boy, he has put a severe tax on their proverbial precociousness and would have them rush in where the greatest intellects of all times have scarcely dared to tread. Professor Emerton's fifteen-year-old Pope would put an end to all the controversies of history and abolish all creeds by a simple appeal to the New Testament. Refutation is not our object in this paper, but we might say in passing that we have in mind not a few boys in Boston and out of it who could tell the Professor after reading ever so carelessly that they found in their New Testament some words to the effect that Jesus demanded of His followers, under pain of condemnation, a belief in all that He taught and sent His apostles, with Peter at their head, into the world to teach all nations, not one, but a host of definite beliefs.

On page 99 of the same work the professor says again, speaking of the Arian controversy: "Men had not been content to take the simple account of Jesus as it appears in the New Testament stories, but had made a mystery out of it, and had gone into violent controversies on the question whether Jesus was God, or a man, or both." Now we cannot look on all this as hypocrisy; it must be the undisturbed simplicity of one who has reached the stage in which he can make no further advance in knowledge. He knows it all, and furthermore believes that his theological pupils can without any difficulty reach the same happy state of mind. For this reason, first of all, we despair of Professor Emerton's salvation. It is really too bad that Professor Emerton did not live in the days of Arius and silence him forever by reading, say "the simple accounts

of Jesus" found in the first chapter of St. John. No one else since Christianity began, as far as we know, has found the reading of the New Testament so completely satisfactory as an arbiter of controversy or has found the nature of Christ so simple in its solution as the professor and his fifteen-year-old friends.

In the second place, we give the professor up because he will positively not consult any authorities but anti-Catholic ones. R. F. Littledale, who is the first mentioned and probably most used authority on the supreme power of the Popes, may have had a share in making him distrust Catholics and ridicule their side of the question. We find it hard to believe that Professor Emerton has read Catholic writers even when he pretends to quote their opinions. On page 78 of his "*Mediæval Europe*," speaking of the "*Forged Decretals*," he says: "If they were necessary to a system which honestly believed itself to be the one divinely appointed means of leading men into their true relations with God, then to fabricate them and pass them off as genuine must be a work pleasing in God's sight."

Reader, this is a quotation from one of your school histories, and not an offensively controversial anti-Popery tract, dealing in gratuitously insulting and almost blasphemous innuendos; but let us hear this sober historian further. "As to the fact of the forgery there is now no doubt whatever. It is admitted by every one, Roman Catholics as well as others." Very good, professor; you have left controversy and you are now giving history. Alas! that you did not stop there. No, you must continue: "The defense of the Church is that if these decretals were not really written by the earliest Bishops of Rome, they might have been, and, if occasion had arisen, would have been. Such a defense sounds queer to modern ears, but we have to remember that literary forgery, especially where a matter of religion was concerned, has seldom been regarded with too rigid criticism. The end has seemed to justify the means, and the inquiry into origins is a piece of hostile impertinence."

Now, dear reader, we are not going to make impertinence the subject of our story, else we might ask the professor to characterize this bit of disgusting controversy intruded into a history; but we shall ask our historian, who is zealous for the inquiry of origins, where he originated this calumny of the Church's defense; we shall ask him, the scrupulously virtuous historian, whether it does not sound queer to modern ears to ascribe to another a defense he never made, and whether such an action is not a species of literary forgery? It is useless to ask the professor to quote the Roman Catholic writers who give such a defense. From the lofty heights of his superlative

knowledge he would calmly reply that the fact is notorious. We don't wish to enter into a controversy, but it seems to be called for that we here state what is the real defense of Catholic writers in this matter. First, these decretals were written not at Rome, but probably in France and were written not in the interests of the people, but in the interests of the Bishops to protect them against their metropolitans and against the secular power. Secondly, as Protestant writers have asserted that the "Forged Decretals" were the foundation and source of the Pope's supreme powers, Catholic writers have replied and shown that there is no power which the "Forged Decretals" accord to the Pope which he did not have and exercise long before the "Forged Decretals" came into existence. "They changed nothing, altered nothing, added nothing," says Rev. R. F. Clarke, S. J.⁴ For other Catholic writers see Conway, "The Question Box," p. 294; Parson's "Studies in Church History," II., p. 90; Ryder's "Catholic Controversy," p. 177. In all these writers there is no such defense as given by Professor Emerton. The real defense he travesties and perverts. The Church does not defend forgery; it defends the prerogatives of the Pope. The Church's real defense is: The Popes had and exercised all the powers mentioned in the "Forged Decretals" long before the forgery; therefore the "Forged Decretals" were not the source of those powers. Professor Emerton's travesty of the Church's defense reads: The Popes might have written the decretals and would have, if occasion had arisen; therefore the forgery of the decretals was justifiable and inquiry into their origin is hostile impertinence. We admit that this so-called defense of the Church sounds very queer, but we do not admit it to be the Church's defense, and we are anxious, if it is not hostile impertinence, to find its origin.

PROFESSOR EMERTON'S ABILITY TO MISUNDERSTAND.

In the last place we give the professor up because we think that even if he went to Catholic authorities, we are not sure he would understand them. We can forgive the simple guilelessness of unimprovable knowledge; we can enter into the frame of mind of a controversialist who in righteous indignation tears to tatters and litter a straw effigy of his own upholstering, but we cannot see what business a man has to try to write a history who can be guilty of such a confusion of ideas as is displayed in the following quotation. One would think it would be easy to get correct information on such a well-known subject as the sacraments of the Catholic Church. Professor Emerton says, page 544, "Mediæval Europe:" "At his

⁴ "Historical Papers," p. 44.

birth man was met by the first sacrament of baptism, whereby the portion of 'originalism,' or actual guiltiness which he had brought into the world with him, was removed. During his period of childhood he was theoretically without such sin as brought guilt with it, but at the age of puberty he was received into the full membership of the Christian community of potential sinners by the act of Confirmation, whereby his sinlessness for the moment was established. The third and most sacred of the sacraments was the Eucharist, the vast importance of which in the scheme of the Church polity we have had occasion elsewhere to describe. In the individual case it meant the absolute identification for the moment of the communicant with the person of Christ, and taken in connection with the fourth sacrament of Penance, it removed the guilt of whatever sin he might previously have committed. The sacrament of Penance included confession in the ear of the priest as its natural foundation. The frequency of repetition in the performance of these two central sacramental acts was largely a matter for the individual conscience, but it was for the interest of the priesthood to keep up the zeal of the faithful by urging them to claim their benefits as often as possible. The celebration of the Eucharist came to be the centre of the public religious service—not the sermon, the exhortation to right living, but this mystical, miraculous act of divine interference with the ordinary course of divine action, was made the all-absorbing object of interest to the Christian world. It must be repeated at least once a year during life, and finally, when life seemed nearing its close, this sacrament, under the name of the Last Unction, was the last action of the human soul trying to keep itself in harmony with the divine."

We invite the reader to a study of this interesting piece of theology. The sacramental theory of the Church of the Middle Ages was as follows: Original sin is brought into the world in portions by every child. Baptism removes from every child his portion, and up to the age of twelve or thereabouts renders him "theoretically without such sin as brought guilt with it." Whether the child could practically commit sin which would bring guilt with it, we do not know, but it does not seem so in the light of what follows. Confirmation is the next sacrament, and it makes the child a full-fledged member of the Christian community of potential sinners. It seems to have required a sacrament to make a potential sinner in olden times, and until Confirmation was received the child was evidently not a member of the potential sinners. Now the way Confirmation initiates the potential sinner is instructive. "For the moment" (how long that is we are not told) the

act of Confirmation establishes his sinlessness. Here we seem to see a slight contradiction. We imagined that the child was already at least theoretically sinless from baptism. Besides, we do not understand how a child could be made a potential sinner by Confirmation, unless before he was not a member of that edifying Christian community. These are mysteries. But, at any rate, Confirmation establishes the child in sinlessness and by that very act makes one who was already theoretically sinless a potential sinner. We hope you understand. The third sacrament is the Eucharist. "In the individual case this sacrament meant the absolute identification for the moment of the communicant with the person of Christ." We suppose the professor knows the meaning of his words and uses them according to that meaning when he says the communicant becomes for the moment absolutely identical with the person of Christ. To us this is another mystery. The Sacrament of Eucharist, moreover, "taken in connection with the fourth Sacrament of Penance removed the guilt of whatever sin he might previously have committed." Our potential sinner has now evidently left the ranks and has become a member of the community of actual sinners, but he cannot be reinstated in the ranks by Penance unless taken in connection with the Eucharist. The professor goes on to say that confession in the ear of the priest is the natural foundation of the Sacrament of Penance. The expression is peculiar, and the meaning somewhat elusive.

The theory now becomes, in our opinion, slightly confused. We think the professor has for the moment absolutely identified Mass and Communion. At all events "the celebration of Eucharist becomes the centre of the public religious service." Here the professor turns aside to note that the sermon, the exhortation to right living, did not become such a centre. The professor resumes and asserts that "this mystical, miraculous act of divine interference with the ordinary course of divine action was made the all-absorbing object of interest to the Christian world." It is not clear whether the professor refers to Communion or to the Mass; most likely to the latter. This act of miraculous interference, the professor continues, must be repeated once a year during life, and finally, when life seemed nearing its close, this sacrament (whether of the Mass or Communion it is hard to tell), under the name of the Last Unction, is the last action of the human soul trying to keep in harmony with the divine. We find the theory here rather difficult to follow. We do not quite understand how the act of divine interference becomes the last action of a human soul by taking the name of Last Unction. We do not understand that whereas Pro-

fessor Emerton says on page 542, "A sacrament in the Church sense is the outward sign of an inward grace," and on page 543, "A sacrament was a process in which the individual most concerned had no essential part," yet on the very next page Professor Emerton's sacrament of Last Unction, which seems to be the absolute identification of Communion, Mass and Extreme Unction, becomes the last action of a human soul.

Now, after a careful examination of all this confusion, we do not know where one could find a better example of complete ignorance associated with the supposed possession of complete knowledge. We do not remember having seen anywhere such a hopeless mixture of ideas concerning Catholic practice. We don't think a more ludicrous attempt at writing up Church beliefs and practices has been made since the Bible reader whom Newman describes in the "Present Position of Catholics in England" gave out his account of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. We ask in sheer amazement where the professor got his theology. We do not believe he has fished it up from the dark depths of his sub-consciousness or drawn it down from the lofty clouds of his over-soul. Where did he get it? It is true that on page 542, in beginning to speak of the sacramental system, he alludes to the writings of the later scholastics and to the Summa of Thomas Aquinas, but having had many years' acquaintance with both of these, we know that they set forth no such theory as Professor Emerton ascribes to the Middle Ages. We had rather believe the Professor was quoting second or third-hand, though he pretends not to be, than to believe that his ability to misunderstand is as egregious as a first-hand acquaintance with these high authorities would argue.

The publishers of Professor Emerton's works say: "Professor Emerton's scholarly histories are *widely used*. They have taken a high place on account of their *clearness*, their *accuracy in statement and conclusion*, their interpretation of the reasons of great movements and their *reliance upon original sources*." We have taken the liberty of italicizing this manifesto as well as the following commendation from Anson D. Morse, professor of history, Amherst College: "Professor Emerton seems to me to have surpassed most authors who have treated mediæval Europe in presenting as conclusions only what the evidence warrants. He is an *unusually safe guide* for that period." As the publishers stated that Professor Emerton's books were widely used, we inquired of them how many public schools used them, and we received a reply stating that "Professor Emerton intended these books for college work, and they have never been introduced to any extent in the public schools."

The wide use is apparently restricted to colleges. We must remark, however, that Professor Emerton's first intention, at least with regard to the "Introduction," was not college work. He says in his preface to "Mediæval Europe:" "When I began the former volume (*i. e.*, "An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages") I had in mind a reader of about fifteen years of age; but this person grew insensibly older as the work progressed, and, in fact, the book has found its chief use in the earlier stages of college teaching." It was these words we had in mind in the criticism we have given. Our remarks hold equally true for non-sectarian colleges.

The reader must by this time be curious to know who Professor Emerton is, where he works and what his business is. We copy the following from his title page: "Ephraim Emerton, Ph. D., Professor of History in Harvard University."

DUTY OF CATHOLICS.

In the light of the facts we have mentioned, the duty of Catholics is clear. Whether they are members of the school board or principals or teachers or ordinary taxpayers, it is their duty to protest against the presence of such books in their schools. It has often been remarked, and it needs to be said again, that we are bound to this duty more for the sake of our Protestant pupils than for our Catholic pupils. In the case of the latter statements against the Church are accepted with reserve, and inquiry usually elicits the true state of the matter, but in the case of Protestant pupils there are no misgivings. All statements against the Church are received with the confidence youth gives to print, and go to build up prejudice or ignorance of the Church's history and practices. If the histories used in our schools are carefully selected, if objectionable passages are cut out, if controverted questions are treated fairly either by not taking them up at all or by giving both sides, the question boxes of our missions to non-Catholics will not be filled with the calumnies learned at school. We must take the stream of prejudice at its source and stop it there. Publishers are naturally most anxious to give satisfaction; authors should be made to give it. We really think that the reading of history does more harm in our schools than any reading of the Bible, even with doctrinal comments, would do. We are all on our guard against such comments, but we are not always on our guard against statements in histories which come with the apparent authority of uncontroverted facts.

If, for example, Peter was not the supreme authority appointed by Christ to rule over His Church, if the Popes of Rome are not Peter's successors in that authority, then the Catholic Church is

not the true Church of Christ. We cannot permit any history into our public schools which denies these truths. We cannot permit our histories to teach the Anglican theory of Peter's and the Pope's supremacy of honor, not of authority, or any other theory which looks on the Pope's authority as a usurpation. That the Pope's authority developed with the development of the Church in the sense that temporal dominion was added to it, that feudal powers were accorded to it by the consent of Christendom during the Middle Ages, or in the sense that an authority exercised over many millions is greater in extent, in its body of laws and regulations and in its many details of system than that exercised over a few thousands, such a development we admit and such is written large on the face of history. But that the Popes' supreme power over the Church from not being came to be in the course of time by fraud, by usurpation, by the sole force of circumstances and not by the wish and appointment of Christ, no Catholic can admit, and there is no fact in history whose evidence compels him to admit it. On the contrary, we hold that history gives its evidence in favor of that supreme authority. There are, indeed, difficulties and serious ones, but they can be and have been answered. At all events, history gives no evidence to warrant the unqualified assertions we have found in some of our school books. We ask for the plain statement of the facts of history. Let us have them, and the Catholic will go home from school and draw his conclusions that the primacy always was, from Peter to Pius, while the Protestant may go home drawing the conclusion that the primacy was a title of honor merely or a development from nothing by forgery, usurpation and the chance concurrence of favorable circumstances. Give us the facts in school; let the theories be applied and conclusions drawn at home.

Finally, we say again that we don't ask the writers of our histories to teach Catholicity, but we do ask that they refrain from teaching anti-Catholicity. There are histories extant at present which have managed quite well to give the facts of history without drawing the conclusions of agnosticism, atheism, Protestantism of any form or Catholicism. They have other defects, but they do not seem to be marred, as far as our reading allows us to judge, by the defects which mar the histories we have criticized. If we single out any such histories for mention, it is for the simple reason that when objections are urged against a history in use, we must be prepared to suggest a substitute if our objections are to be effective. We mention, then, Sanderson and Hardiman's "Epitome of the World's History" and Fisher's "Outlines of Universal History" as

coming up in great part to the standard we ask for. If, however, even these appear unsuitable, let objections be urged until they and all other histories are satisfactorily revised, or until a new, fair and thoroughly non-sectarian history is written for the use of our public schools.

FRANCIS P. DONNELLY, S. J.

Scientific Chronicle.

ELECTRICITY AS A MOTIVE POWER IN TRANSPORTATION.

The rapid growth of electricity as a motive power in transportation has been brought before the public rather forcibly of late by the action of certain large steam railroad corporations in securing the control of large electrical traction interests, especially in the eastern portion of the country. As far as the steam roads were concerned the first electric roads, which were merely urban, were a useful adjunct, transferring passengers from one station to another in the large cities. When, however, the electric roads expanded and became suburban and interurban they became powerful competitors in the contest for passenger traffic, and on account of the advantage of position the electric road was the winner in almost every contest.

The opposition that at once arose on the part of the steam roads was at first confined to an effort to prevent the granting of charters to the electric roads. This failed so often where the evident public transportation facilities offered by the electrics demanded them that the steam roads have adopted another policy, namely, that of buying up the electric roads.

The question uppermost in the public mind is whether this action of the railroads means that the total facilities of transportation be increased or the facilities arising from sharp competition be removed. If the former, we may look to an enlargement of the field of electric traction and the public will be benefited. If the latter, the development of electric traction will be arrested for a time in certain localities and the public will suffer inconvenience and have a right to complain.

An important interview with Mr. Horace E. Andrews, published in the *Street Railway Journal*, clearly intimates the object of the steam railway companies, at least in the case of the New York Central. The Vanderbilt interests have secured control of the electric traction situation in Central New York. It appears, however, that the intention of the New York Central is to extend the electric traction system entirely across New York State. This will be accomplished by buying up existing electric traction interests where it is judged desirable and by electrifying portions of the West

Shore Railroad. The first step in this direction will be the electrifying of the West Shore between Utica and Syracuse.

The method of applying the electric current has not yet been decided upon. There is an objection to the overhead trolley, for the road is still to be used for steam traffic, and such an arrangement would endanger the lives of brakemen who have to walk on the tops of freight cars. The third rail system is also objectionable on account of the great number of grade crossings. A form of side contact trolley is being considered and may eventually be adopted. Whatever method may be adopted, it is certain that the short-haul passenger traffic and the package express will be taken care of by the electric division of the system. This opens up a large field for the development of electricity as a motive power.

In this same connection we note with pleasure that the New Haven Road has announced the improvement of its suburban service near New York. Four of its six tracks will be converted into the third-rail electric type, two for local and two for express trains, to run under a fifteen-minute headway. A connection will be made with the new subway and travel from the business section of the city to the suburbs facilitated. The electric installation of the Fourth avenue tunnel by the New York Central must be added to this scheme of electric motive power development.

The tendency of the large roads to develop rather than retard the progress of electricity as a motive power was shown by the New Haven Road during the past season. Several of the sea beaches had many advantages that should make them popular, but at the time the traffic would not warrant the construction of a trolley line. The company installed motor cars from the nearest railroad station to these localities and the increase in traffic has been such as to justify in the near future the construction of a trolley line as a feeder to the main steam road in accordance with similar developments in other localities.

Whatever the outcome of this struggle between electricity and steam it is certain that steam has capitulated in the case of city tunnels and of bridges and for suburban traffic, short haul feeders in country districts and even for express service in certain places.

BORAX AS A FOOD PRESERVATIVE.

From time immemorial men have endeavored by some means or other to arrest the natural decay of food products so as to preserve them for future use. The "putting up" of preserves is an event of frequent occurrence in most families. The smoke-house

is a familiar feature of many farmyards. Salting and pickling are universal means of such preservation. Alcohol, too, has been used. These means are all of a more or less respectable antiquity. More recently the chemist has suggested a number of substances to be used for this purpose, such as borax, salicylic and sulphurous acids. Their success as preservatives was various. We will not concern ourselves with this here. But the question arose, were not these foreign substances in food injurious to the health of the persons who partook of such food? It was to answer this question as satisfactorily as possible that an interesting series of experiments was recently conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture under the direction of Dr. H. W. Wiley, chief of the Bureau of Chemistry. Borax and boric acid were the preservatives examined. The results, of which what follows here is a digest, will be found either in Bulletin No. 84 of the Bureau of Chemistry, or in a summary form in Circular No. 15 of the same bureau.

Twelve young men, most of them connected with the Department of Agriculture, volunteered for the experiment. They were of temperate habits and in good health, and during the course of the investigations went about their occupations as usual. A dining room and kitchen were fitted up in the basement of the laboratory building of the Bureau and a bountiful table of wholesome food was provided. In the beginning the borax or boric acid was added to the food, but as this caused disgust in the subjects, either from the detection of it by the taste or from the imagination, it was afterwards administered in capsules in amounts corresponding to those which would have been added to the food itself. This made no difference in the results, as the contents of the capsules were rapidly mixed with the food in the stomach by the latter's peristaltic action, the capsules dissolving in a very few moments. Every precaution was taken to avoid disturbances, and the results cannot have been much vitiated by any outside cause. The candidates were under the medical supervision of Assistant Surgeon General H. D. Geddings and remained at the hygienic table about six months from December, 1902.

There were three periods in each series of experiments, the fore, preservative and after periods. In the fore period no borax was added to the food, and in this it was found that the average daily weight of the moist food, including water drank, was 4.20 per cent. of the total weight of the body. The figures for the preservative and after periods were 4.22 per cent. and 4.21 per cent, respectively. Evidently the use of the preservative had very little effect on the amount of food consumed. At this rate of food consumption it

would appear that an average healthy young man would consume in twenty-four days an amount of moist food, including water drunk, equal to his own weight. If we reduce the amount of food consumed to a water-fall basis the 4.20, 4.22 and 4.21 per cent. become 0.96, 0.99, 1.01; that is an amount of dry food equal in round numbers to one per cent. of the weight. The preservative tended to decrease slightly the weight of the body; this tendency was continued in most cases during the after period. There were a number of other physiological effects which one can find in the publications mentioned. We are more interested here with the conclusions reached. These are that it is better not to use borax or boric acid as a food preservative, even in small quantities. One-half a gram ($7\frac{1}{2}$ grains) a day, from the results, is too much for the normal man to receive regularly, though he may safely receive it for a limited period of time. In larger doses acute symptoms manifest themselves. "It is certain," to quote Dr. Wiley, "that the normal man could not long continue to receive three grams per day. . . . It appears, therefore, that both boric acid and borax, when continuously administered in small doses for a long period, or when given in large quantities for a short period, create disturbances of appetite, of digestion and of health."

THE ST. LOUIS CONGRESS OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

In the latter part of September there assembled at the World's Fair at St. Louis what was perhaps the most notable gathering of eminent representatives of art and science ever brought together in one congress. The object of this conclave was not the presentation of new discoveries and opinions, but rather the attempt to bring into closer relations the widely divergent and diverging specialties into which modern science is divided. To accomplish this end the plan of holding one general meeting on the opening day, at which all the delegates met, was adopted. On the second day this body divided itself into seven grand divisions, and in each of these was treated the unity of one of the seven divisions which had been made of science. These grand divisions were further divided into twenty-four departments, in which the fundamental conceptions and the progress of knowledge in each department was discussed. Following this the congress was further divided into about 128 sections, in which were discussed the problems and progress of the special sciences and the relations of each to the others. Some

three hundred addresses by eminent investigators were delivered on the unity, conceptions, history, relations and problems of the main sub-divisions of knowledge. A noteworthy feature of the congress is the fact that history, art, diplomacy, religion, education and indeed most of the great fields of human activity are brought into the plan. A better understanding between the representatives of these and those of the exact sciences ought to result. If the only achievement of the congress were the bringing more prominently forward the absurdity of the belief that there is or can be any conflict between religion and science, although there may be between religion and some scientists, its work and the immense labor its organization entailed will not have been in vain.

NOTES.

THE BAROCYCLONOMETER.—In the exhibit of the Philippine Weather Bureau at St. Louis there is displayed a somewhat small instrument of vast utility to the mariner, especially in the typhoon infested seas of the Far East. It is called by its inventor, the director of the bureau, the barocyclonometer, and its use is to predict the approach and direction of typhoons. It consists of an aneroid barometer which gives warning of the approach of the cyclone, and which can be adapted to the different normal barometric heights one finds in the Far East. This indicates the approach of the storm and its approximate distance. Besides the barometer, the apparatus holds also a cyclonometer, a new instrument, by means of which, owing to an ingenious arrangement, the direction of the vortex or centre of a typhoon can be judged with accuracy as well as the direction in which the centre is moving. The value of such an instrument is incalculable to mariners in the region mentioned, and in fact in any region of sudden and violent storms.

A NEW SATELLITE OF SATURN.—A ninth member has been added to Saturn's family of satellites. Its discovery was first announced by Professor W. H. Pickering, of Harvard Observatory, who found it on the star photographs taken at the southern station of the observatory at Anequipa, in Peru. Its orbit could not then be exactly determined. A recent note from the observatory confirms the discovery. The period of the satellite is about a year and a half. Its distance from Saturn is nearly 8,000,000 miles. It is very faint, being of a magnitude of $15\frac{1}{2}$, and cannot be observed by any

telescope of less than two feet aperture. Its diameter, judged from its brightness, is about 200 miles and is remarkable for having a period six times longer than that of any other satellite in the solar system. Professor Pickering has named it Phoebe. Phoebe was a sister of Saturn. Three of his satellites had been named after his sisters—Rhea, Dione and Lethys, and two after his brothers, Hyperion and Japetus, so the new-comer will feel quite at home. The members of the family are, however, very widely separated.

DISPELLING FOG BY ELECTRICITY.—Sir Oliver Lodge has succeeded recently in dispelling fog by electricity. The feasibility of this method on a small scale was proved first in the laboratory some years ago, when Sir Oliver succeeded in changing a cloud of steam in a bell jar into a fine rain by means of an electric discharge. So an experimental wire was led to a flag-staff on the roof of the laboratory of the university at Birmingham, England, the base of the wire being connected to the positive pole of a high-tension static electric machine, the opposite pole being laid to the earth. The wire terminated in a number of fine points, as widely separated as possible. The electricity streamed from these and the fog in the immediate vicinity of the points, leaving a space absolutely clear.

D. T. O'SULLIVAN, S. J.

Boston, Mass.

Book Reviews.

IRISH LITERATURE. . Justin McCarthy, M. P., Editor-in-chief.; Maurice F. Egan, LL. D., Douglas Hyde, LL. D., Lady Gregory and James Jeffrey Roche, LL. D., associate editors; Charles Welsh, managing editor. 10 vols. Large 8vo. pp. 4,500, illustrated. Philadelphia: John D. Morris & Co.

The opening paragraph of Justin McCarthy's introductory article indicates the intent and purpose of the work. He says:

"'Irish Literature' is intended to give to the reading world a *comprehensive*, if only rapid, glance at the whole development of literary art in prose and poetry from the opening of Ireland's history. I may say at once that when I use the words 'opening of Irish history' I do not intend to convey the idea that the survey is limited to that period of Ireland's story which is recognized as coming within the domain of what we call authenticated historical narrative. The real history of most countries, probably of all countries, could be but little understood or appreciated, could indeed hardly be proved to have its claim to authenticity, if we did not take into account the teachings of myth and of legend. This is especially to be borne in mind when we are dealing with the story of Ireland. Only by giving full attention to the legends and the poems, the memory of which has been preserved for us from days long before the period when the idea of authentic history had come into men's minds, can we understand the character and the temperament of the Irish race."

It will be seen at a glance that such a work has a world-wide significance because it embraces the literary productions of a period in history hardly covered by any other literature, but principally because it includes treasures drawn from the rich field of ancient Celtic literature almost unknown in modern times until very recently, when the study of Ireland's national language has brought them to light. The importance of the literature of this period not only to the student of Irish history, but to the student of history in general, may be gathered from the following quotation:

"The old bardic literature gives us the history of the ancient Irish, as told spontaneously and believingly by themselves in the pagan times before Europe had begun at all to influence their ideas. It is the fount at which the pagan Irish drank in their moral and religious ideas—the source of their martial aspirations in the heroic age—the well whence they drew the inspiration of gentle and noble thoughts, of family affections, of loyalty to friends, of social justice,

of faith in treaties, of fair play in war, of respect for the weak, of reverence for the heroes and the immortal gods of Erin."

The comprehensiveness of the work shows clearly the continuity of Irish genius reaching back at least two thousand years and lost sight of during that long middle period when the suppression of the national language forced Ireland's sons to express their gems of thought in a foreign tongue, and almost hide their national identity in a foreign land. But even during that period the very obstacles which might have prevented the literary advancement of any other nation furnished occasions for the greater development of Irish genius. The characteristics of the Irish nature are so pronounced that they cannot be suppressed or entirely hidden. They may not stand out so strikingly at all times, but they are always apparent to any except the most superficial student. A work like that before us was required to emphasize this truth, for the number of names in English literature that rightfully belong to the little island across the way is surprising.

It is not our purpose, however, to create the impression that "Irish Literature" has a historical value only, although this is very great. Its strongest claim lies in its intrinsic merits. The world has no finer specimens of song and story, of legend and anecdote, of play and romance than those which have come from the pen of Irishmen.

A work of this kind, so extensive and so comprehensive, required very careful planning on a large and liberal scale, and the most important consideration was the editorial staff, for no one man could do it successfully within a reasonable time, if at all. The name of the Hon. Justin McCarthy, recognized wherever the island is known as preëminently a man of letters and a statesman, was the very best that could be found to head the list. He has been assisted by a goodly group, chosen like himself because of their general fitness, and each one because of his or her special fitness for some particular branch of the work.

The plan followed was excellent and ought to produce the best results. It is thus told in the words of the managing editor:

"First of all the whole field of Irish literature, including the works of the translators from the ancient Irish, was carefully surveyed and a mass of material was collected sufficient in quantity for two or three such libraries as this. Lists of these authors and their writings were then prepared and forwarded to each member of the committee of selection, who subjected these lists to a most careful and critical process of elimination.

"The results of their independent recensions were carefully

brought together, compared and combined. A new list was then made and this, after being submitted to each of the associate editors, was in turn finally examined and passed upon by the editor-in-chief, Hon. Justin McCarthy, and the eminent critic, Mr. Stephen Gwynn, in personal conference. Literary merit and human interest have been the touchstones employed in choosing the contents of this work, and at the same time care has been taken to avoid anything which could wound the feelings or offend the taste of any class or creed.

"The selection has been made without bias, religious, political or social, and without fear or favor. There has been no dearth of the right material. Indeed, the problem was, 'What to discard?' At the same time certain of these writings were scattered through so many centuries and in so many remote places, that their discovery and inclusion here makes them treasure-trove."

The question of arrangement was a serious one, and after much thought the alphabetical method of presenting the material was decided on. Hence each author is presented in alphabetical order. Each author is introduced by a short biographical sketch, generally brief, but comprehensive and satisfying.

The tenth volume contains brief biographies of ancient Celtic authors, translations from whose works appear in the other volumes under the names of translators. This volume also contains a number of contributions printed in Gaelic characters, with English translations on the opposite pages.

One of the most valuable features in "Irish Literature" is a series of special articles written by men who are the best qualified to deal with the subject assigned to them. These constitute a complete philosophical survey of the whole field and embody the latest knowledge on the subject of the origin, development and growth of the national literature of Ireland, including the "General Introduction," by Mr. Justin McCarthy; "Modern Irish Poetry," by Mr. William Butler Yeats; "Early Irish Literature," by Dr. Douglas Hyde; "Ireland's Influence on European Literature," by Dr. George Sigerson; "Irish Novels," by Maurice Francis Egan; "Irish Orators and Oratory," by the late J. F. Taylor; "The Sunniness of Irish Life," by Mr. Michael McDonough; "Irish Wit and Humor," by Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue; "A Brief Glance at Irish History" and "The Fairy and Folk Tales of Ireland," by Mr. Charles Welsh, and "The Irish Literary Theatre," by Mr. Stephen Gwynn.

In no field of action is it truer that the end crowns the work than in book-making, and the crown is the index. In this work there are

several crowns, each admirable and each enhancing its value. They are so many keys which open the doors that lead the reader at once to every author, topic or department, instead of introducing him through the outer door only, and then leaving him at the entrance to a long corridor, with numerous doors, on which he must knock until he finds the man he is searching for.

Looking at the work as a whole, the thinking man must say: the makers of this book have done a great work, never done before, too long postponed, and at last done well. All classes of readers are their debtors, but especially Irishmen and their descendants, for this array of great authors, orators, statesmen, dramatists and poets must convince the world that Ireland is no less worthy of her place among the nations now than she was when she merited the title of the "Islands of Saints and Scholars," and when Dr. Johnson called her the "School of the West, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature."

THE OLD RIDDLE AND THE NEWEST ANSWER. By *John Gerard, S. J., F. L. S.* 12mo., pp. x+293. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The Old Riddle is: What is the force or power at the back of Nature which first set her going, and whence does she draw the capability of performing the operations which we find her performing every day; that force or power which must be the ultimate origin of everything that is in the world? And the Newest Answer is supposed to be furnished by modern scientists in evolution.

Although the author does not say so, his book is an admirable answer to the Rationalist Press Association, and more especially to "Haeckel's Riddle of the Universe." We cheerfully subscribe to the estimate of a reviewer who says: "The answer is as complete as it is crushing. Father Gerard carries the war into the enemies' camp, and once there, makes havoc of the defenses."

The book is admirable in every respect. The claims of those who hold that evolution has finally solved the enigma of the universe are fairly and clearly stated, and then the answers to those claims are so tersely and cogently put that no fair-minded man can escape from them.

It is all done so neatly and so brightly that the book has a charm about it rare in works of this kind. It will be especially useful for those who are attending our public high schools and secular universities where materialism is in the atmosphere, if not secretly or publicly taught. We warmly recommend the parents of

such persons—Protestant or Catholic—to place this book in their hands.

CONCERNING THE HOLY BIBLE: Its Use and Abuse. By the *Right Rev. Monsignor John S. Vaughan*, Canon of Westminster, author of "Life After Death," "Faith and Folly," "Thoughts for all Times," etc. 12mo., pp. xvi. + 269. London: R. & T. Washbourne. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The Right Rev. author tells us that he was moved to pen the present work by the Encyclical of our late Holy Father Leo XIII. on the Holy Scriptures and by the sayings of other saintly men on the same subject. All these writers dwell upon the necessity of the Holy Scriptures for all classes of men. Our author noticed that innumerable works of great erudition exist for the learned and leisured classes, while there are very few helps for the masses. The present work has been written to help these. The author says: "We address ourselves to the masses of the people—to the multitudes that fill our churches, to the ordinary men and women of the world, to tradesmen, artisans and laborers, whether in field or factory—in a word, to those many millions of men and women whose occupations allow them little time for deep study and prolonged and wearisome research."

This is surely a noble purpose, and the author has carried it out in his usual orderly, clear style. The history of the Bible, the various copies, the translations, its inspiration, its interpretation, its treatment by the Catholic Church and by the sects, its difficulties—all are passed upon in a manner which does not require deep learning in the reader, because all perplexing, abstruse and recondite questions and contentions have been avoided.

The book is really all that it claims to be and may be recommended in the highest terms. French, Italian and Dutch editions are being prepared.

DISSERTATIONES SELECTÆ IN HISTORIAM ECCLESIASTICAM. Auctore *Bernardo Jungmann*, Eccl. Cathedr. Brugens. Canon. hom. Philos. et S. Theolog., Doct. ac Profess. ord. Hist. eccl. et Patrol. in Universitate Cath. Lovaniensi. Tomi vii., 8vo. pp. circ. 3,150. Neo Eboraci: Fr. Pustet.

It speaks well for the study of ecclesiastical history that a new edition of Professor Jungmann's dissertations should be called for at this time. Originally given as lectures at Louvain, they were put into this permanent form, first for the benefit of the students at Louvain who were taking courses in theology and canon law at that institution, and secondly to furnish material for those who had

to take part in public discussions before receiving their academic degrees.

The book treats of the leading events in ecclesiastical history beginning with the first century and ending with the eighteenth. It resembles in this respect Palma's work in Latin and Parson's in English. After a chapter on the rise and progress of ecclesiastical history and its division into three epochs extending from the beginning to the seventh century, from the seventh to the sixteenth, and from the sixteenth to the present time, the author treats in order of St. Peter at Rome, the Popes of the first and second centuries, the General Councils, the heresies, the disputes which from time to time disturbed the Church in general in regard to questions of government, discipline or ceremonial and the reigns of particular Popes who stand out in history because of the conditions in which they lived or some controversy in which they took part.

The striking characteristics of the dissertations are their clearness, their fullness and their order. The author's style is winning; he knows what his students need and he supplies, and he does not require them to go to some one else to supply deficiencies, although he quotes the best authorities at every step. The student of Church history has here an admirable collection of treatises on leading topics which will not disappoint him.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. Abridged edition. By *Rev. Francis E. Gigot, S. S., D. D.*, Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. 12mo., pp. 347. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This abridged edition of the reverend writer's larger work, which was published a few years ago and which was so well received that the third edition is almost exhausted, has been prepared in order to enable students to cover the whole ground in the short time at their disposal for this study, and also to furnish a text-book on the subject for colleges and other institutions where the larger work could not be used. In order that the original work may serve for reference, and also for more extensive study for those who have time to pursue it, the abridged edition takes up the same general topics and follows the same general method of treatment as the larger work. The "Synopsis" of the chapters have been substantially preserved, and the text of the complete edition, though constantly shortened, has been extensively utilized. Questions of minor importance have either been dropped or materially abridged, or at least printed in smaller type.

There is need of a book of this kind, and if it is the means of

spreading the study of the Holy Scriptures, as it should be, it will have done a good work.

LIFE AND LIFE-WORK OF MOTHER THEODORE GUERIN, Foundress of the Sisters of Providence at St. Mary's of the Woods, Vigo County, Indiana. By a Member of the Congregation. Preface by Right Rev. Francis Silas Chatard. Introduction by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons. 12mo., pp. xx.+500. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This intensely interesting biography of Mother Theodore adds a very important chapter to the history of the Church in the West. The Diocese of Vincennes is one of the oldest in that region, and the name of Mother Theodore is closely identified with it from the time that she and her companions set out from their mother house in Ruille-suer-Loir until the present, for the spirit of that intrepid woman who obeyed the voice of God calling her across the sea and by perilous journeys to the then almost unexplored nearer West, still lives and vivifies her worthy followers in the houses which have grown from the humble foundation of nearly three-quarters of a century ago. The story of that call, of the long and painful journey by land and of the foundation in a log cabin in the midst of a forest, of the many struggles that followed, met bravely, won nobly—all this is graphically told, generally in her own words as found in her diary and letters. It is a beautiful story, and one can feel his faith as he reads it. Its publication will do good in many ways. It was due to her whose deeds it narrates; it furnishes valuable material for the future Church historian; it sets up an example which religious may follow and the laity emulate.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ELOQUENCE. By *Don Antonio de Capmany*, Member of the Royal Academy of History, and the Royal Academy of Literature, Seville. Translated from the Spanish by the Rev. W. McLoughlin, Mt. Melleray Abbey, Waterford. 12mo., pp. xxviii.+318. Dublin: James Duffy & Co.

The translator says: "Looking through the shelves of the abbey library one day, I happened by the merest accident to meet an old Spanish book neatly printed and handsomely bound, with ornamental gilding, in what might be termed a genteel style, but bearing all the marks of age. On examining it more closely it seemed to me a most excellent work, written by an accomplished scholar of sound judgment and refined taste, perfectly familiar with the great models of antiquity, and I could not but conclude that if it were translated into English it might be useful to many persons. Such were the incidents that led to this translation."

The author says as to his object: "The chief end proposed in this work is the analysis of those magnificent flashes of intellect, those sublime sayings which in all ages and lands have won for their authors the fame of eloquence. Thus I limit myself to the general principles of oratory as points suitable for the taste, practice and benefit of the majority of readers, and I treat as almost irrelevant the other parts of rhetoric. This art is taught in the halls, and in them are formed rhetoricians; but men who have held sway over others by their powers of speech have attained to eminence in the world by a desire of emulating the glory of distinguished orators, or by a necessity of imitating their example in the defense of virtue, truth and justice."

There remains nothing for us to say except that the author has faithfully carried out his purpose and the translator has faithfully provided an English dress for his work.

DIE RUTHENISCH-ROEMISCHE KIRCHENVEREINIGUNG GENANNT UNION ZU BREST. Von Dr. Eduard Likowski, Weihbischof in Posen. Aus dem Polnischen uebertragen von Prælat Dr. Paul Jedzink. Freiburg: Herder. Price, \$2.10 net.

This is a German translation of a work originally written in Polish by the Auxiliary Bishop of Posen, on occasion of the tercentennial of an event of prime importance in the history of the Ruthenian Church. The Ruthenians are of Slavish origin, who having been converted to Christianity by the Greek missionaries, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, follow the Greek Rite and use the Greek liturgy translated into their ancient tongue. Their history, contrasted with that of their brethren in race, the faithful Poles, is an emphatic demonstration of the important part which the Latin language has played in the development of culture and the preservation of ecclesiastical unity. Poland, converted by the West and always in close touch with Western Europe, has remained one of the loyalest of Catholic nations, and has taken a very prominent part in the evolution of the sciences. Witness the immortal name of Copernicus. These advantages were denied the Ruthenians; and it is hard to suppress a doubt as to the wisdom of the policy adopted by their saintly apostles, and sanctioned by Pope Nicholas I. of using a separate language in their sacred liturgy. Like the other spiritual subjects of Byzantium, they drifted unconsciously into schism, forgot in course of time the allegiance due to the Apostolic See, and when, in 1589, Moscow declared itself independent of Constantinople, the Ruthenians found themselves in the embarrassing position of belonging politically to Catholic Poland, whilst they

were bound by ties of religion to the hereditary enemies of their country, the Russians. The anomaly suggested its own remedy. A strong national sentiment, fostered by Jesuit missionaries and encouraged by the Polish Government, was awakened among them in favor of reunion with Rome. The terms of agreement were established in a great synod held in 1596 in the town whose unpronounceable name of Brzesc has been mitigated into Brest. The Ruthenians were received into the bosom of the one true Church, retaining their traditional rites and customs. This event, so joyful to the Catholic world, had a maddening effect on that insensate brute, which is now feeling the strength of God's just vengeance, the Russian Bear. Just then the Muscovite rage was impotent and ridiculous; but religion as well as freedom "shrieked when Kosciuszko fell." The brutal treatment of the United Ruthenians by Russian despotism during the past century makes one's blood boil. Happy those of the unfortunate race who, in the partition of Poland, fell to Austria! Bishop Likowski hopes for better days in the near future, and does not despair of the conversion of Russia itself. May his anticipations prove veracious. Should it ever happen that the Muscovite entered the bosom of Mother Church, the terms of union would, no doubt, be identical with those of the Synod of Brest.

CONCILIUM TRIDENTINUM. Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum Nova Collectio. Edidit Societas Goerresiana. Tomus Quartus: Actorum Pars Prima. Collegit, Edidit, Illustravit Stephanus Ehses: Friburgi Brisgoviae. Sumptibus Herder. Introductory pages, cxli.; text, 619. Price, \$15.00 net.

Two years ago we extended a most hearty greeting to the first volume of this important publication, which we owe to the enterprise of the Goerres Society and of the renowned house of Herder. As we then explained, the vast field has been mapped out and the labor divided among several intellectual toilers. To Dr. Merkle has been assigned the task of editing the official diaries and allied documents. He estimates that his part of the work will fill three stately volumes, the first of which has already appeared and has met with unstinted applause. The *Acta* of the Council have been entrusted to the capable hands of Stephen Ehses, the distinguished priest who conducts the Historical Institute of the Goerres-Gesellschaft in Rome, is associate editor of the Roemische Quartalschrift, has written many valuable monographs and from whom, since he is still in the prime of life, we may expect even greater things in days to come. The present volume is in every way worthy of the subject and of the editor's reputation for exhaustive research.

The introductory pages, in which he sums up the *Vorgeschichte* of the Council, will be extremely useful to teachers of Church history, because, confining himself strictly to the subject in hand, to the exclusion of all matters extraneous to his purpose, he gives a succinct narrative of all events that tended to advance or retard the convocation of the Council. The main body of the book is occupied with the complete *Acta*, together with everything therewith connected, beginning with the abortive effort to convoke the Council in Mantua in 1536, and ending with the third session held in Trent, February 4, 1546. The array of documents brings out more prominently than the most eloquent historian could have done the indomitable energy of the grand old Farnese Pontiff, Pope Paul III., and causes us to regret that he was not seated on the Papal Chair when the religious disturbances first broke out. It will be seen, therefore, that at the end of this huge volume we have only reached what Ehses appropriately terms "the vestibule" of the Council of Trent. The Fathers are assembled in their places; the chosen preachers have spoken impressively of the magnitude and importance of the tasks that lie before them; all preliminaries incidental to the organization of a great deliberative assembly have been discussed and settled; the Council is now ready for the transaction of business. The next volume will open with the immortal fourth session, in which the Catholic Church in council assembled defined for all time the true doctrine regarding the inspiration and use of Holy Scripture. We pray God to prosper this huge undertaking, which will shed such lustre upon the Catholic science of our generation, and we sincerely trust that the great publishing house which shouldered the immense enterprise will come out of it without serious financial loss. The "*Goncilium Tridentinum*" alone would suffice to immortalize and endear to Catholics the name of Herder.

DER INDEX DET VERBOTENEN BUECHER: in seiner neuen Fassung dargelegt und rechtlich-historisch gewuerdigt: Von *Joseph Hùgers, S. J.* Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. Price, \$3.25 net.

This is a most instructive and interesting treatise on the important subject of the ecclesiastical censure of books, which the learned author treats from the two-fold standpoint of canon law and history. The present legislation is the work of the immortal Pontiff, Leo XIII., of happy memory, whose reforming hand is visible in this, as in so many other phases of pontifical solicitude. By his Bull "*Officiorum ac munerum*," dated January 25, 1897, the great Pope

thoroughly revised the legislation of his predecessors, making such changes and modifications as the changed conditions of modern life seemed to demand. Proceeding along the lines marked by this constitution, the Sacred Congregation of the Index, three years later, issued a revised edition of the "Index Librorum Prohibitorum," which, being issued by order and authority of the Vicar of Christ, obtains everywhere full force of law and must be accepted with reverent obedience by all faithful children of the Church. The opinion sometimes expressed that at the present time, or in certain countries, the laws of the Index have no binding force will thus be seen to be entirely erroneous. The theory that our people may wander at will in forbidden literary pastures is as pernicious as that other theory that "the American girl needs no chaperon." No one, not even the most learned or holy, not even he who does so in the discharge of duty, can read a bad book with perfect impunity. Some of the poison is sure to take effect. Some people seem to be of opinion that the censure of books is a peculiarly Catholic institution; but Father Hilgers, surveying one country after another, shows conclusively that Protestant rulers have been, to say the least, equally vigilant and severe, especially in prohibiting the circulation of Catholic doctrine. The whole treatise is excellent and timely. Particularly useful is the general index of authors and works at the end, greatly facilitating the use of the book.

WEBSTER'S INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.
G. & C. Merriam Company, Springfield, Mass., 1904.

This is substantially the same as the edition of 1890, except that here we have a Supplement containing an addition of 25,000 words, phrases and definitions prepared under the direct supervision of William T. Harris, Ph. D., LL. D., United States Commissioner of Education, assisted by a large corps of competent specialists and editors. The Dictionary is thus modernized and brought down to the beginning of the new century.

The ten years elapsing between the publication of the 1890 edition and that at present before us were years of swift growth and great development in movements social, industrial and intellectual. The language grew with these movements, and it was to cope with this enlargement that the Supplement of 25,000 additional words and phrases was compiled.

Tastes with regard to dictionaries differ widely, some preferring this lexicon and some that; but we should say that, in words relating to Catholic affairs at least—such words, for instance, as "Jesuit"

and its derivatives, and "indulgences"—Webster's International, while not so full in its definitions as other dictionaries, is more just and satisfactory. The pronouncing biographical section is up-to-date in its information, and gives a number of Catholic worthies. We fail to find the name, however, of "Jack" Barry, Father of the American Navy, although other naval officers with far less claims to be remembered are given. The compiler makes some curious distinctions. Thomas Moore is described as an Irish poet, but Oliver Goldsmith is given as an *English* man of letters, and Dean Swift as a *British* author. Bishop Potter, of New York, finds a place, but we look in vain for Bishop Spalding, of Peoria.

On the whole, one can find but little fault with this edition of Webster's International Dictionary. It amply sustains the claims made for it by the publishers.

HERDER'S KONVERSATIONS-LEXIKON. Dritte Auflage; Reich Illustriert durch Text-abbildungen, Tafeln und Karten. Zweiter Band: Bonar bis Eldorado. Dritter Band: Elea bis Gyulay. B. Herder: St. Louis, Mo. Price, \$3.50 per vol.

We are in receipt of Volumes II. and III. of the third edition of Herder's "Konversations-Lexikon," which bring the work down to the letter H. We find this Lexicon quite as indispensable for secular matters as the well-known "Kirchen-Lexikon" for religious affairs. For copious and accurate information on all possible subjects of interest, condensed into the smallest compass, it is without a peer. Any one who possesses these two lexicons may dispense with three-fourths of the remaining books of his library. We are particularly pleased that biographical notices are not confined to those who are dead. It is generally more difficult to obtain information about our contemporaries than about people who lived centuries ago.

THE HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA AND ITS MISSIONS. By *Brian J. O'Neen*. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 700, illustrated. \$5.00. San Francisco: Whittaker & Rey.

This very interesting historical work from the pen of one of our oldest and ablest contributors is now on the press, and will probably be ready when this number of the *QUARTERLY* comes into the hands of our readers. It purports to tell the story of both the secular and religious settlements of the two Californias from the time of Cortez to the union of New California with the United States. The writer further traces the steps by which the general mission

system was evolved in Spanish America during the sixteenth century. The parts in its evolution played separately by religious zeal, enlightened policy and vulgar greed among the early conquerors are illustrated by historical documents. The shares taken respectively by the Spanish authorities and religious orders of the Church in the work of civilizing the savage tribes of America are treated at length. Among the subjects specially touched on are the policy of Isabella, Ximenes and Charles V. towards Indian rights, the ideals of civilization of the Spanish rulers, the actual relations between the State and Catholic missions, the origin of the Pious Fund, the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and the true meaning of secularization of missions according to Spanish law. Any communications regarding the book may be sent to the Rev. Father Kenna, S. J., Santa Clara College, Cal.

LES SAINTS: SAINTE GERMAINE COUSIN (1579-1601), par *Louis Veuillot*, complétée par *François Veuillot*. Un vol. in-12 de II. + 197 pages.

LE BIENHEUREUX THOMAS MORE (1478-1535), par *Henri Brémond*. I. vol. in-12 de VIII. + 193 pages.

SAINT LEON IX. (1002-1054), par l'abbé *Eug. Martin*, docteur ès lettres, professeur à l'École Saint-Sigisbert, de Nancy. I. vol. in-12 de VIII. + 208 pages.

LA BIENHEUREUSE JEANNE DE LESTONNAC (1556-1640), par l'abbé *R. Cousard*, docteur ès lettres, supérieur du petit séminaire d'Agen. I. vol. in-12 de 220 pages.

SAINT WANDRILLE (VI.-VII. siècle), par *Dom Besse*. I. vol. in-12 de v. + 183 pages. Librairie Victor Lecoffre, Paris.

At a time when Germaine Cousin was not yet Blessed, Louis Veuillot had devoted to her a little book which was long neglected. The editors of "The Saints" have reprinted it, adding to it materially by the pen of François Veuillot, the nephew of the great controversialist and the well-known editor of "l'Univers." François Veuillot has found new and interesting details in the process of canonization, in the series of miracles recently performed under the invocation of the saint and in the history of her veneration. This last part is of our own time and places in a clear light the power exercised so long after her death by the spirit of the modest shepherdess and by the acts of faith which have gained her aid.

Few persons are aware that Thomas More, better known under the name of Thomas Morus, is entitled to a place among the saints. Many may even be astonished to see the great chancellor of Henry VIII., the friend of Erasmus, the author of *Utopia*, the thrice-married man, known for his flashes of wit and his good humor, taking

a place in such a company. Nothing, however, is more certain; Thomas More has been beatified by the Catholic Church, by whom he is justly considered a martyr. He was beheaded by order of the King for having willed to maintain the rights of the Holy See and Catholic morals by refusing to recognize the spiritual sovereignty which Henry claimed for himself. It is this life and death of which M. Henri Bremond tells, a writer of whom the Society of Jesus was very proud. Since the suppression of the congregations M. Bremond has resided in London; from there he sends us this original and charming volume, in which the secular life of Blessed Thomas is analyzed with a rare delicacy and his death described in a most edifying manner.

Abbé Martin is well known to the learned world by his fine history of the dioceses of Toul and Nancy, works crowned by the Institute. He now gives us the history of a man honored by all Alsace and Lorraine, Bruno the Alsatian, afterwards Pope Leo IX. Leo IX. reestablished order in the Church, reformed the clergy, worked without ceasing for peace among the nations. Finally he began forcibly that social work which was to make illustrious Gregory VII. Abbé Martin's work is new, solid, clearly composed and agreeably written.

Jeanne de Lestonnac, Marquise de Montferrand, the niece of Montaigne, had seen with sorrow her mother become a Calvinist, and has thus been thrown into the midst of the religious agitation of the end of the sixteenth century. After twenty-four years of a happy marriage which had been blessed with numerous children, she resolved to found in her country of Guyenne a religious order as the saintly widow of Jeanne de Chantal had done in Bourgogne. The principal object she had in mind was to provide teachers for young girls, fitted to guard them from heresy. At the present time, two years after her beatification, her religious—those of Notre Dame—are twenty-eight hundred in number, educating nearly twenty thousand young girls in seventy-seven communities, scattered over two worlds. It is this life that has been written by Abbé Couzard, superior of the petit seminaire of Agen. He was on the very spot to best gather the documents for it; he has accomplished his useful task with pleasing pathos.

The well-known Benedictine Dom Besse sends us from his exile the life of one of his most illustrious predecessors in the religious life during the last twelve hundred years, Saint Wandrille, abbot of

Fontenelle, in Normandy. After having been one of the "paladins" of King Dagobert, Saint Wandrille entered the order of Saint Benedict, and he was one of the most useful creators of those centres of Christian life and true civilization which we call monasteries. The one which he founded and which was consecrated by Saint Ouen, Bishop of Rouen, contained three hundred monks; it was one of our first schools of agriculture, rural industry and commerce. Assured learning, clearness, serenity, cordial and restful simplicity—such are the characteristics which Benedictine tradition gives us in this little volume.

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE MOTHER OF GOD. An exposition by *Archbishop Ullathorne*. Revised by Canon Iles, D. D., with an introduction by the Bishop of Birmingham. 12mo., pp. 222. New York: Benziger Brothers.

It is certainly fitting that a new and revised edition of Bishop Ullathorne's work on the Immaculate Conception should appear in this year of jubilee. It has stood the test of time, which is the severest of all tests, and therefore is worthy of reproduction.

It was the production of a busy man, as most good things are, having been written by the author in 1854 in the intervals of leisure to be found during the course of a canonical visitation of his diocese. It was first printed in 1855, and reprinted several times from the original plates. The author always intended to revise it and enlarge it, and actually began the work, but did not complete it.

The Bishop of Birmingham, under whose direction this edition was prepared, entrusted the work of revision to Very Rev. Canon Iles, who tells us that his time has been given principally to verifying and correcting references. He has made some slight changes and has added the notes and other matter prepared by the right reverend author.

The book is very nicely made and should receive a hearty welcome at this time, when the attention of the whole Christian world is drawn to the blessed subject by the universal jubilee in honor of the promulgation of the dogma.

LIVES OF THE ENGLISH MARTYRS DECLARED BLESSED BY POPE LEO XIII. IN 1886 AND 1895. Written by Fathers of the Oratory, of the Secular Clergy and of the Society of Jesus. Completed and edited by Dom Bede Camm, O. S. B., of Erdington Abbey. Vol. I. Martyrs Under Henry VIII. 12mo., pp. lxxvi.+547. London: Burns & Oakes. New York: Benziger Brothers.

How good it is and consoling to have the lives of these blessed servants of God, our dear brethren in Christ, rightly written and

preserved for the greater glory of God and for our edification. Even if only one copy were made, as in ancient times, it would be an occasion for rejoicing, but now that the glorious record can be multiplied and spread throughout the world, we should rejoice universally. We have met all this glorious company before, but they were in the midst of such turmoil and bloodshed and were hurried past with the great rush of events that we scarcely had time to recognize them. Now, however, in this book, and in others which will follow, they are set before us in all their grandeur of Christ's holy martyrs.

In order to make a proper setting for the picture the book begins with a description of beatification. Then follows a history of the persecution which crowned the blessed company, and then the holy ones pass before us suffering persecution for Jesus' sake and entering into the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed John Lisher and Blessed Thomas More are the best known of the band, but the reader will be equally edified and strengthened by the examples of the others, who occupied positions not so conspicuous.

The authors are Dom Bede Camm, O. S. B., Father Edward S. Keogh, Cong. Orat., Father John Morris, S. J., Father John Pollen, S. J., and Father Richard Stanton, Cong. Orat.

IMITATION OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS. By *Rev. F. Armandi, S. J.* Translated from the Latin by I. M. Fastre. New Edition with Morning Prayers, Devotions for Mass, Confession, Communion, etc. 16mo., pp. 784. New York: Benziger Brothers.

This book, modeled on the "Imitation of Christ," was written in Amercia in 1846 in fulfillment of a promise made during a serious illness. It has the reputation of being a work of great merit, and a worthy companion of the "Imitation," by a' Kempis, which it is said to surpass in regularity of plan. It is also said to be more complete and more definite. It is divided into books, as the "Imitation" is, and Jesus and the Disciple are introduced, but there is a "Directory" before each book which sets forth the plan with the means to carry it out and the end to be attained. The book is most suitable for meditation. It contains a storehouse of matter on the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and will be of special value to directors and promoters.

OXFORD CONFERENCES ON PRAYER. By *Fr. Vincent McNabb, O. P.* St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, 90 cents.

These eight conferences on prayer, written from notes of sermons

delivered by the distinguished Dominican before the Catholic undergraduates of the University of Oxford, are models of the best type of oratory for which his order is renowned. We here find, as was to be expected, solid Thomistic theology used as the foundation of an edifice of piety. Father McNabb is master of a very engaging style and must be an interesting and impressive preacher. We anticipate that his little book will become a great favorite for spiritual retreats of the clergy, to which purpose, in form and matter, it is admirably adapted. We found the conference on "The Prayer of Christ" was of particular inspiration.

THE YOUNG PRIEST: Conferences on the Apostolic Life. By *Herbert, Cardinal Vaughan*, Archbishop of Westminster. Edited by his brother Monsignor, Canon John S. Vaughan. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. Price, \$2.00 net.

This admirable little book was written by the late lamented Archbishop of Westminster during his last illness, and may be called his last will and testament to the clergy who had received the grace of priestly ordination by the imposition of his hands. He speaks to them in the most loving terms, from a heart overflowing with love of God and solicitude for the salvation of souls. It is replete with the wisdom accumulated during a lengthy and fruitful career in the priesthood and episcopacy. Happy the priest, young or old, who will take to heart and follow out in life the paternal admonitions of the saintly Cardinal.

A STRANGE RAILROAD WRECK. By *George Collins*. 12mo., pp. 40. New York: Broadway Publishing Co., 835 Broadway.

We are glad to call attention to this book, not only because the story is interesting, but principally because the author is one who has been grievously afflicted since boyhood, for more than twenty years, with rheumatism in such a form as to almost completely disable him. He hopes to obtain sufficient funds from the sale of this book to enable him to continue treatment which has very much benefitted him, but which he had to give up for want of means. He will send the book directly to any one who forwards sixty-five cents to him at Elco, Washington county, Pa.

PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS ON THE LIFE OF CHRIST. By *Thomas Haemerken d'Kempis*, Canon Regular of the Order of St. Augustine. Translated by W. Duthoit, D. C. L. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. Price, \$1.35.

This is a beautiful collection of prayers and meditations on the

life of our Lord, chiefly on His sacred passion and death. It is in every way worthy of the immortal author of the "Imitation of Christ," and we are pleased to have it in a form accessible to English readers. We recommend it especially for readings during Lent.

LES DERNIERS JOURS DE LÉON XIII. ET LE CONCLAVE, par *Un Témoin*. I. vol. in-18 Jésus. Librairie Victor Lecoffre, Paris.

The events which happened at Rome during the last days of Leo XIII. and at the time of the assembling of the Conclave which elected His Holiness Pius X. have thus far been told in an incomplete and often inexact manner. It has appeared necessary to the author of this little work to reestablish the facts under their respective dates. The volume is signed "A Witness," but this signature, it is believed, is that of a French prelate of whom much has lately been said.

ÜBERTIN VON CASALE UND DESSEN IDEENKREIS. Ein Beitrag zum Zeitalter Dantes. Von Dr. Joh. Chrysostomus Huck. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. Price, \$1.00.

In this charming little essay the learned author gives a masterly description of the religious controversies which disturbed the world, and especially the Order of St. Francis, in the age of Dante. It is a most acceptable addition to the voluminous literature of the great Catholic poet.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

B. ALBERTI MAGNI O. PRÆD. Commentarii in Iob. Abbitamentum ad Opera Omnia. B. Alberti primum ex codicibus manuscriptis edidit Melchior Weiss. Freiburg and St. Louis: Sumptibus Herder. Price, \$4. \$9 net.

DIE WIRKUNGEN DES BISSAKRAMENTES. Dogmengeschichtliche Studie. Von Dr. Joseph Gärtner. Freiburg and St. Louis: Herder. Price, \$2.25 net.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPE EPISTOLÆ ENCUCLICÆ. A Latin and German edition of the late Pontiff's Encyclicals in six volumes.

A PRECURSOR OF ST. PHILIP: The Life of Buonsignore Cacciaguerra. By Lady Amabel Kerr. St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, \$1.25 net.

DE ACTIBUS HUMANIS. Auctore Victore Frins, S. J. Pars II., De Actibus Humanis moraliter consideratis. Friburgi Brisgovie: Sumptibus Herder. Price, \$2.85 net.

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